

TWO OF THE
Saxon Chronicles

PARALLEL

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS
FROM THE OTHERS

A REVISED TEXT

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES
AND GLOSSARY BY

CHARLES PLUMMER

ON THE BASIS OF AN EDITION BY

JOHN EARLE

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DOROTHY WHITELOCK

Volume II

INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDEX

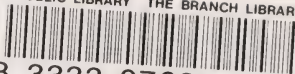
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PARALLEL

PLUMMER

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SAXON CHRONICLES
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*EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES,
AND GLOSSARY*

BY

CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A.

FELLOW AND CHAPLAIN OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

ON THE BASIS OF AN EDITION BY

JOHN EARLE, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ANGLO-SAXON IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND SOMETIME
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE

VOL. II.—INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEX

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P R E F A C E ¹

IN the temporary preface to the first volume of this work, issued in 1892, I stated that the appearance of the second volume was likely to be delayed by the fact that I had undertaken to re-edit the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. The completion of that edition in 1896 enabled me once more to turn my undivided attention to the *Chronicle*. The results are now laid before the public.

Even from the point of view of the *Chronicle* the time expended upon Bede has not been wasted. Not only have I learnt to understand better, than I otherwise should have done, the relation in which the *Chronicle* stands to Bede, but in many less obvious ways the experience and knowledge gained have redounded to the advantage of the present work; and many points, which would otherwise have had to be discussed at length, have been disposed of by a simple reference to the pages of my Bede.

THE TEXTS AND GLOSSARY.

The plan of this work aims at reproducing the MSS. as nearly as possible; and with this object all the texts have been

¹ This Preface, and the Introduction which follows, are to be taken as cancelling the Prefatory

Note to Vol. I, which was of a purely temporary and provisional character.

collated afresh. I can honestly say that I have spared no pains to make the texts as correct as possible. But I have so often discovered errors where I had thought that everything was correct, that I dare not assert that none such have escaped me. Some additional various readings, chiefly from Wheloc's edition of the burnt MS. A, are given in Appendix C. Of these a few are of considerable importance.

The plan of this edition of course precluded any idea of normalising the texts. I have however in the Glossary carefully marked the length of the syllables, and distinguished late and abnormal forms by enclosing them in round brackets.

In the Glossary I have aimed at giving not only every word, but every form which occurs in the two MSS. A and E here printed in full. So that in regard to them the Glossary will, I believe, be found to be a complete register of all variations. In the case of the other MSS. from which merely extracts are given, only the principal forms are registered in the Glossary; minute variations of spelling, &c., being, as a rule, ignored. As however all passages in which the other MSS. vary to any important extent from A and E have been embodied either in the text or in the critical notes, it is believed that the Glossary will afford a tolerably complete measure of the Anglo-Saxon historical vocabulary as represented by the Chronicles.

The arrangement of the Glossary was a matter of no slight mechanical difficulty, because it had to be compiled from texts varying considerably in date and place of origin. The actual plan is due to practical considerations; and that form was adopted as the type which would enable the greatest number of the words occurring in the texts to be brought together without alteration. Hence where the orthography of the two texts differs, the rather late forms of E have been taken as the type in preference to the occasionally archaic forms of A. The system thus resulting from a balance of convenience has, I hope, been carried out with consistency. Further details as to the arrangement of the Glossary will be found in the explanatory

note which precedes it, which the reader is advised to consult carefully before making use of the Glossary.

For the Glossary I have naturally made constant use of the new Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, also of Mr. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, the glossary to which contains an excellent selection of words. Grein's monumental *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter* has also been of the greatest service, especially for the poetical passages in the Chronicle.

A word must be said as to the punctuation. Here, too, I have endeavoured to mark the peculiarities of the MSS. The only stops which occur in the MSS. are as a rule the point either on or above the line (.) (·), the inverted semicolon (¡), and the peculiar stops which occur in MS. A, represented in the text approximately by (ꝛ) and (;). All these have been retained; stops not in the MSS. are represented by commas and semicolons. In a few instances, so few that they might I think be counted on the fingers of one hand, the colon and semicolon do occur in the MSS.; here the colon has been retained, the semicolon has been inverted.

The text of A has been considerably interpolated. In a few cases these additions are in good and fairly early hands. Such passages are printed in smaller type, but not in italics. The bulk of these interpolations, however, are due to a hand of the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, and are given in small italics.

Letters or words wanting in any MS., and supplied from other sources, are enclosed in square brackets.

Passages in F which are enclosed in round brackets are in the MS. insertions on the margin or above the line. In many cases it is very difficult to determine whether they are by the same hand as the text or a different one.

In other cases words or letters inserted by the scribe of the text above the line are marked by convergent dashes, e.g. for 'ð'ferde, 983 E. It seemed worth while to mark these

cases, as they often appear to indicate a difference between phonetic and historical spelling. The scribe first spelt the word as he pronounced it, then his eye told him that something was wrong, and he inserted the missing letter above the line.

The expansion of contractions is indicated in the usual way by italics. A few contractions have been left unexpanded, partly because of their frequent occurrence, but still more because it was impossible to be sure what was the exact form which the scribe had in his mind. A list of these unexpanded contractions precedes the Glossary.

In looking back at the texts, issued now more than seven years ago, I naturally find many things which seem to me capable of improvement; a fact to which the long list of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I bears abundant testimony. I would also call attention to the Addenda to Vol. II, some of which are of considerable importance; I would instance especially the note on the York succession, p. ix. But the chief improvement that I desire is the very radical one of substituting a six-text for a two-text edition of the Chronicle. I have dwelt on this subject in the Introduction; and in writing the Notes, and still more in writing the Introduction, I have felt the disadvantage of having to make statements which my own pages do not afford complete means of verifying. Nor will a reference to Thorpe's edition always serve the turn; for Thorpe is sometimes incorrect, and sometimes incomplete. So, if my statements are not always borne out by his texts, I trust that my critics will not assume as a matter of course that I am wrong.

THE INTRODUCTION.

In the Introduction I have given an account of the existing MSS. of the Chronicle, and have endeavoured to show their mutual relations; to trace how under Alfred's guiding hand

a national Chronicle was evolved out of the various local and partial Chronicles previously existing, and how this Chronicle of Alfred's became in turn the stock from which our existing Chronicles, and many others now lost, branched off in various directions. In all this there is a great deal which I fear is very technical, and much which must remain theoretical. But I venture to hope that I have cleared up some things which were dark before; and my views have often derived most welcome confirmation from the unexpected way in which they fitted into one another. I have endeavoured to work out this part of my subject as independently as possible. In this way I have sometimes come to differ from my dear friend and teacher, Professor Earle. He will, I know, forgive me, if I have sometimes seemed 'to lay hands on my father Parmenides.'

THE NOTES.

The Notes of this edition are historical rather than philological; and in this respect among others they differ from those of Professor Earle. The reason is partly that my own studies have lain more in the field of history than in that of philology; partly that the publication of the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary, and the fuller details given in my own Glossary, rendered discussions as to the meaning of words less necessary. In the Notes also I hope that I have been able to clear up some difficulties and obscurities. I would venture to point to the note on the events which followed the death of Cnut, as an instance of what may be gained merely by a more careful interrogation of the Chronicle itself. I regret that in many cases I have had to differ from Mr. Freeman; and in such cases I have not shrunk from expressing my difference plainly. Mr. Freeman's historical works hold a deservedly high position, and mistakes in them call more urgently for correction than those of lesser men; and one who was so frank in criticising

others should not, I think, wish to be exempt from criticism himself. He ruled with undoubted sway over a wide historical empire; it is not to be wondered at if those whose work is confined within narrower frontiers should discover flaws in what he did in their special field. On some of these points I am sanguine enough to think that I might have convinced Mr. Freeman; for instance, with reference to the events alluded to above, which followed the death of Cnut. As to others, I know that he would have had much to say to me, had he lived; οὐ τι ἀν, οἶμαι, ὦ φίλε, εἴπερ γε ὁ πατήρ τοῦ ἐτέρου μύθου ἔζη [ἀπώλετο], ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἂν ἤμυνε· νῦν δὲ ὀρφανὸν αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς προπηλακίζομεν (Plato, Theaet., p. 164 E). But often, especially in the later portions of the Chronicle, I have been content simply to refer to Mr. Freeman's Norman Conquest, or his Reign of William Rufus, because I found that I had nothing to add to what he had already said.

The other books which I have chiefly used will be evident from the references given in the Notes. But though I have learnt much from many fellow-workers, I have always tried to form an independent judgement of my own from a study of the original authorities.

THE INDEX.

The Index has been made as complete as possible. The plan on which it is constructed is sufficiently explained in the note which precedes it.

TERMINOLOGY.

A word must be said as to the vexed question of the spelling of proper names. My rule has been a rough and ready one. Where the name is still a living one among us I spell it in the modern way; where that is not the case, I spell it in the normal West-Saxon manner. Thus I write Alfred, Athelstan, Cuthbert, Edgar, Edmund, Edward, Edwin, Egbert, Ethelbert; but Ælfwold, Æthelric, Berht, Eadnoth, &c. No doubt this

leads to inconsistency, but anything is better than pedantry in dealing with the great names of English story; and in the Explanation of the Index I have shown that even if we limit ourselves to the oldest part of the oldest MS. of the Chronicle, we do not arrive at uniformity. In the same way, where a Saxon place-name has no modern equivalent, or the identification of it is doubtful, I retain it in its Saxon form, speaking of Brunanburh and Cealchythe. Mr. Freeman himself does not talk of Eoferwic or Exanceaster.

In this connexion I may perhaps also record my 'sincere impenitence' for the use of the term Anglo-Saxon. A word which is good enough for an historian like the Bishop of Oxford, and a philologist like C. M. W. Grein, is quite good enough for me.

GRATIARUM ACTIO.

But I must not close this Preface 'on a discord.' Here, as elsewhere, I would express prospectively my gratitude to all who shall privately or publicly correct any mistakes into which I may have fallen; and then I would pass on to pay my thanks to those without whose help this work would have been even more imperfect than it is. The information derived from learned friends on special points is acknowledged in the proper place. But there are some who must be mentioned more particularly here. In the first place I must thank Professor Earle, to whom I owe my original introduction to Anglo-Saxon studies, for the generosity with which he consented to the re-casting of his work by a younger hand, and not less for untiring help and sympathy throughout the work. Professor Earle further placed at my disposal much manuscript material which he had collected with a view to a new edition. Where I have directly made use of this, or of his printed edition, I have endeavoured to acknowledge the debt on each occasion. In cases where that has not been possible he will accept this general expression of my gratitude.

I must thank Professor Napier, who has for this, as for the smaller edition, most kindly read the proofs of the Glossary, and made very many useful corrections and suggestions. He is not, however, in the slightest degree responsible for the general arrangement and execution of the Glossary.

I must thank the Reverend J. T. Lang, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who, when I went to Cambridge to collate the Parker MS., received me, a perfect stranger, as if I had been an old friend. To his hospitality and kindness, and that of his colleagues, I owe many pleasant associations. It is a matter of genuine satisfaction to me that my first real experience of Cambridge life should have been in connexion with the College which bears the same name as my own.

Mr. G. F. Warner, of the MS. Department of the British Museum, gave up more of his valuable time than I like to remember to the task of helping me to solve the various palaeographical problems connected with the four Cottonian MSS. of the Chronicle. For this help, and for the confidence which it afforded me, I cannot be too grateful.

In this, as in other works, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Horace Hart, M.A., and the staff of the Clarendon Press generally, for the skill and patience with which they have carried out a difficult and tedious task. The care and attention with which the proof-sheets have been read have saved me from many slips and inconsistencies.

One to whom I would so willingly have paid the glad tribute of my thanks has passed beyond the reach of human gratitude. If I have in any way been able to illustrate the language and history of our Saxon forefathers from those of their Scandinavian kinsmen, I owe it to my late friend and honoured master, Gudbrand Vigfússon. Those who knew him will not need to be told how much better this part of my work would have been done could I have continued to draw, as, while he lived, his friends could always draw, on the rich and well-

ordered stores of his retentive memory. He was one of those who most encouraged me to undertake the present work, and he died while the first sheets of it were passing through the press. I cannot close this Preface without recording once more my admiration for his simple and noble character, and my sense of the great loss which his death inflicted, not only on Scandinavian, but also on English studies.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,

June 14, 1899.

NOTE

WHILE Plummer's edition remains the essential basis for all Chronicle studies, these have naturally not stood still since 1899. I have therefore added a list of the more important books and articles which deal with, or have implications for, the larger issues connected with the Chronicle. In one important matter, the date of the commencement of the year in various sections of the Chronicle, Plummer's work has been superseded. I have replaced his note on this problem by one which gives the results of more recent scholarship.

ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE, OXFORD. DOROTHY WHITELOCK

1952

ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA TO VOL. I

pp. vii. ff. This temporary Preface is now superseded by the Preface and Introduction contained in Vol. II.

p. 5, l. 6. abidan] gebidan D, anbidian F.

p. 7. 30 E. gefullod] gefulwad, B, C.

— 33 E. fruman] frymðe, B, C.

p. 8. 167 A. stafas] boestafas, C.

— 48 F. This entry ought to have been placed at the foot of p. 7.

p. 10. 409 a. For ' þæt ' read ' þ. '

p. 16. 530 A. Wihthgaræsbyrg] -gara-, B, C; -garesbyri, F.

p. 17, note 7. Add: " Searoburh " without " æt, " B, C. '

p. 18, note 1. Add: ' and so W, showing that it was originally in A. '

— note 12. Add: ' Oslac, W. '

p. 19. 568 E. Cufa] Ceawlines broðer, F add.

p. 20. 592 A. Woddesbeorge] Wodnesbeorlige, W.

p. 21. 601 E. Paulinus biscop] þe syððan, F add. (above the line).

— note 3. Add: ' and so W., showing that it was so originally in A. '

p. 22. 619 F. This entry ought to have been placed on p. 24.

p. 24. 632 A. was] wearð, B, C.

p. 26. 635 A. For ' gefulwad ' read ' ge-. ' The words ' from . . . Dorce- ' are written on an erasure.

— 639 A. Cuðred] Cuðred king, B, C.

— 640 a. The latter part of the interpolation is on the lower margin.

— 644 A. se was ærcebiſc on] se ðe was arcebiſceop ær on, B, C.

— 645 A. Cenwalh] Kenwealh king, B, C.

— note 5. For ' fæsten ' read ' Easter fæsten. '

p. 27. 644, 645 E. These dates agree with B, C.

p. 28. 648 A] 647 B, C. The words ' wæs . . . Cyneg- ' are written on an erasure.

— 651, 652, 653 A. These dates agree with B, C.

p. 28. 648 F. After this insert: '650 F. Her forðferde Birinus se biscop, 7 Ægebertus se Frencisca was gehadod.'

— 648*. iii. þusendo londes] iiii [iii, C] hīda landes, B, C.

p. 32. 657 A. This ought to stand at the foot of p. 28.

p. 34. 675 A. This annal is omitted by B.

p. 38. 686 A. 'Cead-' on erasure.

p. 40. 688 a. For 'and' read '7.'

p. 41. 693 E. For 'Brihthelm' D reads 'Dryhthelm,' rightly; v. note *ad loc.*

p. 43. 710 E. For 'Hygebald' D reads 'Sigbald,' and this is confirmed by Gaimar; v. note *ad loc.*

p. 45, note 12. For 'against all the other MSS.' read 'D has Æðelbalð, rightly.' The entry being a Northern one is only in D and E.

p. 47, last line of text. be eodon] ymbeodan, B.

p. 49, l. 1. ær] þ, B.

p. 51. 766 E. xxxvi] xxxvii, D.

— For 'xxxiii' read 'xxxiiii.'

— 768 E. After 'xiiii' insert the reference 12 to note.

p. 53. 779 E, l. 4. wæs gehalgod] wæs ær gehalgod, D; v. note *ad loc.*

p. 55. 788 E. Pincanheale] Wincan-, D.

p. 56. 796*. Ceolwulf] Cynulf, B, C, rightly; v. note *ad loc.*

— note 1. Correct this in accordance with ii. 62.

— note 3. pycan] So also it was read by Junius.

— 798 F, l. 5. unfor[brosno]d] Junius' collation shows that the true reading is 'unforrotted.'

p. 57. 795 E. hancræd] hancræde, D.

p. 60. 823 A, l. 2. For 'Ecbryht' read 'Ecgbryht.'

p. 64. 853 A, l. 1. The interpolator, having overlooked the little 'bæd' above the line, inserts a big 'bædon' after 'wiotan.'

pp. 67, 68. 860*. Osric] Wulfheard, B, C; v. note *ad loc.*

p. 68. 860 A. Erasures in A at the top of f. 13 b.

p. 73. 874 E, l. 4. cyrican] mynstre, F.

p. 79, note 9. For 'vocabatur' read 'uoc-.'

p. 80. 887 A, l. 1. 'up þurh' on erasure.

p. 81. 887 E, l. 11. 7 [Oþa] þa to] The true correction of the text is '7 Oda to.' The scribe omitted the O, and turned 'ða' into 'ða.' The mistake is common to D and E.

p. 84. 893 A, l. 5. ccl] cc, B, C, D.

p. 91. 901 E. gefor] geforðferde, F.

— 898 A. Heahstan] Ealhstan, B, C, D.

pp. 97, 99, heading. I have shown in the Introduction, § 73, that D would be more correctly described as the Evesham MS.

p. 105. 924 D, l. 5. For 'Ofsæ' read 'of[er] sǣ'; v. note *ad loc.*

p. 110. 942 a. Read '[Her forðferde Wulfhelm] arcebisceop.'

- p. 112. Against the vacant annal 953 something has been inserted in *A* and then erased. With f. 28 a, a new hand begins in *A*.
- p. 113. 959 B. West seaxum] Wessexum, C.
- p. 115, l. 8. misdæda] -de, D, rightly.
— l. 9. unsida] -de, D, rightly.
- p. 119. 971 B. The *date* is not in B, but is taken from C.
— Eadredes] Eadweardes, C, wrongly.
— note 4. After B, C insert 'ac.'
- p. 122. 976 C. Insert the marginal reference 'f. 143 a.'
— 977 C, l. 7. After 'norð healfe' insert a stroke, and place in the margin the reference 'f. 143 b.'
- p. 123. 979 E, l. 25. 7 smeagunga] 7 heora s., D.
- p. 126. 990 C. This entry should have been placed on p. 125.
- p. 128, l. 10 from bottom. For 'wearde' we should perhaps read 'weorce'; cf. the Latin version, i, 285: 'Romano opere'; and the AS. version of Bede, H. E. i. 33: 'ealde Rōmānisce weorce.'
— l. 3 from bottom. For 'Xþes' read 'Xþes.'
- p. 131, note 1. Add 'Penwið, C.'
- p. 134. The entries from *A* should be on p. 136.
- p. 136. 1006 E, l. 6. se Denisca] So F; se micla, C, D.
- p. 142, note 5. For 'Xþntatis' read 'Xþntatis.'
- p. 144, l. 15. æþelinge] -gum, C, D.
- p. 146. 1016 E. clx. scipa] Only in E, F; v. note *ad loc*.
- p. 147. 1016 D, E. Scrobbesbyrig] Scrobsæton, C.
- p. 148, l. 7. ofsloh] 'ðuruh Eadrices ræd ealdormannes,' adds C; v. note *a. l.*
- p. 150, l. 5. After 'Lundene' insert the reference 3 to note.
- p. 152, ll. 6, 7. Godwine ealdorman] 'on Lindesige,' adds C.
- p. 163. 1041 E, l. 10. For 'Ælf[sine]' read 'Ælf[sige].'
- p. 172, l. 6. be weg[e]] These two words are inserted on the margin, with a mark of insertion after 'aðb.'
- p. 177, margin. For 'A. D. 1052' read 'A. D. 1048.'
- p. 184. 1054 E. For 'mare' read 'Mare.'
- p. 187. 1056 D. The letters 'ke-' have got shaken out at the end of line 5.
- p. 203. Dele the note; v. note *ad loc*.
- p. 217, l. 16. For 'rest' read 'reft.'
- p. 220, l. 23. For 'Manncynn' read 'mann-.'
- p. 274, l. 6. For 'brytene' read 'Brytene.'
- p. 292, l. 4. For 'Walkelmus' read 'Walkelinus.'
- p. 293. The information here given as to the West Saxon genealogy should be supplemented by what is stated, ii, 1 ff., by the notes on A. D. 167, 409, and by Introduction, p. xviii.
- p. 300^b. 'ā-drifan' should come before 'ā-drincan,' and 'ā-ebbian' after 'ā-dūn-weard.'

- p. 304^a. 'á-géanes' should come before 'ágen.'
- p. 304^b. á-lýsan] After (3) insert 'wk. v.'
- p. 307^b. 'áðum' should come before 'á-þýstrían.'
- p. 309^b. be-fæstan] For '893A' read '894A.'
- p. 312^a. †bétan] Delete the dagger.
- p. 313^a. binnan*] After 'within' insert '867*.'
- p. 313^b. biscop-ríce] Add: 'in 1100 it means episcopal church, cathedral.'
- p. 314^a. Before 'bod' insert an additional article:
bóc-stæf, *sb.m.str.* a letter; cf. buðhflabe, in *pl.* -stafas, a letter, epistle, 167C, Addenda.
- p. 314^b. brédan] Delete the ref. to 189D, E, F, and insert after brédan two additional articles:
breden, *adj.* made of board. 189F.
bred-weall, *sb.m.str.* a wall of board. 189D, E.
- p. 315^b. búgean] After '890*' insert 'búgude. D.'
- p. 319^b. cumpæder] a *joint* godfather.
- p. 322^a. dæll] Line 4, for 'be dlæe' read 'be dæle.'
- p. 324^a. duguð] After 'wrongly *masc.*' add 'so 626E.'
- p. 327^b. éast-ríce] Add '892E.'
- p. 329^a. éow, éower] Delete 'éower.'
- p. 329^b. 'fædera' should precede 'fæder-cynn.'
- p. 331^a. fenn] After 'M. 275' insert '893A. (fænne) 892E, doubtful reading.'
- p. 343^a. ge-feohtan] After '658E' insert '=to gain by fighting, *p.sg.* gefeaht. 1016E. p. 152.'
- p. 344^b. ge-horsian] After '876A' insert '(-sade) E.'
— 'ge-híwian' should precede 'ge-horsian.'
- p. 345^a. ge-ládan] Delete '*i. e.* died,' and *v.* note *ad loc.*
- p. 346^b. 'ge-myntan' should precede 'ge-néalæcan.'
- p. 352^a. ge-wundian] The ref. '894A. p. 86 t' should be transposed to after '-dod. E.'
- p. 353^a. græfe]. Read 'græfe,' and correct this article in accordance with note *ad loc.*, ii. 78.
- p. 355^a. hádian] For 'héafden' read 'héafde.'
— †hæfte-clomm] After '*dat.*' insert '*pl.*'
- p. 355^b. hæþen] Last line but one, for '851A' read '871A'; and add at end of article '*dat.pl.* -þnum. 838A.'
- p. 356^b. hán-créd] Add '*dat.* -cræde D' (*v.* Addenda).
- p. 358^b. healdan] Line 14, after 'peace, &c.,' read '*p.pl.subj.* healden. 963 E.'
- p. 362^a. hold-áð] For '1083' read '1085.'
- p. 363^a. hunger] For '975A. p. 120 b. 977E,' read '975*. pp. 120, 121 l.'
- p. 363^b. 'hwænne' should precede 'hwær.'

- p. 370^a. For 'lyft' read 'lyft.'
- p. 372^b. mann-cyⁿⁿ] For 'the' read 'a'; and after '1014E' insert '1086 p. 220 l.'
- p. 374^a. midd] After 'June 24' read '898A. 885A. -dan. E.'
- p. 376^b, l. 5. After 'Cathedral and' insert 'New Minster, afterwards.' — myran-héafod] 1010E. v. note *ad loc.*
- p. 377^b. néah, *adv.*] After 'læst' insert 'nēhst. 878A. nēhst. E. pp. 76, 77 h.'
- néah, *adv.*] Dele '878A. nēhst. E.'
- p. 378^b. norð, *adv.*] For 'ib. A' read '913A.'
- p. 381^a. For 'oft-ræd-líce' read 'oft-ræd.'
- p. 383^a. 'op-fléon' should come after 'ôðer, *conj.*' in 383^b.
- ôper, *pron. adj. & sb.*] Line 3, read 'another. 827A. (ôþær) E'; and in line 13, for 'sco' read 'sio.'
- p. 385^b. rest] Dele the ref. '1085 p. 217 m.'
- p. 386^b. After 'rū^m' insert an additional article:
ryft, rift, reft, *sb. m. str.* a veil; onfeng hálig reft, = took the monastic veil, 1085 p. 217 m.; v. note *ad loc.*
- p. 388^a. scegð] For '1009' read '1008.'
- p. 389^b. se] Line 9 from bottom, for '887*' read '887A.'
- p. 391^a. secgan] Line 13, after 'sæde' insert '901A.'
- p. 396^b. sunu] After 'passim' insert 'suna. 924A.'
- p. 398^a. †swin] Dele the dagger.
- p. 398^b, l. 4. For '874' read '874*.'
- p. 399^a. After 'te^trarche' insert an additional article:
Theophanie (foreign word, Θεοφάνεια), Epiphany. 1118 p. 248.
- p. 399^b. tilian] This whole article needs recasting, thus:
tilian, *wk. v.* (i) to strive for, procure, gain (with *gen.* of thing gained, and *dat.* of person for whom it is gained); *p. sg.* tilode. 1006E. *p. pl.* tilodon. 1016E p. 150 m. tiledan. D. *sup.* tō tylienne. 1052E p. 178 h. (ii) with *gen.* of reflexive pron., to gain one's own living, provide for oneself; *pres. part. pl.* hie^ra til(i)gende. 876*. (iii) with *acc.* or *absol.* to till. 1097. *p. sg.* tilede. 1137 p. 265 h. *p. p.* tiled. *ib.* p. 264 l. *sup.* tō tilianne. 1092.
— tīðian] For 'ib. *ad init.*' read '963E *ad init.*'
- p. 401^b. Dele the article 'trega.'
- Before 'tresor' insert additional article:
treson (foreign word), treason. 1135. v. note *ad loc.*
- p. 403^a, l. 29. For '(þær innæ)' read 'þær(innæ).'
- l. 37. Dele 'p. 86 l.'
- l. 42. For '817' read '917.'
- p. 405^a. ðes] Lines 2, 3, transpose the ref. '995F *ad init.*' after '627 E.'
- p. 407^b, *ad ped.* For 'unfor[brosno]d' read 'unforrotted.' The meaning is, however, the same.

- p. 410^b. ūte] At end of article add '918A. 915D.'
- p. 412^a. weard, *sb.*] Prefix a dagger.
— wearde] 995F. p. 128 l. *v.* Addenda *ad loc.*
- p. 413. 'weorðe' should come after 'weorðan.'
- p. 414^a. After 'wer, a weir,' insert additional article:
wer, *sb m.str.* a man, *gen.pl.* wera. 457A.
- p. 414^b. Dele the article 'westre.'
- p. 415^b. willan] Lines 14-17 need recasting, thus:
p.pl. woldon. 894A. p. 85. 1046^aE. & *fq. subj.* woldon, wolden.
874*. uuoldon. 878A (with verb of motion understood, and so *fq.*);
woldan. 946A. In line 18, for 'wolde' read 'nolde.'
- p. 418^a. wrecan] After 'wreak' insert 'punish.'
- p. 419^b. ymb-ūtan] After '894' insert 'A.'

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOL. II

p. xxvi, l. 20. Of these earlier interpolations 870, 890, 993 refer to Canterbury. If therefore we could determine the date at which these entries were made, we could fix more precisely the date at which the MS. was transferred to Canterbury; cf. p. xcvi.

p. 4, note 1. The printed text of Florence does not give a correct impression as to his deduction of the West-Saxon pedigree from Adam. In the oldest MS. (C. C. C. Oxon. clvii) the descent from Adam to Noah is traced in the usual way. Then *four* sons are given to Noah: (1) Sem; (2) *Seth, Saronice Scaef*; (3) Cham; (4) Iapheth. It is this Seth son of Noah, not Seth son of Adam, who is the father of Bedwig. All therefore that Florence has done is to give Scaef an alternative and more biblical-looking name.

— note 2. For the descent of the Gothic kings from Geat, see C. P. B. i. 413; cf. *ib.* ii. 460, 487.

p. 12. 495*. Cf. also the Certic, king of Elmet, in Nennius, § 63.

p. 14. 547*. The conclusions of this note are emphatically confirmed by Z. N. V., pp. 98, 99, 307.

p. 17, ll. 11–13. On Fernmail and his kingdom, cf. Z. N. V., pp. 63, 67, 71.

p. 26, l. 11. Add: 'C. P. B. i. 423, 424.'

p. 32, l. 15. For Ceaster = Winchester, cf. ii. 157.

p. 58, l. 1. '*Teutonice.*' The MS. of this document has recently been rediscovered and reprinted in M. H. G. 4to: *Epistolae Aevi Carolini*, ii. 20 ff., from which it appears that the true reading is 'Theodisce,' which is the earliest known instance of the use of that term to denote a language. See Dr. Dove's article in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy for 1895, pp. 223 ff. I owe these references to the Bishop of Oxford through the Rev. W. Hunt. From the same document it appears that Alcuin was present at the Northern Synod.

p. 58, bottom line. Vigfússon and Powell, following Sir H. Howorth, fix the coming of the Northmen to 793, C. P. B. ii. 3.

p. 59, l. 1. On the various names for the Scandinavian invaders, and the quarters whence they came, see Maurer, *Bekehrung d. norwegischen Stammes*, i. 48 ff.

— l. 24. Maurer, *u. s.* i. 66, is in favour of Hörðaland.

p. 65, l. 23. After 559 add: 'cf. 800 F Lat., i. 59, note 10.'

p. 67, 803 E. [Ecgerht] If the dates given in E were correct, the consecration of Egbert would precede the death of Higbald; which, though

not impossible, is unlikely. S. D. however dates the death of Higbald viii Kal. Iun. (May 25) in the ninth year from the 'depopulation' of Lindisfarne (793), *i. e.* 802; and this is probably right, *i.* 52.

p. 70, l. 24. For 'Cridiantreow' read 'Cridan- or Creodantreow.'

p. 74, l. 6. After 'pallium' insert: 'He occurs however regularly in the list of archbishops in 995 F, *i.* 130.'

p. 85, l. 26. After 'SS. *i.* 111' insert: 'C. P. B. *ii.* 339.'

p. 87, l. 5. Add: 'cf. C. P. B. *ii.* 340.'

p. 90, l. 4 from bottom. After '311' insert: 'C. P. B. *i.* 422.'

p. 91. After line 5 from bottom insert: '876 E. Rollo] Cf. C. P. B. *ii.* 493.'

p. 93, l. 11 from bottom. On the raven banner, cf. also Maurer, *u. e.* *i.* 555.

p. 130, l. 11. After 'annual' insert: 'Possibly also Ann. Camb. 943 refers to the same person: "Iudgual et filius eius Elized a Saxonibus occiduntur."'

p. 135, l. 8 from bottom. Dacre, where W. M. places the submission of the Scots and Strathclyde Britons, is identified by many with the 'æt Eamotum' of the Chron.; cf. Ramsay, Foundations of England, *i.* 283.

p. 136. After the first paragraph insert: '926 D. Huwal West Wala cyning] It is commonly assumed, *e. g.* H. & S. *i.* 211; Green, C. E. p. 220, that the Howel of this annal is Howel the Good; but the fact that he is called king of the *West* Welsh, *i. e.* Cornwall, makes this very doubtful. Sir J. Ramsay, indeed, says, "West Wealas *must* mean Dyfed," Foundations of England, *i.* 282. But I know no parallel; and W. M. expressly says that Athelstan made a campaign against Cornwall, *i.* 148; and if two doubtful charters may be trusted, K. C. D. No. 1101; Birch, Nos. 663, 664, he spent Easter 928 at Exeter, one of the signatories being 'Howel subregulus.'" It is quite possible that there was a Cornish prince named Howel contemporary with the better known Welsh monarch.'

p. 137, ll. 10, 11 from bottom: 'Adalolfus comes . . . propinquus ei . . . erat.' He was Count of Boulogne, and Abbot of St. Bertin; †Nov. 13, 933. Art de Vérif. *ii.* 761. He was a relative, 'propinquus,' of the English royal family, as being the son of Baldwin II of Flanders and Ælfthryth, daughter of Alfred the Great.

p. 140. After the first paragraph add: 'The famous Icelander Egil Skallagrimson fought on Athelstan's side, C. P. B. *i.* 266; cf. *ib.* *ii.* 575.'

— l. 16 from bottom. Add: 'Sir J. Ramsay also advocates an eastern site, Bourne, in Lincolnshire, Foundations of England, *i.* 285 ff.'

p. 148, second paragraph. Yryc] Others take this to be Eric Blood-Axe, son of Harold Harfager, who was expelled from Norway; so S. C. S. *i.* 359, 360, 363, 364; Robertson, E. K. S. *i.* 74, 80; C. P. B. *i.* 259, 532-536; Maurer, Bekehrung, &c., *i.* 135, 171; but the whole thing is very obscure; cf. Green, C. E. p. 290. Certainly the account in Heinskringla, *i.* 127 ff., cannot be harmonised with English history.

pp. 149, 150, 160, 176. The chronology of Wulfstan and Oscytel as archbishops of York is somewhat difficult to make out. According to Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* p. 15; ed. 2, p. 28, Oscytel was consecrated to Dorchester in 950. I do not know the authority for this, but it is to some extent confirmed by the fact that he first signs as bishop in 951, Birch, Nos. 890, 891. Stubbs, *u. s.*, places his translation to York in 958. For this also I know no authority, and it is opposed to the statement of the Chronicle that he was appointed to York under Edred (971 B, i. 119; C's reading 'Eadweardes' is a mere slip). Fl. Wig. says that he succeeded immediately on the death of Wulfstan, which he places in 956, probably rightly, as I have shown, ii. 150; and this date is confirmed by the statement that Wulfstan died 'biennio necdum expleto' from his restoration in 954 D; see H. Y. ii. 340. But even 956 is too late for Oscytel's appointment to York, if that was made by Edred, for Edred died in 955.

I have noted, ii. 149, that the phrase in which D speaks of Wulfstan's restoration in 954 is ambiguous, and may mean either that he was restored at Dorchester [to York], or that he was restored to a bishopric, viz. that of Dorchester. The latter idea seems at first sight startling, but the passage is so taken in Hardy's *Le Neve*, iii. 96, and I believe rightly. The arrangement therefore came to this, that Oscytel and Wulfstan exchanged sees, Wulfstan remaining at Dorchester, where the king could keep an eye on him, and Oscytel going to York. If this arrangement was completed at the end of 954, or early in 955, then both the statement of the chronicler that Oscytel was appointed to York by Edred is confirmed, and also the statement of the northern writers that he held that see for sixteen years, H. Y. ii. 255, 340, 474, 518. As Wulfstan died so soon after, the arrangement was easily forgotten, and it was assumed that Oscytel succeeded to York in consequence of Wulfstan's death. There is a further doubt whether Oscytel was succeeded immediately by Oswald. The northern writers, *u. s.*, interpolate a certain Æthelwold, who resigned because 'quietiorem uitam magis diligeret.' If he resigned before he was consecrated, this would account for the non-appearance of his name in the lists.

p. 153, l. 5. After 'customs' insert: 'cf. C. P. B. I. lxxv.'

p. 154, l. 20. Guthmund, bishop of Hólar in Iceland († 1237), had the title 'the Good' formally conferred upon him by an act of the Bishop and Chapter in the fourteenth century, *Sturlunga*, I. cxxv, 104.

p. 173, l. 4 from bottom. Jósteinn was Olaf's maternal uncle, Maurer, *Bekehrung*, &c., i. 277.

p. 177, l. 9. 'Ælfric,' i. e. Ælfric, alderman of Hampshire.

p. 181, l. 10. The historical existence of Palna-Toki is, however, very doubtful, Maurer, *Bekehrung*, &c., i. 245.

p. 183, l. 8. Add: 'cf. Maurer, *u. s.* i. 466, 467.

p. 186. After first paragraph add: 'For the byrnies cf. the epithet

“albrynjaðr” applied to the crew of a ship in St. Olaf’s Saga (Heimskringla), c. 27; and on the size of a “skeið,” cf. Harold Hardrada’s Saga, c. 76 (Forðmanna Sögur, vi. 308), where Harold builds a “skeið” of seventy oars, after the model of Olaf Tryggvason’s famous Long Serpent; cf. C. P. B. ii. 595.’

p. 187, l. 12 from bottom. On Ringmere, cf. Maurer, *u. s. i.* 468. Olaf, the future king and saint, is said to have fought there, and also at the siege of Canterbury, *ib.* 510.

p. 188, l. 20 from bottom. On the origin of the Mercian shires, see a very interesting paper by the Rev. C. S. Taylor in vol. xxi of Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.

p. 190, l. 15 from bottom. On Thurkill’s submission, cf. Maurer, *u. s. i.* 468, 510.

p. 193, l. 10 from bottom. Maurer denies the importance of Clontarf. *u. s. i.* 551.

p. 198, l. 15. Ælfric ealdorman] Probably the alderman of Hampshire.

p. 203, l. 25. Cnut was admitted to confraternity at Christ Church, Canterbury, Wanley, p. 181, cited by Maurer, *u. s. i.* 481, and also at Bremen, *ib.* 483.

p. 206, l. 4. Add: ‘Vigfússon and Powell apparently would make only one battle, which they place in 1026, C. P. B. ii. 152, 153, 156, 589; cf. also Maurer, *u. s. i.* 616 ff.’

— l. 27. After ‘1055 D’ insert: ‘cf. Maurer, *u. s. i.* 639 ff.’

p. 211–215, 221, 231, 236. Lest it should be thought that I have been too presumptuous in my criticism of some of Mr. Freeman’s historical methods, see Parker’s Early History of Oxford, pp. 191 ff., a passage which came to my knowledge after the above pages were printed.

p. 234, l. 12 from bottom. Add: ‘cf. Maurer, *u. s. i.* 597 f.’

p. 237, l. 11 from bottom. Insert the following note:—‘p. 175. Langa treo D] That Godwin owned property in Longtree Hundred is shown by Domesday, i. 164 a.’

p. 240, l. 12 from bottom. Add: ‘Pearson, Hist. Maps, says that it was at Raleigh or Rayleigh in Essex.’

p. 251, l. 6. On Harold’s Welsh campaign, cf. also the mythical life of Harold, pp. 17, 71, 91.

p. 256, l. 2 from bottom. So too the mythical life of Harold, p. 36.

p. 257, l. 24. On the question whether D meant Berkhamstead by ‘Beorhhamsted,’ and, if so, whether this is trustworthy, see Parker, Early History of Oxford, pp. 186 ff. It might be Berstead near Maidstone.

p. 265, l. 20. The mythical life of Harold gives a list of the treasures taken from Waltham by William.

p. 305, l. 5 from bottom. Roger II. Properly he was Count of Sicily, and Duke of Apulia. He received the title of king from the Antipope, which was subsequently confirmed by Innocent II, Art de Vérif. iii. 809 ff.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED



- A, A, a.** For an explanation of these symbols, see Introduction, pp. xxiii ff.
- AA. SS.** = *Acta Sanctorum*. When simply cited thus, the reference is to the great Bollandist collection; when *Mabillon* or *Mab.* is prefixed, it refers to *Mabillon's Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini*.
- Ælf. Hom.** = *Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, *Ælfric Society*. 2 vols. 1843-6.
- Ælf. Lives** = *Ælfric's Lives*, ed. Skeat. E. E. T. S. 2 vols. 1881-90.
- Ailr. or Ailr. R.** = *Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxcv.
- a. l.* = *ad locum*.
- Ancient Laws**, *v.* Thorpe.
- Ang. Sac.** = *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton.
- Ann. Camb.** = *Annales Cambriae*. R. S., and (more correctly) in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix.
- Ann. Lindisf.** = *Annals of Lindisfarne*, in *Pertz*, vol. xix.
- Ann. Ult.** = *Annals of Ulster*. R. S.
- Ann. Utic.** = *Annales Uticensis*, or *Annals of St. Evroul*, in vol. v. of *Prevost's ed. of Ordericus Vitalis*.
- Ann. Wav.** = *Annals of Waverley*, ed. Luard. R. S.
- Ann. Wint.** = *Annales Wintonienses*. R. S.
- App. Ff., v. Ltft. App. Ff.**
- Art de Vérif.** = *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, &c. 3 vols. fol. 1783-7.
- A. S. N.** = *Annals of St. Neot, or of Asser*, in *Gale, Quindecim Scriptores* (1691), pp. 141 ff.
- Asser.** The edition in *M. H. B.* has been used.
- B.** See Introduction, pp. xxviii f.
- Bede, Chron.** This is the Chronicle appended to the *De Temporum Ratione*.
- Bede, Opp.** = *Bede's Works*, ed. Giles. 12 vols. 8vo.
- Bede, Opp. Min.** = *Bedae Opera Historica Minora*, ed. J. Stevenson. E. H. S. 1841.
- Bede**, followed simply by a page reference, refers to the *AS.* version of the *H. E.*, ed. Miller. E. E. T. S.

- Biogr. Misc. = *Miscellanea Biographica* (Lives of Oswin, Cuthbert, and Eata). S. S. 1838.
- Birch = Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
- Blick. Hom. = *Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris. E. E. T. S.
- Bouquet = *Recueil des Historiens de la Gaule et de la France*. (The whole series is thus cited, although the later volumes are not edited by Dom Bouquet.)
- C. See Introduction, pp. xxx f.
- Cambro-Brit. Saints = *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, ed. W. J. Rees. Welsh MSS. Society, 1853.
- Capgrave = *Capgrave's Chronicle of England*, ed. Hingeston. R. S.
- C. B., v. Rhÿs.
- C. E., v. Green.
- Chron., v. Sax. Chron.
- Chron. Ab. = *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson. 2 vols. R. S. (Not to be confounded with the Abingdon MS. (C) of the Saxon Chron.)
- Chron. Evesh. = *Chronicon Abbatiae Eveshamensis*, ed. Macray. R. S.
- Chron. Rames. = *Chronicle of the Abbey of Ramsey*, ed. Macray. R. S.
- Chron. Scot. = *Chronicon Scotorum*, ed. Hennessy. R. S.
- C. P. B. = *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. Vigfússon and York Powell. 2 vols.
- D. See Introduction, pp. xxxi ff.
- D. C. A. = *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.
- D. C. B. = *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.
- Ducange = *Ducange, Glossarium meliæ et infimæ Latinitatis*. 4to. 1884-7.
- Dugdale, v. Mon. Angl.
- Dunstan, v. Stubbs.
- E. See Introduction, pp. xxxiv f.
- Earle, Charters = *A Handbook to the Land-Charters and other Saxon Documents*, by J. Earle, 1888.
- E. C., v. Palgrave.
- Eddius = *Vita Wilfridi, auctore Eddio Stephano*; in *Raine's Historians of the Church of York*, i. R. S.
- E. E. T. S. = *Early English Text Society*.
- E. H. S. = *English Historical Society*.
- E. K. S., v. Robertson.
- Elmham = *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, by Thomas of Elmham, ed. Hardwick. R. S.
- Fp. Succ., v. Stubbs.

E. T. = English Translation.

Ethelw. = Ethelwerdi Chronica, ed. M. H. B.

Eus. Chron. = Eusebius' Chronicle, ed. Schoene.

F. See Introduction, pp. xxxv f.

Fl. Wig. = Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe. E. H. S. (also in M. H. B.).

F. M. = The Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan.

F. N. C. = Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest (vols. i-iii, 2nd ed.; vols. iv, v, 1st ed.).

F. W. R. = Freeman's Reign of William Rufus. 2 vols.

G. See Introduction, p. xxviii.

Gaimar = Lestorie des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar, ed. Martin. 2 vols. R. S.; also in M. H. B.

Gams = Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, ed. P. B. Gams. 1873.

G. de M., v. Round.

Geof. Mon. = Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. San-Marte. 1854.

Gervase = Historical works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. Stubbs. 2 vols. R. S.

G. G. = The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, ed. Todd. R. S.

Gibbon. The edition by Sir Wm. Smith is the one referred to.

Gibson = Gibson's Saxon Chronicle, 1692.

G. P. = William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. Hamilton. R. S.

G. R. = Gesta Regum, r. W. M.

Green, C. E. = J. R. Green, The Conquest of England. 1883.

Green, M. E. = J. R. Green, The Making of England. 1882.

Grubitz = Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsischen Annalen bis zum Jahre 893. Inaugural-Dissertation . . . von Ernst Grubitz, Göttingen. 1868.

Guest, Orig. Celt. = Origines Celticae . . . Contributions to the History of Britain, by Edwin Guest. 2 vols. 1883.

H. See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

Hampson = Medii Aevi Kalendarium . . . by R. T. Hampson. 2 vols. 1841.

Hardy, Cat. = Sir T. Duffus Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. R. S.

H. E. = Historia Ecclesiastica; generally Bede's, but occasionally Eusebius' is meant.

Hexham = The Priory of Hexham, its Chronicles . . . and Annals, ed. Raine. S. S.

H. H. = Henry of Huntingdon, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.

H. & S. = Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.

Hugo Candidus; in Sparke, *Scriptores*, vol. ii. *q. v.*

H. Y. = *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. Raine. R. S.

Hyde Reg. = *Liber Vitae, Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. W. de Gray Birch. Hants Record Society. 1892.

I. See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

Ingram = *Ingram's Saxon Chronicles*, 1823.

Jaffé, *v. Mon. Alc., Mon. Car., Mon. Mog.*, R. P.

K. C. D. = *Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*. E. H. S.

Kemble, *Saxons* = *The Saxons in England*, by J. M. Kemble. 1849.

Langebek, SS. = *J. Langebek, Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi*.

Lazamon = *Lazamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain*, ed. Sir F. Madden. 3 vols. 1847.

Lib. de Hyda = *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. Edwards. R. S.

Lib. Eli. = *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart. Anglia Christiana Society.

Lib. Vit. Dun. = *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson. S. S. 1841.

Liebermann = *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, herausgegeben von F. Liebermann, 1879.

Lismore Lives = *(Irish) Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

LL. = *The Book of Leinster*. Published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.

Ltft. App. Ff. = *Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers*, two parts in five vols. (2nd ed. of Part ii).

Mart. Don. = *Martyrology of Donegal*, ed. O'Donovan, Todd, and Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

Martene et Durand = *E. Martene et U. Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio*.

M. C. This symbol is occasionally used to indicate the main Chronicle, as opposed to the Mercian Register.

M. E., *v. Green*.

Mem. Hex., *v. Hexham*.

M. H. B. = *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i (all published).

M. H. G., *v. Pertz*.

Migne, Pat. Graec. = *Migne, Patrologia Graeca*.

Migne, Pat. Lat. = *Migne, Patrologia Latina*.

Milman = *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, ed. 4.

Misc. Biogr., *v. Biogr. Misc.*

- Mon. Alc. = Monumenta Alcuiniana, ed. Jaffé and Wattenbach.
- Mon. Angl. = Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Bandinel, and Ellis. 1817-30.
- Mon. Car. = Monumenta Carolina, ed. Jaffé.
- Mon. Mog. = Monumenta Moguntina, ed. Jaffé.
- M. R. = Mercian Register.
- Muratori, *v. SS. RR. II.*
- N. & K. = Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, ed. Forbes. 1874.
- N. E. D. = New English Dictionary, Murray and Bradley.
- Ord. Vit. = Ordericus Vitalis, ed. Le Prevost. 5 vols. 1838-55.
- Orosius. AS. version, ed. Sweet. E. E. T. S.
- Palgrave, E. C. = The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, by Sir F. Palgrave.
- Pal. Soc. = Palaeographical Society.
- P. & S. = Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, ed. W. F. Skene.
- Pertz = *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, folio series.
- Pertz, 4to. = *Monumenta Historiae Germaniae*, 4to series.
- Pinkerton = Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints. New ed. by Metcalfe. 2 vols. 1889.
- Rawl. = Rawlinson Collection of MSS. in Bodleian Library.
- Rhÿs, C. B. = Rhÿs, Celtic Britain. S. P. C. K. (2nd ed.)
- Ric. Hex. = Richard of Hexham; in Raine's Hexham; *v. Hexham.*
- Robertson, E. K. S. = Scotland under her Early Kings, by E. W. Robertson. 2 vols. 1862.
- Robertson, Essays = Historical Essays, by the same. 1872.
- Round, G. de M. = Geoffrey de Mandeville, a study of the Anarchy, by J. H. Round. 1892.
- R. P. = *Regesta Pontificum*, ed. Jaffé.
- R. S. = Rolls Series.
- R. W. = Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe. E. H. S.
- s. a.* = sub anno.
- Sax. Chron. = Saxon Chronicle.
- S. C. H. = Stubbs, Constitutional History. Cabinet edition. 3 vols. 1874-8.
- Schmid, Gesetze = Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen . . . von Dr. Reinhold Schmid. 1858. (A new edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws by Dr. Liebermann is in progress, but not yet complete.)
- Schürer = Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, von Dr. Emil Schürer, 2te Ausg. 2 vols. 1886-90. (There is an English Translation, which I have not seen.)

- S. C. S. = Skene, *Celtic Scotland*. 3 vols. 1876-80.
 S. D. = Simeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.
 Sig. Gembl. = Sigebertus Gemblacensis; in Pertz, vi.
 Sparke, *Scriptores* = *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii*, ed. J. Sparke,
 2 vols. 1723.
 S. S. = Surtees Society.
 SS. RR. II. = *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, ed. Muratori.
 St. Edw. = *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. Luard. R. S.
 Stubbs, *Dunstan* = *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs. R. S.
 Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* = *Registrum Sacrum . . . Episcopal Succession in England*.
 by W. Stubbs. 1858; 2nd ed., 1897.
s. v. = sub voce.
- Text. Roff. = *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne. 1720.
 Theopold = *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur angelsächsi-
 schen Geschichte des achten Jahrhunderts . . . Inaugural-Dissertation
 . . . von Ludwig Theopold*. 1872.
 Thorpe, *Ancient Laws* = *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. Record
 Commission, 1840. (The 8vo edition in 2 vols. is the one referred
 to; see also under Schmid.)
 Thorne = *Chronica Gulielmi Thorne, monachi S. Augustini Cantuar.*, in
 Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*.
 Three Fragments = *Three Fragments of Irish Annals*, ed. O'Donovan.
Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.
 Tigh. = *The Annals of Tighernach*. Printed (very incorrectly) in O'Con-
 nor, *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*; and (imperfectly) in P. & S.
 I have generally used the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 488; now printed
 by Dr. Whitley Stokes in *Rev. Celt.* xvi-xviii.
- Vigf. Dict. = *Icelandic English Dictionary . . . by G. Vigfússon*. 1874.
- W. See Introduction, p. xxviii, note.
 Waltham = *De inuentione Sanctae Crucis . . . de . . . Waltham*, ed. Stubbs.
 1861.
 Wattenbach, *v. Mon. Alc.*
 W. M. = William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs. R. S.
 Wülker, *Grundriss - Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur*, von R.
 Wülker. 1885.
 Wulfstan = *Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien . . .
 herausgegeben von A. Napier*. 1883.
- Z. K. B. = Zimmer, *Keltische Beiträge*, in *Zeitschr. für deutsches
 Alterthum*.
 Z. N. V. = Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicated*. 1893.

INTRODUCTION



I. OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HISTORIES AND CHRONICLES¹.

§ 1. CHRONICLES are the simplest form of History; and early attempts at History have generally taken the form of Chronicles. When we use the word History in the fullness of its meaning, we understand by it the study of human events in the complexity of their mutual relations and bearings on each other. A Chronicle, as the name implies, is only a narrative of events in the order of time; and we hardly call it History until these facts have undergone a new arrangement, have been re-examined, criticised, distributed, and grouped.

Difference between Chronicles and History.

§ 2. Out of this difference between History and Chronicle there follows another. A History, when once cast into its form, is impatient of after modifications; the Chronicle admits alterations indefinitely. History is like a web of cloth; you cannot add to it or take from it without destroying its integrity. The Chronicle is like a set of counters arranged on a recurring

Structure of Chronicles.

¹ The whole of this first division is taken with some abridgement from Professor Earle's Introduction. I do not think it is possible to state better the difference between Histories and Chronicles. The notes appended to it are my own. In the other divisions of the Introduction I have not been able to follow

Professor Earle so closely, because my theories, and still more my method of working them out, differ somewhat widely from his. But throughout I owe very much to him; and throughout there are many things which I have been glad to incorporate either in my text or in my notes.

mathematical plan that can be continued *ad infinitum* in any direction, and can accommodate insertions in any part¹.

§ 3. There are places in the Saxon Chronicles where the narrative exhibits a touch of genius and approaches to the dignity of history; nor is there anything in the chronicle-form which absolutely excludes the exercise of a higher talent², though it provides only an imperfect arena for it. But without any special gift a man might make a sufficient chronicler, as his office was merely to write a statement of fact, or to copy an extract from an author and insert it under the right date. There was no need of observing proportion; a great event might be told briefly, while a minor event might be told with local prolixity. Nothing more was required than that the records should be truly arranged in order of time³.

§ 4. With all this simplicity and elasticity and capacity of development, the Chronicle was particularly calculated to be the vehicle of history in early times, when literary facilities were scanty, and when the work of history had to be done in fraternities by a succession of very unequal hands. We do not look for shape or symmetry in any Chronicle, more especially in Chronicles which have grown without a plan, by the work of many hands labouring without concert. After a period of accumulation, the compiler enters, and then for the first time the whole collection is rendered subject to the law of one mind. But his operation turns chiefly on selection or rejection, and the new Chronicle shows where modern interests have ejected the more ancient.

¹ Gervase has an interesting discussion of the difference between History and Chronicles, i. 87, 88.

² Thucydides, one of the greatest, some would say the greatest, of historians, arranges his history of the Peloponnesian war not merely by years but by half-years: *ποσάυτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐγένετο. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι, κ.τ.λ.*, ii. 68, 69. On Greek chroniclers cf. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. ii. 7: Ἑλλήνων, οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἅμα τοῖς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένοις ἀνα-

γράφαντες, cited Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes, i. 412; cf. *ib.* 55, 56.

³ But in order to do this their order must be known. This is the explanation of a fact which at first sight astonishes us, the absence from even D and E of so much interesting matter contained in Bede. The reason is that for many things Bede gives us no dates, and therefore they cannot be brought into a chronological scheme; cf. notes to 632, 634, 650 A, 654 A.

§ 5. The main features of the anonymous and many-handed The Saxon
Chronicles. Chronicle may be seen in a high state of preservation in the Saxon Chronicles. They represent various stages of literary progress, and they exhibit the taste and historical demands of many different generations. Towards their close we have historical composition of considerable maturity, but in their most primitive parts we have almost the rudest conceivable attempts at history. It is in this wide range of variety and diversity, and the illustration it affords of the early national progress, that the worth of the Saxon Chronicles, considered as a literary monument, must be discovered; and they must not be judged, as some writers have inconsiderately judged them, by the literary standards of the nineteenth century.

§ 6. But before we enter upon an analysis of the Chronicles, Earliest
use of
Chronicles. it is desirable to form a right notion of the first rude uses of chronicling. Originally a Chronicle was not a device for arranging a store of events, and for reducing the accumulations of history to literary order. It was not (what it at length became) a method, a system of registration, whereby each event was put into its chronological place. The chronicle-form had a more primitive use. This was to *characterise* the receding series of years, each by a mark and sign of its own, so that the years might not be confused in the retrospect of those who had lived and acted in them. The same thing is done in our day when a man in middle age begins to experience that the hurry of life engenders confusion in the memory, and the bygone years grow less and less distinguishable. In such a case he probably creates for himself a little ten or twenty years' Chronicle, very brief, each entry only a single notice.

§ 7. Such a Chronicle as this is not a depository of the accumulations of past events, but a chart of time for preserving chronological order among the stores of the memory. This is naturally the first kind of Chronicle which men require¹.

¹ Professor Earle, writing in the sixties, gave a specimen of such a chronological framework as might be 'inscribed in some contemporary memories.' Perhaps for the last

twenty years the events to mark the years might stand thus:—

1878. Treaty of Berlin; Peace with Honour.

1879.

In early times the particulars of past events were much more trusted to the memory than they are now; and only the chronological scaffolding was committed to parchment.

We are informed in Professor Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* that the Peruvians had a *memoria technica*, made of knots¹ upon diversely coloured strings. A Peruvian woman showed a bundle of knotted strings, and said her whole life *was there*. Each knot was the index to a story, and all the stories were preserved in her memory.

1880. General election. Liberal majority.

1881. Death of Lord Beaconsfield.

1882. Phoenix Park murders.

1883.

1884. Franchise Bill.

1885. Death of Gordon.

1886. First Home Rule Bill.

1887. Queen's Jubilee.

1888. Deaths of two German Emperors.

1889.

1890.

1891.

1892. Death of the Duke of Clarence.

1893. Second Home Rule Bill.

1894. Retirement of Mr. Gladstone.

1895. General election. Unionist majority.

1896. The Transvaal Raid.

1897. The Diamond Jubilee.

And we all of us have similar frameworks of our own lives: 'Mr. Meredith had risen to wealth from penury, and counted time by his dining-room chairs, having passed through a cane, a horse-hair, and a leather period before arriving at morocco. Mrs. Meredith counted time by the death of her only son,' Barrie, *When a Man's Single*, ch. iv. Without some such aids we all of us in these hurrying days tend to sink chronologically to a level with the grey goose on the common in one of Mrs. Ewing's books, who could not remember anything dis-

tinctly beyond last Michaelmas, and the Michaelmas before that, and the Michaelmas before that. It is the presence of this chronological check which constitutes one of the main differences between our native Chronicles and the Icelandic Sagas. In the case of the latter we have narratives, originally historical, developed by unchecked oral transmission through generations of a people with a genius for story-telling; consequently all the dramatic and picturesque elements are heightened, and all the telling points emphasised, until the original historical basis has almost disappeared; cf. Vigfússon and Powell, *Orig. Island*, ii. 488; just as we ourselves may have sometimes watched a good story growing under the hands of some skilful *raconteur*, who lets his art be limited by no base slavery to historical accuracy. The consequence is that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles are as superior to the Icelandic Sagas as history, as they are undoubtedly inferior to them as literature; cf. Lappenberg, I. xxxvii; E. T. I. xxvii; F. N. C. i. 688. The annal which most recalls the Sagas is the slaying of Cynewulf and Cyneheard under 755; and that too may have been developed orally before it was written down. Cf. C. P. B. ii. 501-508; Sturlunga, I. lxix.

¹ Called *quipus*; see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*. Bk. I, ch. iv.

§ 8. Our own early Chronicles are something like this series of knots; for in their laconic annals much was implied and little expressed, and therefore they are a set of knots of which the solution died out with their authors. To posterity they present merely a name or two, as of a battle-field and a victor, but to the men of the day they suggested a thousand particulars, which they in their comrade-life were in the habit of recollecting and putting together. That which to us seems a lean and barren sentence, was to them the text for a winter evening's entertainment.

Their unfagged memory was richly stored with the events of their own day and the legends of their ancestors. What one had forgotten another remembered, and where memory failed, imagination came to aid. So far from needing books as depositories of events, they were overwhelmed with the treasures of their own memory, and only needed some guarantee of order amidst the riches of which they were in possession¹. Tradition and experience furnished them with more facts than they had the capacity to accommodate. Where memory failed, fancy promptly entered, as into a forfeited domain. The wild and frolic fancy was ever ready, in the absence of any controlling system of order, to promote dislocation by an arbitrary reconstruction, to foment confusion and revel in it, and to conjure up out of the chaos new and grotesque combinations. Therefore they wanted, not History, but Chronology.

§ 9. When men had felt the necessity of guarding themselves against mytho-poesy, they found their first guarantee for the security of historical truth in tables of chronology. As

Chronology
the safe-
guard of
History.

¹ Under different conditions, the chronological table or analysis serves the kindred purpose of a key to the knowledge contained in books or stored confusedly in the memory as the result of reading. Such is the object of the chronological epitome suffixed by Bede to his Ecclesiastical History, which had, as we shall see, a great effect on the development of our Chronicles. So Eusebius' Chronicle serves as a key to his Eccl. Hist. 'In the Chronicle the required facts are tabulated in proper sc-

quence; in the History they must be sought out here and there with much pains, and pieced together,' Lightfoot, App. Ff. I. i. 244. This was the object with which Capgrave wrote his Chronicle of England: 'Now is age com, and I want ny al that schuld longe to a studier; yet it plesed me, as for a solace, to gader a schort remembrauns of elde stories, that whanne I loke upon hem, and have a schort touch of the writing, I can sone dilate the circumstaunses,' p. I (cited by Earle, p. lxiv).

long as past events were regarded only as material for an evening's entertainment, no one cared to preserve them from confusion and embellishment¹; but when a desire of certainty about the past began to be felt, and unadorned facts came to be valued even above the more specious legend, then it is interesting to watch the steps by which they arrived at what they wanted. The Saxon Chronicles exhibit this process more perhaps than any in existence.

§ 10. A numerical list of years was prepared, with a blank space, generally only a single line, opposite each number. The smallness of the space shows that nothing great was designed, but only a year-mark to know and distinguish the year by. As many of these blanks were filled in as the compiler had matter ready for, and the rest were left open for supplementary insertions. Capgrave, in the Dedication of his Chronicle of England, thus explains the utility of such blank spaces: 'If othir studious men, that have more red than I, or can fynde that I fond not, or have elde bokes wech make more expression of thoo stories that fel fro the creacion of Adam onto the general Flod than I have, the velim lith bare, save the noumbir, redi to receyve that thei wille set in².' Many of them remained blank to the last, and in the older Chronicles they are seen as blank lines; but in the later the figures have been copied continuously, as if they formed part of the text³. Out of this mechanical process of construction grew the fashion of beginning the annals with an adverb, not of time, but of *place*, HER, *in this place, at this point of the series*. The blanks which were left were not without their use; they served to give a quick and almost pictorial measure of the intervals between the entries.

¹ See above on the Icelandic Sagas.

² *u. s.*, p. 2. The interpolator of A not only fills up where 'the velim lith bare,' but erases what his predecessors had written in order to gain room for his own entries. Moreover, there is some danger that subsequent additions may be inserted,

not where they really belong, but where there happens to be room to receive them; cf. Theopold, p. 74.

³ In A, D, E the former is the case; in B, C, F the latter; thus D and E, though among the latest of the Chronicles, are in *form* more ancient than B and C.

II. OF THE MSS. OF THE SAXON CHRONICLES.

§ 11. It is commonly stated that *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is contained in seven MSS., those which are here denoted by the letters A, A, B, C, D, E, F. It would be truer to say that these MSS. contain four Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. A is a transcript of A; B, as far as it goes, is identical with C, both having been copied from the same MS.; F is an epitome of E. But A, C, D, E, have every right to be considered distinct Chronicles. The fact that they grow out of a common stock, that even in their later parts they use common materials, does not make them one Chronicle, any more than the Annals of Hildesheim, Quedlinburg, Weissenburg, &c., are one Chronicle because they all grow out of the Annals of Hersfeld¹; or the Annals of Dijon, Rouen, Caen, St. Evroul, &c., are one Chronicle because they are all derived in part, mediately or immediately, from the Annals of Cologne². It was, as we shall see (§ 120), the failure of the early editors to apprehend this fact that makes their editions of the Chronicle so unsatisfactory. Ingram had some perception of the truth: 'It is,' he says, 'a collection of Chronicles rather than one uniform work, as the received appellation seems to imply' (p. i). Unfortunately, this perception had no influence on his edition.

With this preface I proceed to describe the MSS. in question.

§ 12. C. C. C. C. 173 (A). Folio, vellum, 28·7 × 20·7, ff. 88. The Chronicle occupies ff. 1-32; then, after the Latin Acts of Lanfranc, follow the laws of Alfred and Ine, ff. 38-57; then lists of popes, bishops, &c.³, ff. 58-60; f. 61 is blank, though ruled

Saxon
Chronicle
or Chroni-
cles?

Descrip-
tion of
MS. A
(C. C. C. C.
173).

¹ Cf. Grubitz, p. 2; Pertz, i. 21, 112; iii. 18; iv. 8; v. 20, 34; and the various continuations of Sigebertus Gemblacensis in Pertz, vi; and of the *Annales Mellicenses* in Pertz, ix.

² Cf. Theopold, pp. 83 ff.

³ (a) Popes from St. Peter to Marinus (882-884); (b) Popes who sent palli to Canterbury, from Gregory and Augustine to Urban and Anselm (a later hand has added

Paschal and Ralph, 1115); (c) Archbishops of Canterbury, from Augustine to Dunstan († 988); (d) Bishops of Rochester from Paulinus to Ælfstan († 995); (e) Bishops of the East Saxons (*i. e.* London) from Mellitus to Ælfstan († c. 995); (f) Bishops of the South Saxons (Selsey) from Wilfrid to Æthelgar (translated 988); (g) Bishops of the West Saxons (Dorchester and Winchester) from Birinus to Ealdferth († 871 ×

for the reception of lists; the remainder of the MS., ff. 62–88, consists of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*, with the prefatory epistle 'ad Macedonium praesbyterum,' at the head of which, in a large rude hand, is written, 'FRIDESTAN diacon.' Dr. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, has suggested that this may be an early signature of Frithestan, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (909). I am inclined to think that the Chronicle, laws, and lists, originally belonged together, and that the addition of Sedulius is merely due to the binder. The Chronicle consists of four gatherings or folds—one of seven leaves (originally eight, the first being excised), one of nine (originally ten), one of nine (originally ten, two having been excised, and one inserted), one of seven (originally eight, the last having been excised). The laws consist of two folds, one of eight leaves, and the other of twelve (originally fourteen).

§ 13. The laws are all written in one hand, but the Chronicle is written in very various hands, of which the following is

877); (*h*) Bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham from Aidan to Ralph Flambard († 1128); (*j*) Bishops of Sherborne from Aldhelm to Æthelsige († 990 × 992); (*k*) Bishops 'Wiltunienſis Ecclesiae' (Ramsbury) from Athelstan to Sigeric (translated to Canterbury 990); (*l*) Bishops of Crediton, Eadwulf to Ælfwold († 972); (*m*) List of Archbishops of York from Paulinus to Thomas II († 1114), with a note on the submission of the northern province to Theodore; (*n*) Kings of Kent from Ethelbert I to Ethelbert II. Of these lists (*a*) (part) (*b*) (*h*) (*m*) (*n*) are in hand No. 14 of the Chronicle (see below). Wheloc prints them from this MS., pp. 567–570; they were not in his MS. A (G, W). The other lists he takes from his own MS., and the points in which they differ from A are noteworthy. The Canterbury list is prolonged to Ælfheah (1005 or 1006–1012); Rochester to Godwin (995–1012?); London to Ælfhun (= Ælfwin) (1004–1012); Selsey to Ælfmær (1009–1031);

Winchester to Ælfsige (1014–1032); Sherborne to Æthelsige (1009 × 1017). From this it would appear that these lists must have been drawn up 1014 × 1032; which, we shall see, agrees very well with the date which on other grounds is assigned to Wheloc's MS. Of the above lists (*d*) (*e*) (*g*) (*j*) (*m*) differ both from those given by Florence and from those given by Dr. Stubbs; (*f*) (*h*) (*k*) differ from Florence, but agree with Stubbs. It may be noted that Wine is omitted in list (*e*); no doubt on account of his simony, Bede, H. E. iii. 7 and notes. This lends some confirmation to the statement of R. W. i. 160: 'unde post mortem in serie episcoporum Londinensium non meruit recenseri.' In list (*b*) it is stated that 'Victor misit pallium Stigando per Godricum decanum.' This may be a mere slip, but it may be a deliberate attempt to conceal the fact that Stigand received his pallium from the Antipope Benedict; see on 1058.

The
scribes.

a complete list:—No. 1, to the end of f. 16 r^o, the last entry being the death of Suibhne in 891; then the scribe, thinking the annal to be complete, writes the number 892 ready for the next year. No. 2. This scribe, not noticing the number 892 at the foot of f. 16 r^o, begins f. 16 v^o with the words: ‘*7 by ilcan gear,*’ introducing the appearance of the comet¹. He only writes the one page f. 16 v^o, ending not far from the beginning of 894. No. 3. This scribe writes the rest of 894 and 895, occupying the two pages f. 17 r^o and v^o. No. 4 extends from f. 18 r^o to near the end of f. 21 r^o, viz. to the end of 912. No. 5. With the exception of three lines on f. 23 v^o, this hand extends from the end of 912 to the end of 921, near the bottom of f. 24 v^o.² No. 6. This is a very poor scribe; he only writes three lines on f. 23 v^o, ‘*gefaran melite . . . abracon,*’ and four lines at the end of f. 24 v^o, beginning the annal 922. He seems to have written more on f. 23 v^o, but his work was apparently so bad that it was erased and re-written³. No. 7 writes f. 25 r^o and v^o, i.e. to the end of 924. Half of f. 25 v^o is left blank; then No. 8 begins at the top of f. 26 r^o, and continues to the end of f. 27 v^o and of the annal 955. No. 9. This scribe writes the single page f. 28 r^o and one blank annal, 968, at the top of the next page. No. 10 extends from the top of f. 28 v^o to the end of 1001, except the last ten words, which have been added later; and here, near the end of f. 30 r^o, ends the Winchester part of this Chronicle. No. 11. With this hand, which is very much later than the preceding⁴, commence the Canterbury entries. It continues to the end of 1066 on f. 31 v^o, except the last sentence about the comet, and the fragmentary charter at 1031. No. 12. To this hand are due the last sentence of 1066 and the first part of 1070, down to the end

¹ See i. 83, note 13.

² Hardy, *Cat. i.* 652, thinks that there is another change at the top of f. 22 r^o; but I cannot now give even the qualified assent which I gave i. 99, note 2.

³ See i. 102 note.

⁴ If Professor Earle is right in thinking, p. xxiii, that the MS. was

sent to Canterbury in consequence of the destruction of Canterbury books in the great fire of 1067, then these entries would be very late indeed, and only the latest of them can be treated as contemporary; and Mr. Warner thinks that hand No. 11 is as late as 1075.

of the phrase 'gehersumnesse mid aḏswerunge,' on f. 31 v^o. No. 13. To this hand are due the charter at 1031 and the remainder of 1070. No. 14. The writer of the Latin Acts of Lanfranc; who also writes some of the lists mentioned above¹.

Interpolations in *A*.

§ 14. But besides these various hands in the text there are also numerous interpolations. Of these the bulk are by the scribe of the Latin Acts of Lanfranc, who is also the scribe of MS. F, and belongs to the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth, century². But besides these there are also earlier insertions in hands of which some can be identified with later scribes of the text. Thus the annual 710, accidentally omitted by the first scribe, is inserted by hand No. 8; the additions at 923 and 941 are by hand No. 11, the first of the Canterbury scribes; those at 943, 956, 959, 961, and the former part of that at 925, all refer to St. Dunstan, and are all the work of No. 12, the second Canterbury scribe, who was evidently specially interested in that saint. There are also fairly early additions in hands which I have not identified with any certainty at 728, 870, 890, 993, 1001. Though in 688 there is an addition to the text of the Chronicle, I believe it to be by the original scribe³. The additions at 688, 710, 728, 1001, would seem to be the oldest, as they are the only ones which are incorporated in MS. A (G, W)⁴. The MS. is mostly in single columns, but from the middle of f. 1 v^o to near the bottom of f. 4 v^o it is in double columns. The number of lines to a page varies considerably, from thirty-nine to twenty-five⁵. In the last three pages the writing is confused and independent of the lines ruled.

Rulings.

¹ These two last hands, 13 and 14, seem at first sight obviously distinct; but I do not feel sure that they may not be one and the same, the difference in appearance being due to the difference between writing Saxon and writing Latin.

² These are the additions which in the text are printed in small italics, they extend from 11 to 941;

the other earlier additions are printed in small print, but not in italics.

³ Anyhow, it ought not to have been printed in italics as if it were the work of the last interpolator.

⁴ *i. e.* they were made before *A* left Winchester; see below, §§ 95, 96, 98.

⁵ These variations occasionally coincide with the changes of scribes, but by no means always.

§ 15. The MS. formerly belonged to Archbishop Parker, and is part of his bequest to the College, and many passages are underlined by him with his familiar red ochre. There are a few notes by Joscelin, the well-known Latin secretary to the Archbishop, who is thought sometimes to have reaped without acknowledgement the fruits of his secretary's labours¹. These notes consist mainly, if not exclusively, of collations from Hist. Sax. Petroburg. (=E). In his notes in other MSS. of the Chronicle Joscelin frequently cites A as 'Hist. Sax. Eccl. Christi Cant.,' and sometimes as 'Liber quem habet doctor Wutton decanus eccl. Christi Cant.,' i.e. Dr. Nicholas Wotton, the first Dean of Canterbury after the dissolution of the monastery. There are a few notes in another sixteenth or early seventeenth century hand, of which one, at the beginning of the Latin Acts of Lanfranc, is of some interest: 'Hec habentur in Libro S. Augustini cui titulus *Diuersi Tractatus Monasterii S. Augustini.*' That the ultimate home of the MS. was Canterbury there is no doubt; an attempt will be made later to unravel its history.

§ 16. The question of the date of the MS. is rather perplexing, owing to the number of different hands. But I am inclined to think that from 892, or a little earlier, to 1001 the entries were made not very long after the events which they describe². On the other hand, it will be shown later that it is impossible to endorse the claim which Wanley makes for this MS.: 'hunc codicem esse autographon, nequaquam ad aliorum codicum fidem descriptum³.' But up to 1001 the Winchester monks kept it up to date, by entering in it from time to time such materials as they obtained. There are facsimiles of this MS. in M. H. B., plates xxiii and xxiv. These give specimens of hands 2, 3, 4, and of the last and most copious interpolator. Thorpe's facsimile, plate i, shows the work of the seventh scribe⁴.

¹ Dict. Nat. Biog.

² Mr. G. F. Warner of the British Museum would date these hands as follows:—Nos. 1-6, 900 x 930; No. 7, c. 930; No. 8, c. 960; No. 10, c. 1000; No. 11, c. 1075; the above

sentence was written before I had obtained Mr. Warner's opinion.

³ Catalogue, p. 130.

⁴ Mr. Warner's opinion was based partly on these facsimiles, partly on some photographs taken for me by

Description of MS. A (G, W). Cott. Otho, B. xi.

§ 17. Cott. Otho, B. xi (A, G, W). This was once a fair folio MS. of some 350 leaves; it is now reduced to a few charred and shrivelled fragments. For our knowledge of this text of the Chronicle we are dependent mainly on the edition of Wheloc, the trustworthiness of which will be discussed in a later section. The original contents of the MS. are given most fully by Wanley, p. 219. The first article in it was a copy of the Saxon version of Bede's Hist. Eccl. This also was used by Wheloc in his *editio princeps* of that version, though he did not make it the basis of his text as he did in the Chronicle. Besides these, it contained the laws of Alfred and Ine, lists of bishops, and other matter with which we are not concerned. The laws and lists were probably copied from A, as it will be shown that the Chronicle undoubtedly was. For this reason it is convenient to place this MS. here; and for this reason Professor Earle chose A as the symbol for it, objecting rightly that the ordinary notation (G)¹ would seem to imply that it was later than F, whereas it is about a century and three-quarters earlier. Mr. Warner, on palaeographical grounds, would date it c. 1025, and this agrees excellently with the date which has been already deduced from the episcopal lists contained in it, viz. 1014 × 1032 (p. xxiv). There are facsimiles of it in M. H. B., plates xviii, xix².

Description of MS. B, Cott. Tib. A. vi.

§ 18. Cott. Tib. A. vi (B). Vellum, large 4to, 23.2 × 15.8; but the leaves have shrunk a little in the heat of the great Cottonian fire³. The MS. has been remounted, so that the original gatherings can no longer be discerned. The Chronicle occupies ff. 1-34; then, after two blank leaves, come f. 35 r^o, a note on Pope Sergius, and f. 35 v^o, a list of the Popes who

Mr. Lord of Cambridge, by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of C. C. C., Cambridge.

¹ Thorpe denotes it by W, the initial of Wheloc, but it is better to keep this symbol for the edition as distinct from the MS.

² A transcript of this MS. by Lambard is said to be among Ussher's Collections in Dublin, Hardy, Cat.

i. 655.

³ The original size of the MS. is probably shown by the leaf (B) containing the genealogy Tib. A. iii. f. 178, which I believe to have originally belonged to B. See below, § 88, and i. 2 note. This measures 23.6 × 16. The space actually covered by writing is practically the same in both, viz. 18.8 × 12.6.

sent falls to Canterbury, beginning with Gregory and Augustine, and ending with Urban and Anselm. These notes are in a hand very similar to, possibly identical with, that of the scribe of F and of the Latin Acts of Lanfranc in A. The rest of the MS. is later matter, relating mainly to the monastery of Ely, and ending with a French Chronicle from Hardacnut to Edward III. The combination of this later matter with the Chronicle is probably due only to the binder; and the second portion is shown by an entry on f. 36 r^o to have been given to Sir Robert Cotton by Arthur Agarde in 1609. The Chronicle is all in one hand, which Mr. Warner would assign to about the year 1000, which is a good deal earlier than Professor Earle placed it¹; but agrees well with the date to which the Chronicle extends, viz. 977, and is probably not far from the truth. Except on the last page, there are always twenty-three lines to a page, and this is true also of the genealogy in β . Many of the annals have no numbers affixed to them, the omission being supplied by Joscelin, who has also collated the MS. in several places with 'uetustior Saxonica historia quam habet doctor Wutton Decanus eccl. Christi Cant.,' and with 'Liber M^{ri} Boyer,' which the readings cited show conclusively to be our A and C respectively. This is the MS. which Joscelin calls 'Hist. Sax. S. Augustini Cant.,' and it may have been transcribed for that house. But there is no evidence, internal or external, beyond Joscelin's assertion to prove this, and we shall see that, whatever the *home* of this MS., its *origin* must be sought at Abingdon². There is a facsimile of a page of this MS. in M. H. B., plate xxii, and in Thorpe's edition, plate ii, who also gives a facsimile of the first page of the genealogy β , ib. plate vii, so that the student can compare the two for himself. There is also a transcript of this MS., probably by Joscelin, Laud Misc., 661³.

¹ Introduction, p. xxvi. Sir T. D. Hardy contradicts himself strangely in regard to the date of this MS. The fragment β containing the genealogy, which he believes (rightly, as I think) to have belonged originally to B, he dates 'xi. cent.' (Cat.

i. 575); while on p. 655 B itself is assigned in the heading to 'xii. cent.,' and in the body of the paragraph is said to be 'apparently of the latter part of the tenth century.'

² See below, § 87.

³ *ib.* §§ 88 note, 124 note.

Description of
MS. C,
Cott. Tib.
B. i.

§ 19. Cott. Tib. B. i (C). Vellum, folio, 27.7 × 18.5. This MS. contains the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a collocation which is interesting in view of the connexion to be presently pointed out between the two works¹. The Orosius occupies ff. 3-111; the Chronicle, beginning with the metrical Calendar and proverbs, occupies ff. 112-164 r^o. As the Chronicle begins with a new fold, it is impossible to say whether it and the Orosius originally belonged together or not. The Chronicle consists of six folds of eight folios, one of four, and an odd folio, f. 164, on the recto of which has been written the late fragment about the Northman at the bridge of Stamford Bridge, which was probably added with a view to completing the mutilated annual which precedes². In the last fold the four leaves of which it consists have been misbound, and the folios now numbered 160, 161, 162, 163, ought to come in the following order: 161, 163, 160, 162. Except where space is taken up by capital letters, there are twenty-seven lines to a page throughout the MS., which looks as if it had all been written about the same time.

The
scribes.

§ 20. In the Orosius three hands are discernible; the first extending to the middle of f. 34 v^o, the second to near the top of f. 45 r^o, the third to the end of the work. In the Chronicle several hands may be traced; the first extending from f. 112 r^o to the end of f. 118 v^o, *i.e.* to the end of 490. There are possible changes of hand at 978, near the top of f. 143 v^o, and near the top of f. 158 r^o (middle of 1047), but these are somewhat doubtful. There is certainly a fresh hand at the beginning of 1049, f. 158 r^o middle, and this extends to the end of 159 v^o (middle of 1052); then comes the folio now numbered 161, with which a new hand begins which stops near the end of f. 161 r^o, another scribe taking up the words, 'Œa on oðran Easterdæge,' near the beginning of 1053, and continuing to the end of 1056, f. 163 v^o, where half a page is left blank; then with f. 160, annal 1065, another hand begins, which extends to the end of the words 'to Eoferwic ward,' near the top of f. 162 v^o, and not far from the end of 1066, the last hand finishing the annal with

¹ See below, § 103.

² See i. 198 and note.

the exception of the late addition mentioned above. Mr. Warner Date. saw no reason why the later hands from 1049 to 1066 should not be contemporary or almost contemporary with the events described. But there is not a difference of more than a few years between the earliest and the latest hands, and the whole MS., including the Orosius, may be dated about the middle of the eleventh century.

§ 21. Throughout the MS., both in the Chronicle and in the Orosius, are MS. notes by Robert Talbot, rector of Burlingham, Norfolk († 1558). These notes refer chiefly to the identification of places, and some of them have been quoted both by Professor Earle and myself. In MS. Cott. Julius vi, which contains Leland's Collectanea, there is the following note at f. 99 v^o¹: 'Mr. Talbot made this annotation in the front of Orosius' historie, that that he lent me (Leland) translated out of Lattin into Saxon tongue.' Then follow, not only Talbot's notes on the Orosius, but also those on the Chronicle, which are thus introduced: 'Out of an olde Saxon Boke callid of some the olde Englishe Historie.' From this it would appear that this MS. belonged at one time to Robert Talbot. We have seen that Joscelin cites it as 'Liber Mri Boyer,' which shows that it also belonged at one time to Bowyer, keeper of the records in the Tower. But Joscelin also calls it the Abingdon Chronicle, and this is unquestionably a true description, not only of the origin, but also of the home of this MS. This will be proved at a later stage². Of Joscelin's own hand there are no traces in this MS., except at 1056 and 1066.

There are facsimiles of this MS. in M. H. B., plate xxi; Thorpe, plate iii; Palaeographical Society, vol. ii. plate 242, where, following Earle³ and Hardy⁴, the editors wrongly state that the Chronicle is all in one hand up to 1045.

§ 22. Cott. Tib. B. iv (D). Vellum, folio, 28.2 × 19, but three leaves, ff. 54, 70, 71, are of larger size, f. 54, which is the largest, measuring 29.8 × 19.2; probably the leaves shrank in

Annotations in MS. C.

Description of MS. D, Cott. Tib. B. iv.

¹ I owe the reference to a note by Sir F. Madden in MS. C.

³ Introduction, p. xxviii.

⁴ Cat. i. 656.

² See below, §§ 63, 87, 91, 113.

the fire, and have been cropped in the process of rebinding. The Chronicle occupies ff. 3-86, f. 86 being only a half folio; f. 87 contains two writs of Cnut to Archbishop Eadsige; ff. 88-90 are paper leaves containing extracts by Joscelin from MS. E extending from 1123 to 1131. The other contents of the MS. have no connexion with the Chronicle beyond the common binding. A list of them may be seen in the Cottonian Catalogue of 1802, p. 35. The first fold of the Chronicle is of eight leaves, of which the last has been excised. Then comes a lacuna extending from 262 to the middle of 693, caused by the loss of a fold, probably of eight leaves. This has been supplied by the insertion of a fold of nine leaves, on which Joscelin has entered annals taken from Hist. Eccl. Christi (A), Hist. S. Augustini (B), Hist. Abband. (C), and Hist. Petroburg. (E)¹. He also cites A, B, and C, as 'Libri Doctoris Wutton et Magistrorum Boyer et Twyne'². He refers also to Bede, Ethelwerd, and Henry of Huntingdon. And these annotations extend throughout the whole of the MS. After the lacuna there are nine folds, all of them of eight folios, except the last but one, which is of six. Throughout the Chronicle there are twenty-four lines to a page, except on f. 3 v^o and f. 75, which have twenty-five, and on f. 86, which, as I have said, is only half a leaf and is mutilated. The fact, however, that the verso of f. 86 was vacant to receive the late entry of the rebellion of Angus, Earl of Moray, in 1130 (miswritten 1080, MLXXX having been substituted for MCXXX), shows that the amount lost by this mutilation cannot be very great³. Put besides this

MS. D
mutilated.

¹ In one or two cases the readings cited do not agree exactly with E, and this might seem to countenance the view held by some that Joscelin's 'Petroburg.' is not our E, but some related MS. now lost. I do not myself think that the differences justify this conclusion. The entry which differs most is 409. But this is a conflation of A, a, and E, as Joscelin himself indicates: 'haec in historia Saxonica Petroburgensi ET ecclesiae Chri. Cant.' The only word

not explained in this way is 'tosohte' for 'gesohte.' There is evidence in E that both Parker and Joscelin made use of it. See below, § 25.

² On Bowyer see above, § 18; and on Twyne see below, § 88 note.

³ 1079, the last annal on f. 86 r^o, ends imperfectly: 'ne wylle we þe her na mære scaðe awritan þe he his fæder ge...' It is quite possible that all that has been lost is the remainder of this last word, 'gedyde' or 'geworhte,' and that the rest of

mutilation at the end, the last entry on f. 85 v^o, 1078, is very imperfect, and as there is no defect or abrasion of the vellum this shows that the scribe had something before him which he could not read, possibly a MS. of which the last page was partially abraded. This further shows that D, even in its latest part, is not an original, but is copied from some other MS.

§ 23. D, like C, is written in various hands. The first change The scribes. took place somewhere in the missing portion, for the hands before and after the lacuna are different¹. The second hand goes down to the end of f. 67 v^o (1016, *sub fin.*), the third hand beginning with the words 'feahht him wið ealle Engla þeode,' and extending to the end of f. 73 r^o near the beginning of 1052^a; the next hand only writes the one page f. 73 v^o; the fifth hand extends from the top of f. 74 r^o almost to the bottom of f. 75 v^o near the beginning of 1054. There seems to be another change on f. 77 v^o, near the beginning of 1061 after the word 'pallium.' Mr. Warner was inclined, with some hesitation, to see two changes of hand on f. 78 v^o in the annal 1065, one at the words '7 his broþor Eadwine him com to geanes,' and another at the words '7 Eadward cyng com to West mynstre.' This view, which was based purely on palaeographical considerations, coincides curiously with a change of source in D. Before and after the points indicated the matter in D agrees with C, whereas between those two points D agrees with E. However this may be, there is another change on f. 83 r^o near the beginning of 1071, from which point the same hand continues to the end, with the exception of the late entry referred to above.

§ 24. Below I have sought to prove from internal evidence Date. that the later part of the Chronicle from 1067 onwards cannot

the folio was cut away for the sake of the blank vellum, a frequent cause of mutilation of MSS. This disproves Earle's theory (Introduction, p. lx), followed, as usual, by Pauli, Pertz, xiii. 97, that some of the later parts of E may have been derived from the lost continuation

of D. They may, however, have come from the parent MS. of D, which was apparently mutilated at the time when it was transcribed. See the next sentence above.

¹ This fact had escaped my notice, until it was pointed out to me by Mr. Warner.

be earlier than 1100¹; and Mr. Warner was of opinion that there was nothing in the handwriting to militate against this conclusion. He thought the earliest hands might be as early as 1050. Personally I should doubt whether there was as much as fifty years' difference between the earliest and latest hands. Joscelyn called this Chronicle 'Chronicon Wigorniae.' Below I have given reasons for thinking that its home is rather to be sought at Evesham². There are facsimiles of this MS. in M. H. B. (plate xx), and in Thorpe (plate iv). The last part of this Chronicle, from 1043 to the end, was imperfectly printed as an appendix to Lye's Saxon Dictionary (1772), from a faulty transcript by Lambard in Canterbury Cathedral Library³.

Description of MS. E, Laud Misc. 636.

§ 25. Laud Misc. 636 (E). ff. 91. Vellum, small folio, 21.0 × 14.0. The leaves vary a little in size, but this is the average. Five leaves, ff. 86-90, are of a larger size, measuring 24.2 × 16.0, and this was probably the original size of the MS. These five leaves have escaped the binder's shears because on the margin of them is written a brief French Chronicle from Brutus to Edward I. The MS. has been interleaved with large folio paper, and both on the vellum and on the interleaved paper are copious notes by William Lisle († 1637) chiefly consisting of collations from *A*, which he calls 'Benet.' And on the blank paper leaves at the end he has inserted from *A* the annals 894-924, 937, 941, 962, 973, 975, and a pedigree of Woden from 855 B. On 937 (the *Song of Brunanburh*) he says: 'This is mysticall and written in a poeticall vaine obscurely of purpose to avoide the daunger of those tymes and needes decyphring.' On 941 he writes 'this also mysticall;' 975 'And this.' Some notes in earlier hands occur here and there; one at 705 may be by Joscelyn; another at 893 refers to R. Talbot and may be by him. In many passages the MS. is underlined in red in a manner closely resembling Archbishop Parker's underlinings of MS. *A*. And it is quite likely that these marks are by him⁴. E must

Annotations in MS. E.

¹ See below, § 75.

² *ib.* § 73.

³ I owe this reference to Hardy, Cat. i. 657.

⁴ Wanley makes the same suggestion, p. 65; a fact of which I was ignorant when I wrote the above.

certainly have been in the hands of his secretary Joscelin, who makes so many extracts from it in other MSS.

§ 26. Of the date of the MS. there can be no doubt; the first hand goes to the end of 1121, f. 81 v^o; the next hand writes the single annal 1122, and the third hand similarly writes only 1123. With 1124 another hand begins, which is possibly identical with the second hand; this continues to near the end of 1126, f. 85 r^o; the next hand carries on the record to the end of 1131; from 1132 to 1154, where the Chronicle ends, is all in a single hand, but internal evidence shows that this part of the Chronicle was not written down till after the accession of Henry II¹. The troublous days of Stephen would not be favourable to historical composition. The MS. therefore was written at various dates in the twelfth century from 1121 to 1154. Its origin is equally certain. From end to end it is unquestionably a Peterborough book². It is disputed whether the MS. is incomplete; Wanley³, Hardy⁴, and Macray⁵, all describe it as mutilated, while Earle⁶ denies that there is any mutilation. I think that a leaf has been lost at the end, for after eight folds of 10 leaves each, there comes one of 11, originally 12, showing that one folio has been detached at the end of the volume; though whether this contained any writing must remain to some extent doubtful. Certainly the loss must have been suffered at an early date, for the abraded state of the last page shows that it must have been for some time the outermost page of the MS. before it was rebound. From the middle of f. 1 v^o to the end of f. 7 v^o the MS. is in double column, otherwise it is in single column. There are 30 lines to a page throughout, with the exception of the last three pages, which have only 29. On the front page is the inscription: 'Liber Guil. Laud Archiep. Cant. et Cancellar. Vniuersit. Oxon. 1638⁷.' It may be noted that this is the same date as that in the transcript of B, Laud Misc. 661. There is a facsimile of this MS. in Thorpe (plate v).

Date.
The
scribes.

Question
of mutila-
tion.

¹ See notes *ad loc.*

² See below, § 42.

³ p. 64. ⁴ Cat. i. 658.

⁵ Catalogue of Laud MSS.

⁶ Introduction, p. l.

⁷ Laud therefore probably obtained the MS. on the death of Lisle in 1637.

Description of MS. F, Cott. Domit. A. viii.

§ 27. Cott. Domitian A. viii (F). Vellum, 4to, 21.0 × 14.7. This is a very miscellaneous volume of ff. 174; for a list of the contents see the Cotton Catalogue of 1802, p. 573. The Chronicle occupies ff. 30 1^o-70 v^o, where it ends mutilated in the middle of the year 1058. Probably a fold has been lost at the end. The Chronicle as it now stands consists of four folds; the first two of eight leaves, the third of twelve, the fourth originally of twelve, but with an extra leaf inserted making thirteen. Owing to the mutilation we cannot tell how far the Chronicle originally extended¹. The bulk of the Chronicle is all in one hand, but there are innumerable additions, interlinear and marginal, and it is often impossible to say whether these minutely written insertions are by the original scribe or a different one². The principal scribe is, I am confident, identical with the principal interpolator of A.

The scribes.

Date.

§ 28. This MS. has been commonly assigned to the twelfth century. Sir E. M. Thompson and Mr. Warner are both inclined to place it a little earlier, at the end of the eleventh century, on the ground of the similarity of the hand in which it is written to that of the smaller Domesday³. It will be shown later⁴ that this MS. owes its interest largely to the fact that it is bilingual, the entries being made first in Saxon and then in Latin. It is beyond all question a Canterbury book, more local and monastic in its character than even E itself⁵. The MS. has been much stained by the action of galls, and is in many places very difficult to read. Junius' collations of it will be mentioned lower down⁶. Of this MS. there is a facsimile in Thorpe (plate vi); unfortunately the page there given

F a bilingual MS.

¹ The Chronicle is followed by a copy of Robert de Monte's Chronicle beginning with 1153, on which see Hardy, *Cat.* ii. 440; and Mr. Howlett's edition of that Chronicle in the Rolls Series, pp. xli. ff. It belonged to Long Bennington, a cell of Savigny, in Lincolnshire. On the front of it there is an interesting note relating to Nicolas Trivet, the chronicler, on

which see Howlett, *u. s.*, p. xlii.

² There are also annotations here and there in a later hand, which I believe to be that of R. Talbot, on whom see above, § 21.

³ Of this there is a good facsimile in *Palaeogr. Soc.* iii., plate 244.

⁴ § 39.

⁵ I owe this remark to Professor Earle.

⁶ § 124, notes.

is wholly Latin, so that it does not give a very good idea of the scribe's Saxon hand. Of this some notion may be gained from the small facsimile in M. H. B. (plate xxiii) of some of his interpolations in A.

§ 29. Cott. Domitian A. ix (H). This is only a single leaf, f. 9, which was discovered by Professor Zupitza, and first printed by him in *Anglia*, i. 195-197. It contains events, mainly ecclesiastical promotions, belonging to the years 1113, 1114. It cannot therefore be earlier than those years, and may be a little later. The language is much more classical than we should expect at that date, and is another warning that we must not take the later parts of E as a type of the Saxon written in all religious houses in the twelfth century. This fragment is quite independent of E, the only other Chronicle which comes down so late.

§ 30. To these should perhaps be added, for the sake of completeness, Cotton, Caligula A. xv (I). f. 132 v^o ff., a Paschal table¹, on the margin of which brief historical notices are entered in Saxon and Latin. These were compiled in the first instance about 1058, and continued in various hands to 1268. The first Latin entry is at 1110, the last Saxon entry is at 1130. It thus furnishes evidence of the process by which Latin overpowered the native tongue in the realm of history. E is a Saxon Chronicle with a sprinkling of Latin entries; F is bilingual; here Latin encroaches on Saxon and ultimately prevails². This little Chronicle belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, and is printed in Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 1-8.

III. OF THE CHARACTER AND MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE MSS.

§ 31. Having thus described the various MSS., I next proceed to discuss their character and mutual relations. And in

¹ For the influence of Paschal tables on the composition of Chronicles, see below.

² Curiously enough in all these

cases it is at Canterbury that the process begins; for the proof of this as to E, see below, § 47.

Description of MS. H, Cott. Domit. A. ix.

MS. I, Cott. Calig. A. xv.

Method of the investigation.

dealing with this problem I begin with the latest MSS. and proceed backwards to the earliest, endeavouring thus to track the Chronicles to their common source. When this has been done, we can reverse the process and briefly trace their development from the beginning to the close. This may involve a certain amount of repetition; but it will conduce to clearness. And in taking F first I do not mean to assert that F is necessarily later than the latest parts of E. But in character, if not in date, F is certainly later than E, being, as we shall see¹, a mere compilation, whereas E is a living Chronicle.

Relation of
F to E.

§ 32. The relation of F to E² is not difficult to determine. In the main the relation is that of a bilingual epitome. The way in which the compiler of F deals with the entries contained in E varies in different cases. Sometimes he copies almost verbatim, sometimes he omits altogether³. But as a rule he epitomises, preserving generally the words of his original.

¹ § 41.

² The points of agreement of E and F are sometimes curiously minute: *e.g.* 693, spelling of Gifemund; 780, the same abbreviation for Hagustaldes ea; 1010, 'fore spre-cenda.'

³ These cases of omission are 155, 485, 488, 527 (this omission is probably due to critical reasons; owing to E's misreading 'Certices ford' for 'Cerdices leaga,' the scribe of F regarded this entry as a mere doublet of 519; for a similar omission on critical grounds see 704), 571, 584, 591, 592, 593, 603, 607, 611, 617, 626, 628, 632, 652, 658, 660, 671, 674, 682, 684, 699, 715, 722, 741 (from 743 to 754 all entries in F have been erased to make room for a grant by Æthelbald, so that it is impossible to say whether all the entries now standing in E between those dates were copied by F or not; see i. 44, note 6), 798, 821, 822, 832, 837, 839, 852, 865, 869, 872, 873, 877, 884, 889, 906, 910, 918, 970, 981, 983, 985, 997, 998, 1030, 1034. No

special motive can be assigned for these omissions; the parts omitted refer mostly to political matters, while the scribe's interest seems to be prevalingly ecclesiastical. But they are concerned with all parts of the country, Sussex, Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria, East Anglia; some refer, wholly or in part, to his own district of Kent, *e.g.* 488, 852, 865; one or two have to do with foreign affairs, *e.g.* 884, 1030; while one or two deal with ecclesiastical matters, in which he certainly was interested, *e.g.* 660, 1034. The omissions are made quite arbitrarily and without any skill; cf. *e.g.* the omission of 881, 884, whereby the thread of the account of the movements of the Scandinavian 'here' is ruthlessly broken. In the above note I have dealt only with the omissions of whole annals. I have not analysed the cases of partial omission in the process of epitomising. To do this would be to analyse nearly the whole of F in detail. But the results would be much the same.

I have already said that to the principal scribe of F are due the bulk of the interpolations in MS. A¹; and these interpolations are mainly taken from E, or from some related MS. It is therefore clear that this scribe attached great importance to the additional particulars supplied by that type of text; and it is not wonderful that he should make it the basis of his own compilation.

§ 33. He was not, however, restricted to E. As the interpolator of A he must have had access to that MS. also; and in several cases his entries show a greater affinity with A than with E²; in a few they are conflated from A and E³, while in others they are derived exclusively from A, the entries in question not appearing in E at all⁴.

Relation of
F to other
MSS.

In four cases F seems to be nearer to C than to any other of our existing MSS.⁵; but the resemblances are so unimportant that they are probably accidental.

§ 34. More interesting is the fact that in one instance (965) F has preserved an entry which exists only in D of our present Chronicles, while in another entry (955) there are elements which seem to be derived from D. The fact that in both these cases the parts akin to D are later additions (whether by the original scribe or not), the former being inserted on the margin, makes it quite possible that after this part of F was written, some MS. of the D type came into the hands of the Canterbury monks, that these two entries attracted attention, and were embodied in their own MS. F.

There is, however, another possibility which our subsequent investigations will convert into probability, if not into certainty, *viz.* that F is based, not on E itself, or a MS. exactly resembling E, but on one intermediate between the common original which, as we shall see, underlies E and D, and E itself. Let

¹ Above, § 27.

² 473, 495, 634, 714, 792, 794, 796, 799, 803, 885, 910, 925, 940, 963; and possibly 519, 651, 887.

³ 430, 937 (see note *ad loc.*, ii. 141), 964.

⁴ 763, 891, 909, 924, 931, 951 (only in the Latin of F), 1029. Of

these the last four are found only in A of our existing MSS.; the first is found also in B and C; the second and third in B, C, and D.

⁵ 490, 501, 534, 639. In one case F is nearer to B, 759, but this also is accidental.

us call this hypothetical MS. ϵ . It is plain that ϵ might retain some features akin to D, which E at a later stage might obliterate.

The Peterborough additions of E are not in F.

§ 35. Another fact which may point the same way is that F has none of the Peterborough additions of E¹. This argument must not be pressed too far. A Canterbury scribe might easily omit such passages, even if he had them before him, because the local history of a rival religious house would have little interest for him and his readers. But there is one of these additions, the ravaging of Peterborough by the Danes in 870², which is so closely connected with the general history of the country, that there seems no reason why the scribe of F should omit it, any more, *e. g.*, than he has omitted the ravaging of Lindisfarne in 793. Anyhow the possibility must be recognised that the explanation of the absence from F of the Peterborough additions of E may be simply that they were absent from the MS. on which F is mainly based.

The Latin entries of E.

§ 36. On the other hand that MS. certainly contained some of the Latin entries of E; for though F as a rule omits the purely Latin entries of E, yet there are exceptions, which prove that that omission was not due, at any rate in all cases, to ignorance of them³. Similarly this MS. contained the entries now only found in E of existing MSS. anterior to F; both those which occur in the body of the Chronicle, and those which occur towards the end, where E begins to be independent of the others⁴.

Other elements in F.

§ 37. But besides the materials derived from E or ϵ , and from the subsidiary Chronicle A⁵, F has also additional materials

¹ 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852, 870, 963, 1051.

² Compare this annal in A and E, i. 70, 71.

³ 876 *ad init.*, 890 (ditto), 892 (only in F Lat.), 928 (see critical note, *ad loc.* i. 107), 942, 964, 994 (only in F Lat.), 1024 (ditto), 1031.

⁴ 443 (only in F Lat.), 921, 927, 937, 942, 949, 952, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1032, 1033, 1036,

? 1037, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1043^b, 1044, 1045, 1046^a, 1046^b, 1047, 1048, 1052, 1054, 1055, 1057, 1058. (The dates given here are those of E, which F has sometimes altered, generally in the right direction.) F itself ends at 1058, so that its relation to E cannot be tested beyond that point.

⁵ Subsidiary, that is, from F's point of view.

of its own, many entries being either wholly or in part peculiar to itself. Several of these have to do with general and ecclesiastical history, in which the compiler evidently took great interest; and the source of many of these is shown by the Latin of them to be the general Chronicle appended by Bede to his work *De Temporum Ratione*¹; others, as we should naturally expect, are concerned with the special history of Kent and Canterbury, and of these, too, some of the earlier ones are derived from Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*² In six cases the special entries show an interest in, or connexion with, Winchester³, and in four cases they deal with other parts of England⁴; in three cases they are Frankish⁵, while in four others they refer to portents in the world of nature⁶.

The interpolations made by the scribe of F in A are sometimes derived from these special sources of his own⁷, as well as from the additional matter contributed by E or ϵ ⁸.

§ 38. Something must next be said as to the mutual relations Relation of

¹ 3 (which causes a repetition of what F had already entered from ϵ under 2), ? 12, 38*, 40*, 45, 46, 47*, 48*, 49*, 50*, 69*, ? 70, ? 71, ? 81, 116, 137, 200, 444, 448*, 482*, 509, 742. The asterisk indicates that the matter peculiar to F is derived from Bede's *Chron.* Many foreign Chronicles are written as continuations of Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*; see Pertz, i. 3, 4, 21, 61, 62, 91, 97, 110; ii. 216, 237, 238; iii. 122, 155, 169; iv. 1; xiii. 2, 39, 260; xxiii. 1. Bede is not merely the 'Father of English History,' but to a large extent also of mediæval history generally.

² 552, 597†, 601†, 614†, 616†, 619†, 653† (F Lat. only), 694||, 725, 742||, 758, 759, 760, 762, 784, 796||, 829, 870||, 943, 959, 961, 980, 989, 995||, 997, 1020, 1023. The dagger indicates derivation from Bede's H. E. The entries marked || are long pieces of local history comparable to the Peterborough additions in E.

³ 641, 648, 861, 903, 984, 1041. On these see Liebermann, p. 56.

⁴ Wessex, 856; London, 996; Eastern Counties, 798, 1020.

⁵ 714, 715, 840.

⁶ 685 (this entry is also in *Ann. Camb.*); 733 (this comes from the *Cont. of Bede's H. E.*); 806 (this entry occurs in some continental Chronicles, see note *ad loc.*); 809. It must not be assumed that in all the cases cited in this and the five preceding notes the whole of the annal is peculiar to F. Sometimes it is only some slight touch that is added; e.g. 641, 1020. In 726 F has a mistake which is all its own. In 845 F alone has the later title 'eorl'; in 1017 the comment is added that Edric was slain 'very rightly'; *per contra*, the moralising of the other MSS. in 1011 is omitted.

⁷ ? 47, 725, 760, 925, 943, 955, 959, 961.

⁸ And sometimes he inserted in A matter from ϵ which he did not use in F; e.g. 155, 519, 530, 593.

the Saxon
and Latin
entries in
F.

of the Saxon and the Latin entries in F. It is plain that the relation between them will vary according to the source from which they are taken. Where the Latin entries show clearly that they are derived from a Latin source, such as Bede's Chronicle, there the corresponding Saxon entries must be a translation of the Latin. Where, on the other hand, the Saxon entries are taken from the Chronicles E (ε) or A, the Latin as a rule will be a translation of the Saxon. I say, 'as a rule,' because in one instance¹ certainly, and possibly in others, the scribe seems to have made his Saxon epitome from E (ε), and then to have taken the corresponding Latin from an independent source. Even when the entries come from the Chronicles, the scribe seems to have made his Latin translation directly from the MS. which he had before him, and not from his own Saxon epitome. For it not unfrequently happens that the Latin is nearer to², and contains more of the original³ than does the Saxon epitome. Where the Latin is the fuller, corresponding additions are often made to the Saxon between the lines, or on the margin⁴. Conversely there are cases in which the Saxon contains more than the Latin⁵; and here, too, occasionally the defect of the latter has been subsequently supplied⁶. Sometimes the same annal will be fuller in one part in the

¹ 188, where the Saxon seems an epitome of E, while the Latin is verbatim from Bede, Chron. s.a. 212; cf. H. E. i. 5.

² e.g. 456, 1006.

³ e.g. 605, 762, 780, 880, 890, 891. In other cases the additional matter in F Lat. does not come from the Chronicle but from some other source; in 597, 653, 673, from Bede's H. E.; in 742 a long Canterbury document is inserted; in 871 the scribe adds his own reflexion: '*peccatis exigentibus Dani campum ceperunt*'; in 892 he gives from his own local knowledge the exact length of the 'mickle wood' of Andred, as 124 miles, which the other MSS. give as roughly 120 ('120 miles or longer'),

while F Saxon gives it as 120 without any qualification; in 979, at the accession of Ethelred II, his knowledge of the later history enables him to add: '*tempore suo multa mala uenerunt in Angliam et postea semper hucusque euenerunt*'; at the end of 1050 the addition that William, Bishop of London, was consecrated by Archbishop Robert, comes from Canterbury sources, as does the date of Ceolnoth's election in 830.

⁴ e.g. 601, 685, 817, 856, 980, 1020. In the last three cases the additional matter is from some source other than the older Chronicles.

⁵ e.g. 565, 654, 780, 878, 978, 979.

⁶ e.g. 787, 1002.

Latin, in another in the Saxon version¹. There are several Latin entries to which there is no corresponding Saxon², there are a few Saxon entries for which the Latin is either wholly wanting³, or only inserted later⁴. An addition is made in the Latin and not in the Saxon⁵, or *vice versa*⁶; though often additions or corrections are made in both⁷. In one case an addition in Latin is inserted in the Saxon text, and not in the Latin⁸. There are other indications that the scribe was embarrassed in his task by this bilingual writing. Thus in the Saxon of 596, he writes 'hic' for 'hér,' and 'cum monachis' for 'mid munecum,' then writes the latter over the former⁹; conversely, he retains Saxon forms and names in his Latin entries; e.g. 'Aðelwolding'¹⁰; 'ad os *Pedredan cum Sumersætan et Dorseton*'¹¹; 'apud Acemannes byri, i. e. at Baðan'¹²; 'unam magnam nauem quae anglice nominatur scegþ'¹³; 'pro una quaque hamele'¹⁴, where the scribe at first wrote 'apud,' literally translating the Saxon phrase 'æt ælcere hamelan,' then altered 'apud' into 'pro.' Occasionally the Latin is influenced by the Saxon phrase; thus at 1055 the idiom 'he scolde beon ðes cinges swica' (i. e. 'he was said to be,' German, 'sollte sein') is rendered: 'quod *debut* esse delator patriae'¹⁵. But on the whole the compiler does his work as a translator well. In one place he confuses 'gesettan' with 'gesittan'¹⁶; in

¹ e.g. 780, 979.

² 26, 30, 31, 33, 44, 52, 53, 443, 877 (though joined on to 876), 951 (from A), 1023 (from E Lat.); at 928 the Saxon has been subsequently interlined.

³ e.g. 735, 766, 943.

⁴ e.g. 650, 692, 765.

⁵ e.g. 806.

⁶ e.g. 840.

⁷ e.g. 725, 790, 798, 870, 1009.

⁸ 802, cf. 790. In one case the Latin of F contradicts the Saxon, 1041, i. 162, and note *a. l.*

⁹ He probably did the like in 509, where 'muneca' is written on an erasure; cf. 'rex' for 'cing' in the Saxon of 635, 'cing' written

above 'rex' in the Saxon of 714; 'Karolus' altered to 'Karl' in 814.

¹⁰ 790 Latin; *not* in the corresponding Saxon.

¹¹ 845.

¹² 972, the 'at' has been subsequently erased.

¹³ 1008; cf. 1051, 'in loco qui ab Anglis dicitur Næss.'

¹⁴ 1039.

¹⁵ So in Ann. Wav. 1098 we have: 'qui hoc uidere debuerunt,' translating the phrase of the Chronicle: 'þe hit geseon sceoldan.' Conversely in 755 the 'geflymdon Beornrede' seems to echo the 'fugato Beornredo' of the Latin.

¹⁶ 886.

another he misunderstands his original¹; but I have noticed no errors so gross as those with which the pompous Ethelwerd deforms his pages².

F a link
between
the Saxon
and Latin
Chronicles.

§ 39. The interest of F consists largely in this bilingual character, in virtue of which it forms a link between the native annals and the Latin Chronicles which ultimately supplanted them. Not for many generations did Englishmen essay to write history in their own tongue; while in many mouths 'barbarus' was used as a synonym for 'English'.³ Trevisa first led the way with his translation of Higden. Then Capgrave followed with an original history of his own. But it illustrates the decay of Saxon studies that wherever in MS. F attention is directed to any fact by pointers placed in the margin, it is always against the Latin, never against the Saxon statement of the fact that the mark is set. Still Anglo-Saxon historical works continued to be read. Thus Rudborne, at Winchester, in the fifteenth century, quotes the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, though he thinks it is the work of Bede himself⁴. And in this way some sparks of knowledge may have been kept alive, until the revival of Anglo-Saxon studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁵.

F's Saxon
language.

§ 40. As to the language of F's Saxon annals, while far below the level of classical Anglo-Saxon prose, such as we find in the best parts of A, C, and D, it is not so corrupt as the latest portions of E. Whether it shows any special dialectal features owing to the writer's position at Canterbury, I must leave to specialists in English dialects to determine.

Historical
value of F.

§ 41. As to the historical value of F it must always be remembered that it is not a living Chronicle, growing with the growth of events like A, C, D, and E; but a dead compilation made in the eleventh or twelfth century, out of older materials. In the course of his work the compiler has preserved some

¹ 891; as to Suibhne, *v.* note *a. l.*

² See below, § 99 and notes.

³ See my *Bede*, ii. 308, 321.

⁴ *ib.* I. cxxviii, note.

⁵ On the legend (for it is nothing

more) of a continuance of Anglo-Saxon studies at Tavistock all through the Middle Ages, see Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 3.

facts and some traditions which are not found elsewhere; but as an historian he ranks perhaps with Henry of Huntingdon as a secondary authority of no great critical power, who occasionally throws a welcome side-light on the statements of our primary authorities. To quote F, as is often done, without qualification as '*the Saxon Chronicle*,' as if its statements were on a level with the contemporary portions of A, C, D, and E, is little short of monstrous.

§ 42. The analysis of MS. E is a somewhat intricate matter, for it is a highly composite document. That *in its present form* it is a Peterborough Chronicle, admits of no doubt. From 654 to the very last entry in 1154 it is full of notices bearing on the local history of Peterborough¹. But there is an important difference between the earlier and the later local entries. In the case of the earlier Peterborough notices, a comparison with other MSS., combined with a study of the language of the entries themselves, shows that they are later insertions in a non-Peterborough Chronicle, whereas of the later Peterborough notices the explanation is that the Chronicle itself has become original, and therefore local; so that local events naturally find their way into it alongside of others of a more general character, and are clothed in language of the same texture as the rest. The point at which the transition takes place will be discussed later².

§ 43. There is another feature of E which cannot fail to strike us at once. Though not bilingual throughout, like F, it contains a considerable number of Latin entries. These extend from 114 to 1062³, and fall into four groups:—(i) 114—

¹ 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852, 963, 1013, 1041, 1052, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1072, 1098, 1102, 1103, 1107, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1124, 1125, 1127, 1128, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1137, 1154. There is a tiny Peterborough addition in 992.

² §§ 50–52.

³ 114, 124, 134, 202, 254, 311, 379, 403, 425, 431, 433, 439, 449.

528, 591, 596, 625, 769, 778, 788, 800, 810, 812, 876, 890, 892, 928, 942, 964, 994, 1024, 1031, 1046, 1054, 1056, 1060, 1062. Mr. Thorpe, by omitting nearly all these Latin entries, has almost obliterated this interesting feature in MS. E. It is true that as history these entries are worth very little, for they contain little or nothing which may not be found in a more original shape

625; all these entries, with one exception¹, relate to ecclesiastical affairs, popes, councils, and especially the influence of successive popes on the development of the ritual of the church; (ii) 769-812, a group of entries relating to Charles the Great and his wars; (iii) a small group of entries dealing with English ecclesiastical affairs; 890, election of Plegmund of Canterbury; 892, death of Wulfhere of York; 964, expulsion of the secular canons from the 'Old Minster' at Winchester; (iv) 876-1062 (excluding those of group iii), a series of entries relating to foreign, and principally Norman affairs.

Their
origin.

§ 44. The origin of group (iii) need not be specially considered. Probably they were marginal annotations in his copy which the scribe has mechanically embodied². Groups (i) and (ii) are both taken almost verbatim from the Annals of Rouen³

elsewhere. But as illustrating the literary history and growth of the Chronicle they are of the greatest value.

¹ Namely 425 ('exordium regum Francorum').

² See such annotations in *A* at 988, 1036; i. 125, note 10; i. 158, note 7.

³ The Annals of Rouen have never been edited in their entirety. Pertz gave extracts from them, xxv. 490 ff. Liebermann printed a portion of them in his 'Ungedruckte Geschichtsquellen,' pp. 31 ff., which is complete as far as it goes, but only begins with 700 A.D. It is much to be regretted that editors should not print all Chronicles entire. The earlier portions may be historically worthless, but for determining the literary relations of different Chronicles and different centres of historical writing they may be invaluable. So in editions of lives of saints, the miracles are often omitted to our great loss. For whatever we may think of their value as evidence of the power of the particular saint, they sometimes contain valuable allusions to the

history of the time at which they were written. Allusions of this kind have enabled me, *e. g.*, to fix the place where Rufus' fleet was wrecked on the Scotch campaign of 1091 (*vide* note *a. l.*); and the cause of the retirement of the Scottish invaders in 1079 (*vide* note *a. l.*). It may be said that I have myself sinned against this principle in the present edition. The lines of it were, however, laid down for me by the character of the edition on which my own is based. Were I free to make a new beginning, I should certainly print all six MSS. in their entirety. As to the Annals of Rouen, the defect is practically supplied by the *Annales Uticensis* (Annals of St. Evroul), printed in vol. v. pp. 139 ff. of Mons. Auguste Le Prevost's admirable edition of Ordericus Vitalis, which are largely based on the Annals of Rouen, and in which all the Latin entries of E from 114 to 812 will be found almost verbatim with the exception of 433. A comparison of 812 E with Ann. Utic. shows the extraordinary corruption of E's entry, derived probably from

(*Annales Rotomagenses*), a body of annals which was transplanted to England, and engrafted into more than one Chronicle on English soil¹. Group (iv) comes from a Norman Chronicle resembling in some respects the Annals of Rouen, but not identical with them². The question when these groups of Latin entries were inserted in the Chronicle will be considered later³.

§ 45. The MS. is written in one hand to the end of 1121. After that date the Chronicle is continued in various hands⁴ to 1154, where it ends. From 1122-1135 the entries were made contemporaneously, or nearly contemporaneously with the events recorded⁵. The account of Stephen's reign was not entered annalistically, but thrown together roughly, and without much regard to chronological order, after the accession of Henry II⁶.

We need not therefore discuss the sources of these annals 1122-1154⁷. The monastic chroniclers, from time to time,

the original through several intermediate steps. In *Ann. Utic.* 811 we have: 'Niceforus obiit. Michael imperator, gener eius, qui Karolo imperatori legatos suos cum pace mittit'; which is thus travestied in E: 'Cireneius Karolo imp. . . mittit.' See Theopold, 'Kritische Untersuchungen,' p. 87.

In 625 E the words 'Iohannes papa' have been inserted from *Ann. Rot.* 634, making nonsense.

In the notes I have not thought it necessary to deal with these Latin entries, except group (iii), as the rest have no connexion with English history. Nor is it to my purpose to trace the origin of the Annals of Rouen, a good account of which will be found in Theopold, *u. s.*, pp. 83 ff., to which this note is much indebted (cf. also *Ord. Vit.* V. lxviii). Theopold is, however, mistaken in tracing all the Latin entries of E to the same source, p. 87.

¹ See Liebermann, *u. s.*

² This Norman Chronicle I have not yet identified; nor is its identification of any importance.

³ § 49.

⁴ The changes are pointed out in the critical notes to these annals, i. 251, 253, 256, 262; and see above, § 26.

⁵ See 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131; and the notes to 1127, 1131, *ad fin.*

⁶ See notes to 1137, 1138, 1140. This non-contemporary section goes back to 1132, where the last scribe begins. Note the error as to the date of Henry's crossing to Normandy, 1135, instead of 1133.

⁷ Of the plan of the annals 1091-1121 something will be said later, § 53 note; here attention may be called to a mannerism of the scribe who writes 1126-1131, which gives a unity of character to all these annals, *viz.* his fashion of concluding his narrative with a pious ejaculation, 1127. God scawe fore; 1128. God geara his saule; God haue his milce ofer þ wreccede stede; 1129. Crist sette red for his wreccede folc; 1130. God adylege iuele ræde; 1131. God hit bete, þa his wille beð; Crist ræde for þa wreccede muneces of Burch. This occurs sporadically earlier, 1085^b *ad fin.*, 1086.

Divisions
of E.

recorded such current events as came to their knowledge, and were deemed sufficiently important to be entered in the Chronicle of their house. We may confine ourselves therefore to an analysis of the Chronicle down to 1121.

Relation to
D.

§ 46. As far as 1022, E is mainly based upon a Chronicle which, though not our D (as will be shown later¹), was at any rate nearer to it than to any other of our existing Chronicles. From 1023, E begins to be more independent; though even after that date there are points of contact with C and D which will need to be considered².

The first
continua-
tion of
E is a
southern
Chronicle.

§ 47. Can we fix the locality of this first continuation of E after it ceases to be mainly dependent on D? I think it may at any rate be safely affirmed that the centre of interest is in the south. Northern affairs are only mentioned when they are of national importance, such as the death of an archbishop (1023, 1060), the Scottish campaign of Cnut (1031), the expulsion of Tostig (1054), the campaign of Stamford Bridge (1066), the retirement of Edgar Etheling to Scotland (1067). On the other hand the writer's knowledge of events in the south is minute and exact. He gives by far the best account of the course of affairs on the death of Cnut (1036)³; he knows the death-place of Harold Harefoot (1039). His entry of Edward the Confessor's accession is shown to be strictly contemporary⁴; he knows the names of the Vikings who ravaged Sandwich (1046^a), and of the English abbots who attended the Council of Rheims (1046^b)⁵; he knows how Harold gave up his ship to his cousin Beorn⁶, and how the 'lithsmen' of London translated Beorn's body after his treacherous murder by Swegen⁷ (*ib.*). He knows the exact day on which the foreign archbishop, Robert, returned to Canterbury from Rome (1048)⁸; and he tells, with perhaps a spice of malicious glee, how he left his pallium behind him in his hurried flight from England (1052)⁹. He knows that Ægelric, Bishop of Selsey, had been

¹ § 60.

² §§ 62, 63.

borough interpolation.

³ See notes *ad loc.*

⁵ i. 167 t.

⁴ 1041 E and note. The rest of the annal is of course a Peter-

⁶ i. 168 h and note.

⁷ i. 169 h.

⁸ i. 172 t.

⁹ i. 183 t.

a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury (1058); and he alone tells of Harold's naval expedition against William in 1066¹. But the most striking instance of his detailed local knowledge is in the narrative of the outrages of Eustace of Boulogne and his followers at Dover (1048)². Whereas D gives the impression that the outrage took place on Eustace's first landing in England, E knows that it really happened when he was on his way home after his interview with the king; he knows too that he and his followers stopped at Canterbury on their way to Dover and refreshed themselves there³; he knows exactly how the scuffle arose, and the numbers slain on either side⁴; he has all a neighbour's indignation that an Englishman should be slain 'on his own hearth'⁵; he asserts, with perhaps a touch of excusable bias for his own side, that Eustace's statement of the case to the king was partial and untrue⁶, and tells with evident approval how Godwin refused to carry out Edward's orders against the men of Dover, 'because he was loth to mar his own county'⁷.

§ 48. Now it never seems to have occurred to any of our editors or historians to ask how all these minute details could possibly have been known to a monk of Peterborough⁸. But

¹ 'he for út mid sciphere to geanes Willelme,' i. 197 t. This statement, resting only on E, has been looked on with some suspicion, see *reff. ad loc.* But the authority for it becomes much stronger when we discern the real origin of this part of E. The words seem to imply more than the mere establishment of a post of observation in the Isle of Wight, as narrated by C.

² The chronological dislocation of this part of E must not be cited as evidence against the originality of these most interesting annals. It is due not to the writers of them, but to later copyists. It will be seen presently that our E is at least twice removed from the original annals. There was, therefore, ample room for errors in transcription of numerals to creep in.

³ 'gewende þa hamweard. þa he com to Cantwarbyrig east, þa snædde he þær 7 his menn, 7 to Dofran gewende,' i. 172 l.

⁴ i. 172 l.-173 h.

⁵ 'binnan his agenanheorð,' i. 173 t.

⁶ 'cydde be dæle . . . æc hit næs na swa,' *ib. m.*

⁷ 'him wæs lað to amyrrene his agenne folgað,' *ib.* 'Folgað.' as I have shown in the notes *ad loc.*, answers in all its meanings to 'comitatus' or county.

⁸ Let me confess that I myself was equally blind until I began to write the present Introduction. Conversely this position of the writer explains the curiously vague designation which he gives to Stigand as 'Bishop to the North,' 1045 E. This would be incomprehensible in any one writing at Peter-

The writer of this part a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

when once the true locality of the original writer of this part of the Chronicle is grasped, everything becomes clear. What then was that locality? The answer is plain, I think, to any one who will look a little below the surface. *The writer was a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.* One of the abbots attending the Council of Rheims, whose names he alone gives, was Wulfric, Abbot of St. Augustine's. Under 1043 his election is given; under 1044 the death of his predecessor Ælfstan. This, which might seem a reversal of the proper order of events, is another proof of the writer's minute local knowledge, for Ælfstan resigned six months before his death¹. So at 1061 we have the death of Wulfric² and the appointment and consecration of his successor, Æthelsige. This position of the writer explains, too, the strongly Godwinist tone of this part of E, to which attention is frequently called in the notes on these annals³. The writer belonged to that very district of Godwin's, which 'he was loth to mar.' This feature again would be hard to explain in a Peterborough writer, who might be expected rather to sympathise with his own earls, Siward and Waltheof.

We have therefore clear evidence that a Chronicle, which down to 1022 was based mainly on a MS. akin to D, was continued at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, at any rate down to about 1067.

This Augustinian Chronicle identical with the hypothetical MS. ϵ .

§ 49. But there is further light available as to this Augustinian Chronicle. In the analysis of MS. F it has been shown that there is a possibility, if not a probability, that F was derived not from E, but from an earlier MS. which I have called ϵ ¹. That possibility, or probability, is converted into practical certainty by the present line of argument. The Augustinian Chronicle of the last section is no other than the hypothetical ϵ of the previous analysis, on which F, itself a Canterbury Chronicle, was mainly based. A comparison

borough, which was only about forty miles from Elnham, Stigand's first see. He uses the same vague expression of Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, 1046^b, *ad jin.* i. 171 t.

¹ See the annual 1043 E.

² This is also in D.

³ See notes on 1048, 1052, 1055 E; and on 1036 C, D.

⁴ Above, § 34.

with F will therefore show, within narrow limits, the elements of which ϵ was composed when it had reached the point indicated above¹. It did not, of course, contain the Peterborough interpolations. Did it contain the Latin entries of our present E? We have seen that those entries consist of four groups—(i) Ecclesiastical, (ii) Caroline, (iii) English, (iv) Norman; the first two being derived from the Annals of Rouen, and the fourth from some Norman Chronicle. It is only of groups (iii) and (iv) that any trace is found in F². But it is hard to believe that none of the other entries would have found their way into the pages of F if the writer had had them before him, for he is distinctly interested in ecclesiastical matters³, and he shows no disposition to avoid continental affairs if they happen to come in his way⁴. I therefore conclude that the last two groups of Latin entries were already incorporated in ϵ before it was transplanted, but that the two first were added later, probably after it had reached Peterborough. Other annals in the earlier part of E, which appear first in E of our existing MSS., but which a comparison with F shows to have existed also in ϵ , are 286, 921, 925, 927, 942, 949, 952⁵. Such, then, was the Augustinian Chronicle. In its earlier part it was mainly of the D type, but with a certain number of special features of its own; in its later part it was the work of Augustinian continuators⁶; and from 876 to 1062

¹ The locality of the next continuation of ϵ (after 1067) is uncertain, see below, § 53. Anyhow the original ϵ must have remained at Canterbury, to become the parent of the future F. We have occasionally a further criterion of the contents of ϵ , in the additions (cited as *a*) made to A by the scribe of F; some of which, from their likeness to E, he must have taken from ϵ , though he did not embody them in his own compilation F.

² Namely 876, 890, 892, 928, 942, 964, 994, 1024, 1031.

³ Above, § 37.

⁴ See, besides the references given

in note 2 (all of which, except three, refer to foreign affairs), 814, 840 (an addition of his own), 885, 887. I have not reckoned cases where foreign affairs are directly connected with English, nor notices relating to the Papacy.

⁵ Of these 921, 927, 942, 949, 952 form a little group of annals relating to the Scandinavian princes of Northumbria; on which see below, §§ 62, 70.

⁶ I say 'continuators' in the plural, for it is unlikely that one person should have been historiographer for over forty years, 1023-1067.

it contained a sprinkling of Latin entries, partly of English, but mainly of foreign origin.

When did this Chronicle reach Peterborough?

§ 50. At what point in its growth was the Augustinian Chronicle transplanted to Peterborough? F unhappily ends at 1058, and so gives no help for the settlement of the question, while the interpolations by the scribe of F in A end at 941. E certainly keeps its southern character, at any rate up to 1066 inclusive. But from that point to 1121 we are in doubt.

Evidence for a Chronicle of this type extending to 1121.

For the existence of a Chronicle closely akin to E and extending to 1121 we have, I believe, two independent witnesses, the Annals of Waverley, and Henry of Huntingdon. Let us call this Chronicle η as being a lengthened ϵ . And just as a comparison of E with F and a gives us a very fair idea of the contents of ϵ , so a comparison of the Waverley Annals and H. H. gives us a less effective, but still interesting, criterion for the contents of η .

The Waverley Annals.

§ 51. The Waverley Annals¹ were compiled at Waverley Abbey, near Farnham, the first Cistercian house in England, founded in 1128 by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester. Up to 999, where the first hand ends, the annals are taken from various sources, chiefly, perhaps, from Sigbertus Gemblacensis, with the additions of Robert de Monte. The second hand extends from 1000 to 1201, and therefore cannot be earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century. And from 1000² to 1121³ the entries are an extremely close and literal translation (generally very correct) of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with occasional additions from Robert de Monte or from the writer's own knowledge. So closely does the compiler follow his original, that he even translates literally the famous passage in 1086 E, which tells how the original writer 'looked on, and lived formerly in the court of' the great Conqueror⁴.

See Ann. Wav., ed. Luard, R. S., pp. xxix. ff.

² The coincidence of the change of source with the change of hand should be noted.

³ The editor traces the connexion a little beyond this point; but I see

no clear evidence of the use of the Chronicle after 1121.

⁴ Gale, who printed the Annals of Waverley from 1066 onward in his *Scriptores*, cites this passage as a proof that the author was a Saxon. Mr. Luard says that this is 'a speci-

And there are other points which show the close affinity of Ann. Wav. to E. They agree with E in peculiar readings¹, in insertions², and (though this is less conclusive) in omissions³. They have some at any rate of the last group of Latin annals⁴, while showing no trace of the Peterborough additions. But, it may be said, considering that this part of the annals cannot have been compiled earlier than 1200, may it not have been derived from our existing E by simply omitting the Peterborough additions? In itself this is not impossible, especially as the compiler omits many things in E besides the Peterborough interpolations⁵. But an examination of the annal 1070 is decisive against it. This entry is one which has not only been interpolated, but recast by the Peterborough editor, and no process of mere omission could restore it to the original form which it has in D. Yet in this entry the Ann. Wav., though in other points agreeing so closely with E, and showing no trace of the entries peculiar to D, are in this annal in exact agreement with the latter. We seem, then, to have clear evidence of the existence about 1200, in the south of England, of a Saxon Chronicle extending to 1121, and resembling our E in nearly all respects except that it did not contain the Peterborough additions.

The Ann. Wav. not derived from our E.

men of the very careless way in which his editorial duties were performed'; because 'considering that Wheloc had published the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle . . . in 1644 with a Latin translation, it was inexcusable in Gale not to find out that . . . this . . . is a literal translation from that Chronicle,' p. xxix. This only shows that Mr. Luard can never have looked at Wheloc himself; for Wheloc, as we know, made his edition from MSS. T and A, which do not contain any of the annals translated by the Waverley writer. I should not have called attention to this slip of Mr. Luard's, had he not made it the ground of an unfounded charge against a laborious worker, to whom, with all his shortcomings,

English history is greatly indebted.

¹ 1007: 'xxx' for 'xxxvi'; 1011: 'Leofwine' for 'Leofrune'; 1012: 'viii' for 'xlviii.'

² 1016 *ad init.*, insertion of 'clx scipa,' see note *al loc.*; 1022, incident of Abbot Leofwine; 1025, 1046^a, 1047, 1048, 1052, 1066 (peculiar to E).

³ 1010, 1011, 1014.

⁴ 1024, 1046^a, 1054, 1056 (?), 1062 (?).

⁵ Cf. e. g. 1006, 1009, 1010, 1015, 1017, 1020, 1039, 1043^a, 1046^b, 1047, 1061, 1073, 1077, 1079, 1083, 1085^a, 1085^b, 1096, 1098, 1103, 1106, 1107, 1109, 1116, 1117. In several of these cases a comparison with other MSS. shows that the omitted portions were undoubtedly in the text of the original Chronicle.

This Chronicle trans-
planted to Peter-
borough,
c. 1121,

§ 52. This seems to show that this Chronicle was not transplanted to Peterborough before 1121, that there it was transcribed, the Peterborough additions, and probably the first two groups of Latin entries, being inserted in the process of transcription, and the later entries added in the usual way by different hands at different times. It follows, then, that all the Peterborough entries up to 1121 inclusive, are interpolations; and the fact that where they do not form complete annals, they always come at the end of the annals, causing repetition¹ or the derangement of the chronology², is a strong confirmation of this view.

probably
in conse-
quence of
the fire of
1116.

As to the occasion of the transplanting of η to Peterborough, I agree with Earle³ in tracing it to the great fire of 1116, which would create the need for a restoration of the library as well as of other things⁴.

Question of
the locality
of the con-
tinuation
1067-1121.

§ 53. We have not yet, however, solved the question of the locality of the section 1067-1121. Earle thought that the section 1083-1090 was composed at Worcester, and that the section 1091-1121, or at any rate 1091-1107, was also composed there, though by a different author⁵. This view I believe to be the resultant of two other views, neither of which seems to me well grounded: (i) that our D originally extended considerably beyond its present termination; (ii) that it is a Worcester MS.⁶ Anyhow the almost entire absence of any mention of Wulfstan, the great Worcester saint and hero, seems to me conclusive against the Worcester origin of this part of the Chronicle⁷. It is possible that the continua-

¹ *e.g.* 1114.

² *e.g.* 1102.

³ Introduction, p. xliii.

⁴ The person through whom MS. η was obtained for the use of Peterborough may very possibly have been Bishop Ernulf of Rochester, who was Abbot of Peterborough 1107-1114, and before that Prior of Canterbury, 1107 E. We know that he had antiquarian tastes, and that we owe the *Textus Roffensis* to him. This suggestion strengthens the probability that η came to Peter-

borough direct from Canterbury or the neighbourhood.

⁵ See on these two points, §§ 22, 73, 76.

⁶ Introduction, pp. xlvi, xlvii.

⁷ 1087 (= 1088) is the only mention of Wulfstan in the whole of the Chronicles. There is a mention of a Pershore abbot in 1086 (1087). Moreover the unity of structure of the annals 1091-1121 should be noted. The general plan of them is this: first the three yearly courts

tion up to 1121 was made, like the previous continuation, at St. Augustine's; it is possible that it was made at some other place, which formed a halfway house in the migration of the Chronicle from Canterbury to Peterborough.

§ 54. Let us now turn to Hen. Hunt. Here the resemblance to the Chronicle is less close than in the case of Ann. Wav. On the other hand, the materials for comparison are more abundant, as H. H. uses the Chronicle from the beginning, and not merely from 1000 as do the Ann. Wav. The close affinity of H. H. with E is obvious. It is seen firstly by their agreement in some of E's most palpable blunders: 'iiii werad' for 'iiii (i. e. iiiii millia) wera,' 456 E (€); 'Nazaleod,' 508 E (€); 'Certicesford' for '-leag,' 527 E (€); 'feala' for 'fea,' 530 E (€); 'Eadrede' for 'Cuðrede,' 648; 'Nihtred' for 'Wihtred,' 692; 'Eadberht' for 'Cuðberht,' 740; 'Cynebald' for 'Cynewulf,' 779 E (€); 'Awuldre' for 'Apuldre,' 892 *ad fin.*; 'Wic' ('Gwic' E) for 'Gypeswic,' 991; 'Leofwine' for 'Leofruna,' 1011 E (€)¹. Secondly, H. H. has many entries which either wholly or in part are peculiar to E, or to E and F, *i. e.* €².

Henry of Huntingdon, and his relation to the Chronicle. His affinity with E.

are mentioned, or the reason given why they could not be held (this feature continues to 1127); then the general character of the year as marked by taxes, bad seasons, &c., is given (this feature begins earlier, 1085^b *ad fin.*, 1086 *sub init.*, 1090; it is also found in the interpolation, 1041; and it exists in the Ann. Wav., showing that it is not specially Peterborough work); lastly, local entries, if any, are inserted at the end by the Peterborough editor. On the plan of the annals 1126-1131, see above, § 45 note. The view that there was at Peterborough a Chronicle ending at 1121 derives support from the fact that the *Chronicon Petroburgense*, published by the Camden Society, begins with 1122. Cf. Earle, p. xlix.

¹ Cf. also 527 (€), 591, 710, 799 (with the *rv. ll.* in H. H.), 833 €, 885 €, 890 €, 891 (omission of), 998, 1016 € *ad init.*; agreement in nume-

als: 488, 765, 766, 1007 €, 1012 €, 1018 €.

² 547 €, 571 € (?), 933 (the drowning of Edwin Etheling), 949 €, 952 €, 1022 €, 1025 €, 1031 €, 1036 €, 1039 €, 1040 €, 1041 €, 1043^b €, 1046^a €, 1047 €, 1048 *ad fin.*, 1055 €, 1063, 1069, 1077, 1079 ff. (the dates are, of course, those of E). There is a very curious proof of the use of the later part of E (η) by H. H. at the year 1098. The printed texts and some MSS. read: 'Hugo consul Salopscyre occisus est ab Hiberniensibus.' This is an error, as the slayers of Hugh of Montgomery were Norwegians. Two MSS. have the unintelligible reading 'apud Wilcinges,' other two have the intermediate and ungrammatical reading 'apud Hybernien-sibus.' A reference to E explains all these corruptions: 'Hugo eorl wearð ofslagen . . . fram úwikingan'; *i. e.* 'by out- (or foreign-)

Now E and η must in any case have resembled each other so closely, that it might seem rash to attempt to decide which of them was the MS. used by H. H. But it surely can hardly be accidental that H. H.'s use of the Chronicle should end precisely with 1121, where the first hand of E, and consequently η , ended. The last entry of E under 1121 is of the 'swyðe mycel wind,' on Christmas Eve, and this (with the exception of some verses of his own) is also H. H.'s last entry for that year. After this point, the notices common to him and E are almost confined to records of the royal movements¹; and that these were not derived by H. H. from E is clear, because he has them even in years where E is blank, *e. g.* 1133, 1134². If, however, any one prefers to believe that what H. H. used was, not η , but our E before the addition of the annals subsequent to 1121, I do not know that I could convince him³. The other seems to me more likely.

wikings.' What H. H. wrote therefore was 'ab utwikingis'; from a wrong division of the words results the reading 'apud Wilcinges,' the scribe apparently taking 'Wilcinges' as the name of a place; from a wrong division of the words and a misinterpretation of 'wikings' we get 'apud Hiberniensibus,' which the next scribe simply made grammatical.

¹ On the ground of these resemblances Mr. Arnold asserts that H. H.'s copy of the Chronicle extended to 1126; see H. H. p. lvi.

² That H. H. shows no trace of the Peterborough interpolations of E, not even at 870 (where the addition is one of general interest, *v. s.* § 35), confirms somewhat the view that it was η and not E which underlies H. H. This argument cannot, however, be pressed very far, as H. H. might simply have omitted them as unsuited to his purpose. As to the bulk of the Latin entries in E we cannot argue; for H. H. uses the Annals of Rouen and

other foreign sources independently of E (η). He certainly incorporates E's Latin at 890; but this, as we have seen, was already in ϵ . The use of η by both H. H. and the Peterborough editor is easily explained by the fact that Huntingdon is less than twenty miles from Peterborough; and either of the two parties may have passed on the MS. to the other after he had done with it.

³ Here is one tiny bit of argument:—in 694 the true reading (A, B, C, D, F) is 'xxxiii wintra.' E has xxiii, and H. H. xxxii. F is evidence that ϵ read xxxiii. If we suppose that η also read xxxiii and that H. H. used η , then both his corruption and that of E are accounted for: H. H. omitted an i, and E an x; whereas xxxii is not a likely corruption of xxxiii. At 838 H. H. has an annal which is not in E. It would not be safe, however, to argue that it must have been in η , as it may have come from C.

§ 55. But in order to finish the discussion of H. H.'s relation to the Chronicle, we may remark that H. H. was not wholly dependent on E for the material which he derived from the Saxon Chronicle. He had another MS. which was not only akin to our C, but was, I believe, actually our C itself. Firstly, there are several instances where he does not follow the mistakes of E, but adheres to the readings of the older MSS.¹ In one case he has a reading which is only in C, 'Cantwarabyrig' for 'Cantwic'.² Again, he has pedigrees in places where E, according to his usual practice, omits them³. He has several very important annals, which are omitted either wholly or in part by E⁴. But the two most decisive facts are these: (1) H. H. has the Mercian Register in its unincorporated form⁵; this is a feature peculiar to B and C, and that it was C and not B that H. H. used is proved by the fact that one of the annals of the M. R. which he inserts, *viz.* 921, is not found in B. (2) He has the incident of the Norwegian holding the bridge against the English at the battle of Stamford Bridge, 1066 *C ad fin.* This is not only peculiar to C, but is in the very nature of the case unique, for it was evidently written down from oral tradition long after the event in very broken Saxon⁶. We may

Relation of
Henry of
Hunting-
don to MS.
C.

¹ 568. Oslaf A, B, C, Oslac E, F; 641. xxxi A, B, C, xxi E; 688. xxxvii A, B, C, xxvii E; 745. xliii A, B, C, D, xlvi E; 796. Cynulf B, C, Ceolwulf A, D, E, F; 833. xxxv A, B, C, xxv D, E, F; 878. Sealwudu A, B, C, D, Wealwudu E. In a few cases he differs from all the MSS.: 584, 614, 694, 752, 855 *ad fin.*

² 839; this is certainly an error, see note *ad loc.*; but as the next place mentioned is Rochester, it was not unnatural that H. H. should think the reading of C preferable.

³ 547 B, C, 560 B, C (with variants), 597 A, B, C, 611 B, C, 626 B, C, 688 A, B, C, 694 A, B, C, D, 726 [728] A, B, C, D, 731 A, B, C, D (placed by H. H. under 737), 755 A, B, C.

⁴ 726 [728] A, B, C, D, 838

A, B, C, D, 853 [852 E] A, B, C, 894 to 897 A, B, C, D, 901, 904, 906, 910 to 915 A, B, C, D, 937 (song on the battle of Brunanburh) A, B, C, 942 (song on the fall of the Five Boroughs) A, B, C, D, 943 A, B, C, 944, 945 A, B, C, D, 921 C, D, *only*. It will be noticed that C is the only MS. common to all the references given in this and the preceding notes.

⁵ See critical note 7 at i. 92, and notes 1 and 2 *ib.* 100. So carelessly and mechanically does the good archdeacon go to work, that when he comes to the Mercian Register in C, he copies straight ahead without the least noticing how the chronology 'fetches back.'

⁶ Of course H. H. might have obtained the tale independently from oral tradition; he has many

assume therefore that H. H. used for the composition of his work not only E or η , but also C.

Gaimar's
'Lestorie
des Engles.

§ 56. There is yet another work available for the criticism of E, and that is 'Lestorie des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar'.¹ Of the author little or nothing is known. But his time seems to have been about the middle of the twelfth century, and his locality Lincolnshire. He may have been a clerk; he was almost certainly not a monk. The whole tone of his work is secular and non-ecclesiastical. He is (in no bad sense of the word) a romancer, not an historian. His object is to amuse, not to inform. This is shown by the fact that the nearer he gets to his own time the more romantic he becomes. Even in the earlier part he inserts romantic episodes like that of Havelock the Dane, and the story of Osberht, King of Northumbria, and the wife of Buern Butsecarl. Edgar's reign is a tissue of romance, while William Rufus becomes under Gaimar's hands the model of 'a very perfect gentle knight.' That there was a chivalrous side to Rufus' character, to which churchmen, in their horror at his public rapacity and private vices, did scanty justice, is probably true, and has been recognised by Mr. Freeman²; but to exaggerate this side as Gaimar does, while omitting all the darker shades, is to write romance, not

such traditional stories, *e.g.* the two fine anecdotes about Siward, pp. 194-196. But seeing that so many arguments point conclusively to the use of C, there is no need to resort to that hypothesis here. On the other hand, that H. H. used D, as Mr. Arnold suggests in one place, p. 194 margin, or G. (A), as he frequently suggests, I see no reason to believe. There is not the slightest trace in him of the very interesting annals peculiar to these MSS.:—921-924 A (A, G.), 925, 926, 941, 943, 947, 948, 952, 954^b, 1058, 1078, 1079 D. Into the character of H. H. as an historian I do not enter here. I have indicated my opinion more than once in the notes to the Chron. and to

Bede. Nor am I concerned with the question of the other materials used by him. I deal simply with his relation to the text of the Chronicles, and the materials which he affords us for the criticism of that text. There is an article by Dr. Liebermann on H. H. in *Forschungen z. Deutsch. Gesch.* xviii. 265 ff. He decides, as I have done, that H. H. used C and E, p. 281. My own results were, however, worked out independently.

¹ Up to 1066 printed in M. H. B.; completely with translation in R. S., edited by Mr. Martin.

² Though here and elsewhere Mr. Freeman cannot resist the temptation to cheap and unworthy sneers at chivalry generally.

history. But, with the exceptions noted above, he follows the Chronicle pretty closely up to the accession of Edgar. He cites it as 'cronicles¹,' 'cronices²,' 'croniz³'; as 'la geste⁴,' 'la vereie geste⁵,' 'la veille geste⁶,' 'le livere⁷,' 'li livere ancien⁸,' 'li ancienz⁹'; on the other hand, 'lestorie,' 'la veraie estorie,' sometimes mean the Chronicle¹⁰ and sometimes not¹¹.

Relation of Gaimar to the Chronicle.

§ 57. The question next arises: can we determine the nature of the Chronicle used by Gaimar? First, it is quite clear that in the earlier part (up to 891) it was a Chronicle of the northern or D E recension¹². Of the northern entries between 735 and 806 which are peculiar to that recension, all, or nearly all, are to be found in Gaimar¹³. And of the two, Gaimar is much nearer to E than to D¹⁴. His MS. was, however, free from some of the errors which subsequently crept into E and its immediate predecessors¹⁵. After the accession of Edgar, Gaimar makes less use of the Chronicle, because the romantic stories which he loved were available in greater plenty¹⁶.

His Chronicle was akin to E.

¹ 954, 2188 (the references are to the lines of Gaimar's poem).

² 2111. ³ 2331.

⁴ 2233. ⁵ 828.

⁶ 2527. ⁷ 3238.

⁸ 990. ⁹ 1682, 1786

¹⁰ 1949, 2255, 2335, 3240, 5712.

¹¹ 758, 2928, 2930, 3937.

¹² On this, see below, §§ 65, ff.

¹³ Besides these instances Gaimar follows the reading of D, E, against A, B, C, in 835 (wuniende *for* winnende = G. 2375), and in 836 (= G. 2391-2), 845 (dux *for* ealdormann = G. 2450; the latter word G. always translates 'baron'); 851 = G. 2466; 853 = G. 2501; 888 = G. 3331 ff.

¹⁴ He omits 838 with E, F (G. 2416-7); like E, F, he jumps from 893 to 901, though the other Chronicles are very full just there (G. 3437 ff.). He omits the grant of Cumberland in 945 with E, F (G. 3540); he has annals which are only in E, or E, F; 906 (= G. 3467 ff.); 921 (= G. 3501); 949

(= G. 3549 ff.); 952 (= G. 3553 ff.).

¹⁵ 568. Oslaf A, B, C, H. H., G. 980, Oslac E, F; 605. Scromail E, Brocmail G. 1091; 608. xxxvii A, B, C, H. H., G. 1541, xxvii E, F; 692. Wihtred G. 1550, Nihtred E, H. H.; 693. Drythelm D, G. 1554, Brihthelm E; 710. Sigbald D, G. 1633, Hygbald E, H. H.; 725. xxxiii D, H. H., G. 1699, xxxiii E; 740. Cudbryht A, B, C, D, G. 1767, Eadbryht E, H. H.; cf. 855. In most of these cases the correction required by E is obvious; but in 710, where we have merely the authority of E against D, the witness of Gaimar gives new and independent weight to the reading of D.

¹⁶ See, however, besides passages already cited, G. 4686 ff. (= 1028 D, E); G. 5071 ff. (= 1063 D, E); G. 5009 ff. (= 1061 D); G. 5177 ff. is nearer to 1066 C, than to D or E; G. 5191 ff. is nearer to 1066 E.

His list of
authorities.

§ 58. At the end of his work Gaimar gives a list of the authorities which he used¹. The only two which concern us here are 'le storie de Wincestre,' and 'De Wassingburc un livre Engleis².' As to the former, it is quite certain that Gaimar shows no special affinity with A, the only one of our Chronicles which is directly connected with Winchester. I am therefore inclined to agree with Mr. Martin³ that by this is merely meant the Saxon Chronicle generally, as having its head quarters and origin at Winchester under Alfred⁴. As to the latter work, Washingborough was three miles from Lincoln and belonged to Peterborough. The suggestion made by Mr. Martin⁵ is therefore an attractive one, that owing to this connexion there may easily have been a Chronicle at Washingborough akin to the Peterborough MS. E. But we have seen that Gaimar represents an earlier stage than E in the development of the E tradition; and therefore the Washingborough book would be an ancestor rather than a descendant of E. But in truth the description which Gaimar gives of this book does not agree with the Chronicle in any form; for it contained, *inter alia*,

'tuz les empereurs
Ke de Rome furent seignurs.'

It has been suggested that it was the Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius, but this must be regarded as very problematical⁶.

§ 59. We must now return from this digression. And we have next to consider those parts of E which are related to D or yet earlier MSS.

I have said that E is nearer to D than to any other existing MS. of the Chronicle. This is clear from the following general features:—(i) in both D and E most of those annals which are

¹ 6436 ff. ² 6468 ff.

³ Gaimar, R. S. II. xix.

⁴ This is Gaimar's view; and I shall endeavour to show later, §§ 101 ff., that he is probably right; cf. 2234, 2334 ff., 3451 ff.

⁵ Gaimar, *u. s.* In a list of Peterborough books there is a

'Historia Anglorum, Gallice et rythmice,' Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 172. This might well be Gaimar.

⁶ 6472-4. There is an article on Gaimar by Mr. Riley in *Gent. Mag.* iii. 21-34 (1857).

Relation
of E to D.

based on Bede are taken from the narrative of the *Hist. Eccl.*¹ instead of from the chronological summary appended to that work (*H. E.* v. 24), as is the case as a rule² with *A*, *B*, *C*; (ii) the incorporation in both of a series of northern annals extending at least from 733 to 806, which are not found in *A*, *B*, *C*; (iii) the appearance in both of a somewhat shorter recension of certain annals³.

But apart from these general features of resemblance there are minute points of agreement, especially in mistakes, which cannot be accidental. Thus at 778 both have 'bedraf *on* lande' for 'of'; at 835 'wuniende' for 'winnende,' a very easy scribal blunder, which however makes nonsense; at 875 both read 'Strætled' for 'Stræcled' (*Strathclyde*); at 887 both have '7 þa' instead of the proper name '7 Oda'; at 878 both have the same omission after 'geridon,' at 1004 *ad fin.* after 'werode,' and at 1011 after 'gafol beodan⁴.'

§ 60. Nevertheless *E* is not a transcript mediately or immediately of *D*. This can be easily proved by reference to the numerous omissions and corruptions which appear in *D* but are not found in *E*. Thus at 871 *D* has an omission due to the recurrence of the name *Sidroc*, but the omitted passage is in *E*;

E not a transcript of *D*.

¹ 167, 189, 379 (?), 381, 409, 423, 443, 449, 565, 583, 603, 604, 605, 616, 617, 624, 625, 626, 627, 633, 634, 640, 641, 643, 650, 653, 654, 655, 664, 667, 668, 673, 678, 679, 681, 684, 685, 688, 690, 692, 693, 709, 710, 721, 727, 729, 731.

² I say, 'as a rule,' for occasionally even *A*, *B*, *C* show traces of the use of the body of Bede's work, especially in cases where the epitome supplied no information:—455, 601, 603, 632, 634*, 635*, 636, 645*, 646*, 650*, 654, 660*, 661, 670*, 673, 688*, 709*, 716. (The annals marked with an asterisk refer to the history of *Wessex*; the significance of this will appear later. §§ 107, 108 notes.) It is curious that we are able to say not only that *D*, *E* treated their Bede differently from *A*, *B*, *C*, but also that they had

a different class of MS. The annals 697, 699 *D*, *E*, are taken from Bede's epitome; but they correspond to nothing in the body of his work, and (possibly for that reason) are omitted in many of the MSS., see critical note *ad loc.* I have little doubt that the reason why these annals do not appear in *A*, *B*, *C*, who habitually use the epitome much more than *D*, *E*, is that they were wanting in the MS. of Bede which the former used.

³ 716 (?), 836, 837, 853, 855, 860, 873 (in the last case the abbreviation is evidently due to some editorial scribe who thought that the latter part of this annal in *A*, *B*, *C* was a mere repetition from the preceding annal).

⁴ See also 718, 788, 868, 1006, 1009 *ad fin.*

so with a passage omitted by D at 885 *ad init.*¹. To take one decisive instance of corruption:—at 1009 C and E read correctly ‘7 leton *ealles þeodscypes geswinc* ðus leohtlice forwurðan,’ where D has corrupted the words in italics into ‘ealle þa scypas geswinc.’ Now a scribe who had D before him, and wanted to correct its obvious corruption, might have written ‘ealra þara scypa (*or scypmanna*) geswinc’; he could not have divined the true reading out of D’s chaos². The case of omissions in E of matter contained in D is, of course, less decisive; it is always rash to say that a scribe could not have omitted this or that (we have seen how capricious F’s omissions often are³); still it is at least strange that E should have omitted so much that is interesting and peculiar in D if he had that MS. before him⁴.

D and E
based on
common
originals.

The only theory, therefore, which will account for this striking resemblance, combined with no less striking difference, between D and E is that neither is copied from the other, but that both are, *in the parts covered by these references*, to be traced back to some common original, or originals⁵, from which each has diverged in different directions.

§ 61. We have seen that behind our present E we are justified in assuming two earlier MSS., η and ϵ , and wherever in this Introduction one of these symbols is added to the symbol E, as E (ϵ) or E (η), it means that in those cases there is evidence that

¹ Compare smaller omissions at 774, 795, 823, 1006, 1009, 1010 in D, but not in E.

² Other cases of corruption in D, which are peculiar to itself, and so tend to prove that E cannot have copied D, are 725, 853, 870 (addition of ‘to Rome’), 878 (‘wuni-gende’ for ‘winnende’), 1010 (‘Wulf’ for ‘Wulfric’), 1034 (‘Ælfric’ for ‘Æðeric’), 1065 (‘sende æfter Harald’ and ‘þa Ryðrenan’ for ‘sende eft Harold’ and ‘þa norðernan’). In one case we have a corruption common to C and D: 887 (‘micel myst’ for ‘micel yst’); but this is purely accidental, both scribes being misled by alliteration. It does not indi-

cate any special relation of C and D *in this part*.

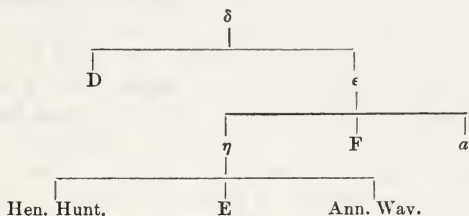
³ § 32 note.

⁴ The discussion of the annals peculiar to D, and of the additions made by D to annals which exist in a simpler form in C or E, will naturally come later. I will only say here that they are very considerable.

⁵ I shall show later that this second alternative is correct; and that the common parts of D and E do not all come from a single source. For the present, however, I ignore this fact; and for the sake of simplifying the argument treat D and E as coming from a single common ancestor.

the text of E correctly represents that of η or ϵ ¹. Similarly we may call the common ancestor of ϵ and D by the symbol δ .

The results of our investigations so far may be represented by the following figure:—



Thus the agreement of E with H. H. or Ann. Wav. is evidence for the reading of η ; that of E and F (or E and *a*) implies ϵ ; while that of E and D implies δ . On the other hand, where D and E differ, if E has the truer reading, then the corruption has occurred in the passage from δ to D²; if D is more original, then the error (or alteration) may be due to E, or η , or ϵ ; a comparison with H. H. or Ann. Wav., and with F or *a*, will sometimes enable us to decide³.

¹ Of course if E correctly represents ϵ , it *à fortiori* represents η , and therefore E(ϵ) involves E(η), but not conversely.

² As *e.g.* in the case of the omissions and corruptions cited above (§ 60 and note) as peculiar to D.

³ Thus at 870 'rád' \bar{A} , B, C, D, 'fór' E, F; 871 'cóm' \bar{A} , B, C, D, 'rád' E, F; the change was therefore made by ϵ . On the other hand at 495 '(ge)weden' \bar{A} , B, C, F, 'gehaten' E; the change was therefore made by η or E. 530 'Wiht ealand' \bar{A} , B, C, F, 'Wihtland' E, H. H.; the change was therefore made by η . At 1016 *sub jin.* we have 'gefeah him (wið) ealle Engla þeode' C, D; 'eall England' E, F; with, however, 'uel þeode' interlined in E, which seems to show that though ϵ made

the alteration to 'land,' it retained the other as an alternative reading, and this feature was conservatively reproduced by E. The corruptions and peculiarities common to E and H. H., given above (§ 54 and note), must go back at least to η , and some of them, as I have there shown, go back to ϵ . At 955 and 965 F(ϵ) has matter which is only found in D, which seems to show that E or η omitted matter contained in ϵ . The fact that no trace of these annals appears in H. H. inclines me to believe that they had already been omitted by η . It should, however, be borne in mind that where F differs from E its evidence is not conclusive as to the reading of ϵ , if the text of F could have been derived from \bar{A} , for we have seen that F had access to that

Complex
relations of
D and E.

§ 62. But the relation between E and D is less simple even than this. In the first place the parallelism between them is curiously discontinuous. From the beginning to 890¹ inclusive, E runs closely parallel to D, with only scribal variations and the insertion of the Latin and Peterborough entries; 891 is omitted (the story of the three 'Scots') though it is in all the other MSS., including F; 892 E (ε) is nearer to A than to D²; then comes a period, 893-958, during which E and F are almost barren, containing only a few obits³, &c., a few northern and Northumbro-Danish annals, some peculiar to ε, others, wholly or in part, common to it and D⁴. Then with 959, E once more runs parallel to D, though with more considerable variations down to 1022, after which, as we have seen⁵, E becomes more independent. Yet even after this point, and almost up to the very end of D, there are annals which are, in whole or in part, identical in D and E⁶. Of these phenomena I do not at present offer any explanation; some light will be thrown upon them in the course of our subsequent enquiries⁷. But there is one feature of the latter part of E which must be noticed here.

MS. (above, § 33). A case of this kind probably occurs at 887, where D, E have '7 ða,' while F has the correct reading '7 Oda' (the corruption consists merely in omitting one letter, and crossing the *d*).

¹ There is a lacuna in D, due to the loss of certain leaves from 262 to the middle of 693; but there is no reason to suppose that the relation of E to D was any different between these points to what it is 1-261, and 693-890. Indeed, from a comparison of C on the one hand, and Florence and E on the other, it would be possible to reconstruct the missing part of D with tolerable certainty.

² We shall see later that this point, c. 892, is a distinct landmark in the history of the development of the Chronicle.

³ Among these obits is the notice,

quite peculiar to E, of the drowning of the Etheling Edwin in 933.

⁴ These common annals are 910 (part), 923*, 934*, 944*, 945*, 948 [= 946 D, omitting D's interpolation], 954*. The annals marked with an asterisk are northern. Thorpe has taken an extraordinary liberty with the text of 910 E. This answers to the latter part of a very composite annual in D. Thorpe has broken up the entries contained in 910 E, and distributed them under various years. 924 and 925 in E seem to come from different sources, as both contain the obit of Edward the Elder. F has avoided this error.

⁵ § 46.

⁶ These annals are 1028-1031, 1059, 1064, 1071-1076.

⁷ See below, § 72.

§ 63. Alongside of its evident affinity with D there appear from 984 onwards traces of a no less obvious affinity with C. Now, where this agreement of C and E against D merely means that they have preserved a true reading which D has corrupted¹, it argues no closer affinity between them than between any two equally correct MSS. The case is otherwise, however, when we find important entries in C and E, where D is either blank or wholly independent; more especially when we go on to notice that many of these entries are local to Abingdon, and therefore thoroughly in place in C, which has always been recognised as an Abingdon Chronicle, but seem strangely out of place in a Peterborough book². Now in regard to these entries two theories are abstractly possible:—(i) they may have been inserted in E from C; or (ii) we may trace C on the one hand and E and its progenitors on the other, in this part at any rate³, back to some common ancestor whose home was at Abingdon. The former theory may be dismissed. It is most unlikely that a Peterborough editor would specially extract notices referring to another house⁴. And it is conclusive against this view that 1042 E and 1043^a E are also in F, *i. e.* they were in ϵ before ϵ left Canterbury at all. On the other hand,

¹ Instances will be found in 994, 997, 1000, 1009, 1013, 1034; in 1008 all three are possibly corrupt, but C and E agree, while D is distinct. Sometimes the agreement of E with C consists in the absence from both of matter found in D, *e. g.* 1007, 1014, 1016, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1034. In these cases the additional matter in D is probably a later insertion in the original text preserved by C and E.

² The Abingdon entries in C, E are at 984 (985 C), 989 (990 C), 1016 *ad finem*, 1046^a *ad init.* (= 1047 C *ad fin.*), 1048 (1050 C); in 1018 there is an Abingdon entry in E which is not in C, but this, as I have shown in the notes to the passage, is a pure blunder. The very important annals 1042 E (1043 C), 1043^a E (1044 C) are

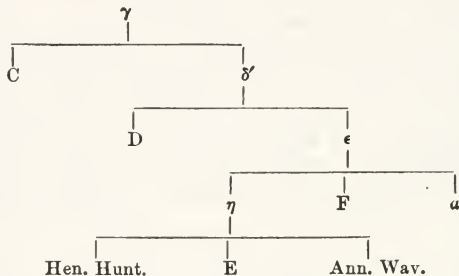
also peculiar to these MSS. Of these the latter, though referring to a national matter, the see of Canterbury, is also concerned with Abingdon, as the person chosen to discharge the duties of the primate was an Abingdon abbot.

³ *Viz.* 984–1022, and in a few later cases. The statement in the text requires to be thus limited for the reason given above, § 60 note.

⁴ Apart from the mention of Abingdon in 1071 E, which is also in 1072 D, there is only one Abingdon entry in E after 1070, the death of Abbot Faricius in 1117. But the death of a man who was physician to the king, and had been thought of for the primacy (see note *ad loc.*), was an event of more than local importance.

there is no reason why our present Abingdon Chronicle, C, may not represent an older Abingdon Chronicle, γ , just as our present Canterbury Chronicle, F, represents an older Canterbury Chronicle, ϵ .

We conclude, therefore, that the common ancestor of D and E in this section (which for the sake of distinction I will call δ') was itself derived from an Abingdon ancestor, γ , common to it with C. δ' preserved the Abingdon notices, and in this way they passed through ϵ into E and F; whereas D cut them out as not interesting those for whom he wrote. If this is correct the genealogy, *for this section of the Chronicle*, might stand thus:—



Editorial
work in E,
 η , and ϵ .

§ 64. A few words must be said in conclusion as to the way in which E or his predecessors η and ϵ treated the materials which came to them from older sources. For they are not content to be merely copyists, but are something of editors as well.

Owing to the use of a double source in D (δ), *e.g.* northern and southern annals, we sometimes find the same event entered twice, in one case twice in the same annal (731). In E these errors are sometimes corrected¹, though not invariably². There are additions and alterations which mark a later time; thus 519 E (ϵ), the reflexion on the continuity of the royal house of Wessex; the explanation of 'se micla flota' C, D, as 'se Denisca flota' 1006 E (ϵ);

¹ 729 and 731 [death of Osric], 801 and 802 [consecration of Beornmod]; in these two cases the mistake had been already corrected by

ϵ ; 855, the mistake has been bunglingly dealt with by E or η . F's text *may* be from A.

² Cf. 702 with 704.

the alteration of 'swa heora gewuna is' C, D, into 'wæs' 1009 E *sub fin.*, and again in 1016 E (ε); while the latter part of 1012 has been a good deal recast by E (ε), though it retains the contemporary note 'þær nu God swutelað, 7c.,' which ceased to be possible after 1023 (*v. note ad loc.*). Again E, or one of his predecessors η or ε, had an evident dislike to pedigrees, and they are almost always omitted¹. Besides the annals wholly peculiar to E or ε, there are many additions, small and great (apart from the Peterborough and Latin insertions), made to the older sources; thus in 999 E, the excuse for the national failure; 1006 E (ε), the appointment of Brihtwold as Bishop of Ramsbury (probably an error, *v. note ad loc.*²); 1016 E (ε) *ad init.*, the number of Cnut's ships³; 1018 E, erroneous Abingdon insertion noticed above⁴; 1022 E (ε), Abbot Leofwine's acquittal at Rome; 1031 E (ε), the submission of Maelbeth and Iehmarc. E has also many careless scribal errors: 'Æpelwold' for 'Æpelbald,' 737 E; 'oþerbald' for 'oþerne Eanbald,' 796 E (*cf.* 'idus' for 'Kal.,' *ib.*); 'Æpelred' for 'Æpelheard,' 799 E; 'Leofwine' for 'Leofrune,' 1011 E (ε)⁵. So too there are omissions, due to homoioteleuton, as at 797, 1016 E; or to other causes, 855 E, 1011 E (ε)⁶. E has one or two little tricks of style, such as the use of verbal forms strengthened by the prefix ge-⁷, which attract attention by their repetition. The degeneracy of

¹ 547, 552, 560, 597, 611, 626, 670, 674, 676, 685, 688 (in this part D is defective, so it is possible, though not probable, that the omission may have already been made by the common ancestor of D and E. Most of the omitted pedigrees are in Fl. Wig.), 694, 726, 731, 733, 755 *ad fin.*, 855 *ad fin.* There is a partial exception to the rule in 738; and at 593 there is a bit of Northumbrian pedigree which is not in A, B, C.

² For another bad historical error, see 603 E and note.

³ Probably a wrong insertion; see note *a. l.*

⁴ § 63 note.

⁵ See notes *ad loc.* for explana-

tions of the origin of these errors. Other cases are: 693, Brihthelm *for* Drythelm; 779, Cynebald *for* Cynewulf. In 865 there is a curious little instance of progressive corruption in D and E. See note *ad loc.*

⁶ At 1011 the omission of 'Ham-tunscire,' in the list of northern counties ravaged by the Danes, is due perhaps to a wrong-headed piece of criticism; the name occurs again in the list of southern counties ravaged, but in the former case of course it means Northants, in the latter Hants.

⁷ *e. g.* 866, 871, 997, 998, 1001, 1002, 1009, &c. Sometimes the converse occurs, *e. g.* 874, 1002.

the language in the later parts of E is as obvious as it is pathetic, the querulous tone of the later entries not less so¹. But whatever its shortcomings, E is, alike for the story of its growth and for its actual contents, a most interesting work². If we owed nothing to its pages but the character of the Conqueror, and the description of the feudal anarchy under Stephen, our debt to it would be inestimable; and we can hardly measure what the loss to English history would have been if it had not been written; or if, having been written, it had, like so many another English Chronicle, been lost.

Composite character of D.

§ 65. Like MS. E of the Chronicle, D is a highly composite structure; unlike E, it does not by any means bear its history clearly written on its face. Three points in which it resembles E and differs from the earlier type of Chronicle contained in A, B, C have been already mentioned³:—(i.) the expansion of many of the annals derived from Bede by the substitution of matter taken from the text of the H. E., for the brief chronological notices of the epitome which Bede appended to that work, H. E. v. 24⁴; (ii.) the incorporation of annals from a northern source; (iii.) the appearance of certain annals in a somewhat shorter recension. To these characteristics of D may be added a fourth, which is not shared by E⁵, *viz.* the attempt to amalgamate the Mercian Register (which in B and C exists in a separate form) with the general body of the Chronicle. As to (iii.) no further discussion is needed. On the other points something will require to be said.

Points in which D, E differ from A, B, C.

First group of northern annals.

§ 66. The first body of northern annals contained in D, E begins at 733⁶, and extends to a little after 800. A com-

¹ See note on 1132. We have a touch of the same thing 1066 D *ad fin.*

² 'In some respects the most important of the whole series of Chronicles,' Earle, p. xliii.

³ See above, § 59.

⁴ A list of the annals thus expanded is given above, § 59 note.

⁵ It is not shared by E, because E is almost barren during the

period covered by M. R.

⁶ Of course, both in the A, B, C, and in the D, E type of Chronicle, there is much northern history prior to 733; but this is derived immediately from Bede. There are, however, northern additions not derived from Bede in D, E 702, 705, 710, 716; so it is possible that the *Gesta* began as early as 702. Cf. also 603 E.

parison of D, E with A, B, C makes it quite easy to separate this northern element. Moreover, its source can readily be identified. It is clearly based on the Latin Northumbrian annals embodied in Simeon of Durham and Roger of Hoveden¹. The copy used by them extended only to 802; that used by the compiler of the original of the D, E type of Chronicle extended somewhat further, for the northern element is clearly traceable up to 806 inclusive. After that point D runs parallel to C without important differences to the end of 904. It will be noticed that these Northumbrian annals begin just where Bede's H. E. ends; and there can be no doubt that they were intended to form a continuation to Bede's chronological epitome. The continuations of that epitome, which are found in later MSS. of Bede², and the fact that in several MSS. additions and insertions are made in the epitome itself³, show how readily that epitome might become the basis of a regular Chronicle. In this sense also, as well as in others, Bede is the father of English history. It was natural that this connexion should be specially close in Bede's own district of Northumbria.

Influence of Bede's historical epitome.

§ 67. Can we fix the home of these Northumbrian annals?

Original home of these northern annals.

¹ On this body of Northumbrian annals, see Stubbs' Hoveden, I. ix-xiii, xxv-xxx; Arnold's Simeon of Durham, II. xviii, xix. It seems to have borne the title 'Gesta Veterum Northanhymbrorum.'

² See my Bede, i. 361-363. These additions extend to 766, and are concerned mainly with Northumbria. They do not, however, give us the northern Gesta in their original form. They show evident marks of having been influenced by the southern form of the Chronicle. The death of Cynewulf of Wessex is placed under 757 [= Chron. 755]. Now the Chron. under 755 tells by anticipation the story of Cynewulf's tragic end in connexion with his accession; the actual entry of his death does not come till 784 [= 786]. The con-

tinuator regards the former entry as implying that Cynewulf's death really took place at that point. In other words, the continuation of Bede in its present form is later than the time when the southern Chronicle became known in the north; *i. e.* later, at any rate, than 892. Moreover, Pauli thinks that the notice about Charles Martel under 741 in the Cont. Baedae cannot be earlier than the tenth century, *v. note a. l.* It is curious that Theopold does not seem to have seen this, pp. 29, 70.

³ See my Bede, i. 354-356. These insertions and additions are derived mainly from the text of the H. E., and therefore form an exact parallel to the enlargement of the Bede annals of the Chronicle.

York, Lindisfarne, and Hexham have been suggested¹; and all of them are possible, though I do not think that anything very decisive can be produced in favour of any one of them. York, and, in its day, Lindisfarne, were to the north very much what Canterbury was to the south; and entries relating to them are hardly more conclusive as to local origin than notices as to the Archbishops of Canterbury. The special Hexham elements in Simeon of Durham are the interpolations of a compiler much later than the time with which we are dealing²; while lists of bishops were available for many sees. I am inclined to think that more may be said for Ripon. The mention of Botwine and Aldbert, abbots of Ripon, under 785 and 788, points in this direction. Simeon of Durham gives Aldbert's successor Sigred; and, moreover, under 790 has the curious story of the resuscitation of Eardwulf³, which is also connected with Ripon.

Probably
at Ripon.

The expansion
of the
Bede passages
is also
northern
work.

§ 68. It may further be asked, was the expansion of the Bede passages due to a northern or a southern hand? And here too the evidence, though slight, points I think decisively to the north. In 681 the consecration of Trumwine as Bishop of the Picts is mentioned in an annal based on Bede, H. E. iv. 12 *ad fin.* Bede's words are: 'Trumuini [addidit Theodorus] ad prouinciam Pictorum, quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta.' The chronicler says: 'her man halgode . . . Trumwine [biscop to] Pihtum, forþan hy hyrdon þa *hider*.' As the 'Angli' to whose 'imperium' the Picts were then subject were of course the Northumbrians, the use of this word '*hider*' betrays a northern point of view, and it is noteworthy that F, a Canterbury Chronicle, alters the phrase into 'farþan hi hyraþ *þider* inn⁴.' Again in 449, a passage also based on Bede, H. E. i. 15, the phrase 'the royal families of the Southumbrians,' used in opposition to '*our* royal family,' is conclusive

¹ By Dr. Stubbs, Hoveden, I. xxviii.

² See on these Hexham additions, S. D. II. xii-xv.

³ Cited in the notes on 795 E.

⁴ In 603 E the original reading may also have been '*lædde þone here hider*'; but if so, E has altered it into '*ðider*.'

on the same side¹. The specific use of the term 'Southumbrians' for Bede's 'Mercii' in 697 is also northern, for Mercia was the first kingdom with which Northumbrians came in contact on crossing the Humber. In neither case is the term due to the influence of Bede, who does not use it. (Special northern touches, not due to Bede, will be found also in 547, 603, and 641².) Here again it was natural that the enlargement of the Chronicle by means of the text of Bede should first take place in Bede's own Northumbria. We may then, I think, assume that a copy of the Saxon Chronicle in its southern form (extending, it would seem, to about 892³) was sent to some northern monastery, probably Ripon, and there fell into the hands of some one who conceived the idea of enriching it, partly by drawing more largely on the text of Bede, and partly by incorporating with it a translation of the Latin Northumbrian Annals extending to 806⁴.

¹ It is noteworthy that *a*, though based on *ε* here, omits this passage. From 262 to the middle of 693 there is a lacuna in D caused by the loss of certain leaves. But as these northern characteristics have survived in E, a Chronicle which in its final form is due to Peterborough, and previous to that was shaped at Canterbury, we are quite safe in assuming *a fortiori* that they existed in the common northern ancestor of D and E.

² These three annals also fall within the lacuna in D.

³ The reasons for fixing the limit at this point, and also for the different fortunes of D and E after this point, will appear later; see especially §§ 114, 116.

⁴ Granting that I am right in tracing the *Gesta Northanhymbrorum* to Ripon, it does not of course necessarily follow that their amalgamation with the southern Chronicle and the expansion of the Bede annals also took place there. I am, however, inclined to think that such was the case. The refer-

ence to 'the glorious minster,' 'þæt mære mynster,' of Ripon in 948 D reveals the local patriot, and seems to show that Ripon was the home of the ancestor of D, at any rate up to that point. If this view is correct, then I should be inclined to seek at Ripon also for the ancestor of the two groups of Bede MSS., which I have called the Winchester and Durham groups, Bede, I. civ f., containing the additional entries in the epitome relating mainly to Wilfrid. Then the enigmatical entry '667. *Noster abbas scripsit*,' will also refer to Wilfrid, who was in retirement at Ripon from 666 to 669 owing to the occupation of his see by Ceadda. There is nothing impossible in Wilfrid having written some work in his retirement, but I have found no trace of him as an author. Is it possible that it can refer to the writing of the famous Gospel Book which Wilfrid gave to Ripon (Bede, H. E. v. 19 *ad fin.*, and note), which has been identified with the gold and purple Gospels in the

Incorporation of the Mercian Register in D.

§ 69. From this point to 904 inclusive, D is content to follow the earlier Chronicles without modification, the only important difference being the use of a double source in 855¹. But with 902 the Mercian Register begins, which the compiler evidently had before him; and the question arose how he was to deal with it. The question had been solved very crudely by the scribe of the MS. from which B and C are copied, who simply inserts the Register unaltered in the middle of his Chronicle². D, on the other hand, attempts to amalgamate it in chronological order with the rest of his materials³. It cannot be said that he has perfectly succeeded, and indeed the task was not an easy one, for the chronology of the M. R. often varies considerably from that of the main Chronicle⁴. Still the existence of this Mercian material, both in a compounded and in an uncompounded form, affords an interesting study of the process by which the structure of the Chronicles was built up. The Ripon scribe has not embodied the M. R. completely. He omits 902 (perhaps considering it, rightly, to be identical with 905 of the main Chronicle). He also omits 904, 907, 912, 914 (mostly), 915, 916⁵. Conversely several events are entered twice: there

Hamilton Collection now at Berlin? See Wattenbach's article in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, viii. 329 ff. In that case 'scri[psit]' would have to be understood in the sense of 'scribi fecit.'

¹ Of course the combined northern and southern Chronicle must in turn have travelled southwards, for neither D nor E in their completed form belong to northern seats. There is, however, distinct evidence for the existence of copies of the Chronicle in the north. In the *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecl. Dunelm (S. S.)*, p. 5, is a mention of 'Cronica duo Anglica.' Could we but recover these, what a flood of light they might throw on the growth of the Chronicle and on English history generally. That, however, is not to be hoped for. In the same place, there is mention of a

work called 'Elfedes Boc.' This is not impossibly the Mercian Register. [El- for Ethel-]. From what has been said it will be seen that while historical writing in Latin began first in the north of England, the Chronicles in the native language originated in the south. Ingran, p. xi, reminds us of Bede's words about Bishop Tobias of Rochester's skill in the Saxon tongue, *H. E.* v. 8; though this will hardly support a presumption that he had anything to do with the beginnings of the Chronicle.

² H. H., as we have seen, § 55 and note, is yet more crude in his treatment.

³ See notes to i. 92, 93, 100, 107.

⁴ See notes *ad loc.*

⁵ The fact that all these omitted annals are in Fl. Wig. is one proof among many that he was not dependent wholly on our D.

are two accounts of the battle of Tottanheal, one under 909, the other under 910, both showing points of resemblance with M. R. 910; the death of Ethelred of Mercia, and the submission of London and Oxford to Edward the Elder, are mentioned both under 910 and under 912; the ravages of the 'here' from Brittany are mentioned briefly in 910, and more fully in 915. The explanation seems to be that 912 and 915 come from the main Chronicle, 909 from the M. R., while the part of 910 here dealt with comes from the northern source to be presently mentioned. In 924, the last annal of the M. R. in B and C¹, these MSS. are incomplete. D, after a slight correction, furnishes us with the true reading². It is, of course, a question whether the compiler had the M. R. before him as a separate document, or whether he had some Chronicle like the original of B, C, in which the M. R. was inserted but not amalgamated. For reasons which will appear later, I am inclined to think that the former is more probable³; and the existence of the M. R. as a separate document seems attested by the entry, already cited, of 'Elfledes Boc' in a Durham Catalogue of MSS. The compiler of the early part of E, on the other hand, shows no knowledge of the M. R. in any form.

§ 70. But from the beginning of the tenth century there occur both in D and E fragments of a second group of Northumbrian annals, extending roughly from the death of Alfred to the death of Edwy⁴. These annals occur also in Simeon of Durham⁵ and in a completer form⁶; but the corruptions and omissions show that even here the annals are

¹ I say 'the last in B and C,' because I am inclined to think that the copy of the M. R. used by the compiler of this part of D may have extended further, and that some of his entries between 924 and 959 may be derived from a Mercian and not from a Northumbrian source.

² See note *ad loc.*

³ See below, §§ 113, 114.

⁴ 966 D, E, F looks also like a northern annal; nor is the fact of

its absence from S. D. any argument against this view, for the first Chronicle in S. D. does not go beyond 957.

⁵ *Historia Regum*, ii. 92-95.

⁶ Mr. Arnold is clearly wrong, *u. s. p.* 93 note, in deriving these entries in S. D. from the Saxon Chron. The phenomena cannot be explained on that theory. For the true relation of S. D. to the Chronicle here, see Theopold, pp. 76-83.

not in their original shape. As in the case of the Mercian Register, these annals probably existed as a separate document, which was used independently by D, E, and S. D.; for no one of the three can be copied from either of the others. Comparing the three authorities, we might restore these Northumbrian annals with some approach to completeness.

There is nothing to fix the original place of composition of this second group of northern annals; but I have already indicated that the reference to Ripon in 948 D points to that monastery as the place where they were embodied in the ancestor of D¹. Where the home of the original of E was at this time, I do not know. It must, however, have been somewhere in the north.

A southern section, 959-982.

§ 71. From 959 to 982 D and E continue mostly to agree together, while remaining independent of C. But there is no trace of any specially northern influence, and the tone of these annals seems distinctly southern². From 983 to the end of 1018, and to some extent up to 1022, C, D, and E run parallel to each other, and we have already traced the source of the common original of this part of these Chronicles to Abingdon³. And this seems to show that the preceding section 959 to 982 in D, E does not come from Abingdon, otherwise it would hardly be so independent of C, the Abingdon character of which appears as early as 971, 977, 981, 982⁴.

Relation of C, D, E in the later annals.

§ 72. From 1023, if not from 1019, D becomes largely independent both of C and E; though there are partial and sporadic agreements with both, the rationale of which is very difficult

¹ This reference is not in S. D., though he has the rest of the annal. A fact which rather tells against a Ripon *origin* for these annals; for, as we have seen, S. D. does not cut out Ripon notices when they come in his way.

² Except in 966, which is an overlapping annal from the second northern group.

³ *i. e.* the common ancestor of C, D, E in this section was an Abingdon MS. This does not imply that

this section (apart from the Abingdon insertions) was originally *composed* at Abingdon.

⁴ The mere absence of these Abingdon notices in D would not in itself prove anything, for, as we have seen, § 63, D in the later annals deliberately cuts out Abingdon notices. But they are absent from E, which generally retains them; and the total independence of C manifested by D, E during these years is, I think, conclusive.

to unravel, but which are, in some cases at any rate, best explained by the hypothesis of the existence of separate documents containing small groups of annals, or even narratives of single events, which documents were used in different combinations by the compilers of the various Chronicles¹.

§ 73. The next point to be determined, if possible, is the locality of this last and more independent part of D. The answer generally given to this question is Worcester, and D has come to be known as the Worcester Chronicle, and so I have called it myself in the first volume of this edition. And thus an explanation has been found for the obviously northern character of parts of D, in the close connexion of the sees

Origin of
the later
part of D.

¹ Of such documents we have already had instances in the Mercian Register, and the two groups of Northumbrian annals. Instances of the same kind in continental Chronicles may be seen by any one who will look through Pertz, M. H. G. i. 63, 64, 69, 70, 88, 95, &c.; ii. 184; v. 9, 10; xiii. 38, 80; xv. 1292; xvi. 439, 730; xvii. 33, 332; xix. 223, 274, 541. The annals after 1022, in which D is parallel to C, are 1035-1038, 1040-1042, 1052, 1055, 1056; the relation of 1049 C to 1050 D is very curious, in parts they are verbally identical, and in other parts quite independent, and something of the same kind may be seen at 1055, 1056. In 1065 and 1066 D is evidently made up of a conflation of the materials used by C and E; cf. § 23. This will seem less strange if we bear in mind the possibility that the annual records of events were not made at once in the formal Chronicle, but were kept in the shape of rough notes, which were reduced to order and entered in the Chronicle every few years. The relation of the later hands in E to one another distinctly favours a theory of this kind. When the rough materials had been utilised in this way, it would be

natural to pass them on to some allied religious house, where they might be combined with similar materials from some other source. The idea underlying this suggestion was struck out in a conversation with Mr. G. F. Warner. Since writing the above, I have read Mr. Howlett's Introduction to his edition of the Chronicle of Robert de Torigny (*or de Monte*) in the Rolls Series, where he shows that this is precisely what happened with that Chronicle. The rough sheets on which Abbot Robert jotted down from time to time the continuations of his Chronicle were lent to the various houses which had received copies of the work at an earlier stage, in order to enable them to bring their copies up to date. In MS. Cott. Domit. VIII (which also contains MS. F of the Chronicle), he thinks that we have a transcript of such sheets made without reference to the earlier part of Robert's Chronicle. Mr. Howlett applies many uncomplimentary epithets to his investigations, 'wearisome,' 'technical,' 'repulsive'; really to any one who cares for questions of literary history they are most interesting and ingenious.

Objections
to the
Worcester
theory.

of York and Worcester from 972-1023¹. This answer is nearly right, but I think not quite. The only Worcester notices peculiar to D are 1033, 1047, and 1049². Of these, 1033 might tell almost as much in favour of Pershore, as Brihteah had been Abbot of Pershore before his elevation to the see of Worcester³; 1047 merely records the death of Living and succession of Ealdred, though the epithet given to the former, 'se word snotera,' *i. e.* the eloquent, seems to argue some touch of personal knowledge; 1049 relates the earthquake; but though Worcester seems mentioned as the chief centre of disturbance, the shock was felt as far north as Derby, and therefore any place in the neighbourhood of Worcester will answer the conditions of the problem. Moreover, if D received its final shape at Worcester, how are we to account for the total absence from it of the very name of Wulfstan, who fills such a large space in the Chronicle of Florence⁴? There are Pershore notices at 1053 and 1056⁵. But on the whole the notices in 1037, 1045, 1054, and 1078 incline me to decide in favour of Evesham, though the argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that the first and third notices are found wholly or in part in C, and the last partly in E⁶. But it is strengthened by the fact that in this way we are able to explain the undoubted Scandinavian element in D⁷, partly by the well-known favour which the Danish kings

Evesham
more pro-
bable.

¹ From the appointment of Oswald to York in 972 to the death of Wulfstan II in 1023, the two sees were held continuously by the same prelates. We have, however, found a different explanation for the presence of this northern element, above, §§ 66-68, 70.

² To these should perhaps be added the details about Ealdred in 1054 and 1058; cf. 1051-3, 1056, 1060-1, 1066.

³ See note *a. l.*

⁴ See above, § 53 and note.

⁵ Of 1056 the substance is also in C; but the addition in D that Earl Odda was 'god man 7 clæne, 7 swiðe æðele' betrays a special local interest.

⁶ Note however in D the characterisation of Abbot Ægelwig, as 'se woruld snotera,' *i. e.* 'rerum prudens,' which argues personal knowledge. The Pershore notices are quite consistent with the theory of an Evesham origin, for Pershore is only about six miles from Evesham.

⁷ See the annals 1028-1031, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050; compare also the Scandinavian words which occur in D: 1016 *ad fin.*, féolaga (= Icel. félagi; no example of this is given in Bosworth-Toller); 1040, hamele (= Icel. hamla, copied by E); wyrra, 1066 D (see Glossary); witter, 1067 D (Icel. vitr); ? Irensid, 1057 D (Icel. jaru-siða); 1075, grá-scinnen (cf.

showed to Evesham¹, partly by the connexion with Odensee in Denmark, which was founded as a priory of Evesham in the reign of William Rufus².

§ 74. It is curious that in 1056, 1057, 1059, 1060, D has some entries relating to Peterborough which are not in E, the Peterborough Chronicle. Nor can they be derived from any of the immediate predecessors of E; for, as we have seen, the stock of that Chronicle did not reach Peterborough till c. 1121. We must suppose, therefore, either that there existed at Peterborough some earlier local annals, and that some of these found their way to the home of D, and were there incorporated in it, though they were not incorporated in the new Peterborough

Peterborough entries in D.

Icel. grá-skin); 1076, hofding (= Icel. höfðingi, E has 'yldast'); brýdlóp, *ib. ad fin.* (= Icel. brúð-hlaup, E has 'brýd-ealo'). The earliest occurrence of the Scandinavian 'lagu' for the native 'dóm' seems to be 1018 D; cf. 'unlagu,' 975 D, 1052 C, D, 1086 E. Other Scandinavian words in the Chronicle are orrest, 1096 E (Icel. orrusta, the native word is 'earnest'); holm, in sense of island, 1025 E (= Icel. holmr); lip, 1052 C, D, E; liðs-mann, 1036^b E; scip-lið, 1055 C *ad fin.*; scilián of mále, 1049 C (*v.* Glossary); swein, 1128 E (Icel. sveinn); padde, 1137 E; taper-æx, 1031 A; til, 1137 E; há, 1040 C (Icel. hár); há-sæta, 1052 E; hústing, 1012 C, D, E. The proportion seems certainly rather greater in D.

¹ See Chron. Evesham, pp. 74, 75, 83, 325, 326.

² See on this, Ord. Vit. iii. 203; Chron. Evesh. pp. xlv. 325; Langbek, *Scriptores*, iii. 383 note; Mon. Angl. ii. 4, 25, 26. At first sight it might seem as if this foundation of Odensee from Evesham under Rufus was too late to explain anything in the composition of D; but in the first place it points to some previous connexion between Denmark and Evesham (else why

should the Danish king have resorted specially to Evesham for monks to colonise his new foundation?); and in the second, I shall show presently, §§ 75, 76, that D did not finally assume its present shape till after 1100. There are Scandinavian elements also in Fl. Wig., apart from those which he has in common with D; see 991, 993, 1009, 1021, 1029, 1030, ? 1040, 1049, ? 1065. It is at least possible that these also may have come through Evesham; cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 143, 144, where a different theory is suggested. An Evesham origin will also help to explain the absence of any mention of St. Wulfstan; for though Wulfstan was personally friendly to Evesham, Ang. Sac. ii. 253, 257; Hyde Reg. pp. 48, 49; Chron. Evesh. p. 89, the relations between the Abbey of Evesham and the Bishops of Worcester became at a later time very strained; and this began at least as early as 1139, possibly earlier, *ib.* 99; cf. Maitland, Domesday, pp. 85, 158, 159. A northern element seems traceable in 1052 D, *v.* note *ad loc.*; but Evesham had a treaty of confraternity with St. Mary's, York, and possibly with other northern houses, Hyde Register, *u. s.*

Chronicle¹; or that there was some one employed on the compilation of D who had a special interest in Peterborough².

Life of St.
Margaret
of Scot-
land.

§ 75. Another source which appears very clearly in the later part of D is some document connected with the life of St. Margaret of Scotland. From this there is an evident insertion in 1067, where it breaks the connexion of the original annal, and has, I believe, seriously misled chronologists who did not notice the character of the interpolation³. The details in 1075 probably came from the same source, and probably also the account of Margaret's father in 1057. But the evident anxiety of the compiler in 1067 to trace Margaret's descent from the royal house of Wessex shows that the insertion was not made until after the marriage of her daughter Edith-Matilda to Henry I in 1100. It answers exactly to the remark of E on the occasion of that marriage that the bride was 'of the right kingly kin of England,' 1100 E.

Final com-
pilation of
D subse-
quent to
1100.

§ 76. It follows then that this part of D cannot be earlier than 1100⁴. It is true that D is mutilated at the end; but I have shown (§ 22) that it cannot have extended much beyond its present termination in 1078. It follows, therefore, that there is an interval of over twenty years between the final compilation of D and the last event recorded in it. It follows also that the later changes of hand are not due, as in the case of the later hands in E, to the fact that various scribes were keeping the Chronicle up to date by contemporary entries, but

¹ Any such earlier annals may have perished in the attack on Peterborough in 1070, or in the fire of 1116, and so have not been available for the compilation of E.

² Such a link, *e.g.* in the case of Worcester, would be supplied by the fact that St. Wulfstan was educated at Peterborough, Fl. Wig. i. 218. But even if we adhere to the old view that D belongs to Worcester, this particular link would of course be much too early to account for the annals in question.

³ See notes *ad loc.*

⁴ Another mark of later editing in this part of the Chronicle is the reflexion in 1065 D, 1064 E that the shires ravaged by the northern insurgents were '*many winters the worse*'; cf. '*á syððan hit yflade swiðe*,' 1066 D *ad jin.*, which implies later experience. Note too the late words '*corona*,' *ib.*, '*prison*,' 1076 D, where E has a native phrase; and the territorial designation '*Englaland*' in 1017 D, where C and E have preserved the older '*Angelcynn*.' The *forms* of names and words are also often later in D than in E.

rather to the fact that different hands were employed on the transcription and compilation of the materials available; and I have already expressed the doubt whether the earliest is separated from the latest hand by an interval of more than a few years¹.

§ 77. We must, therefore, recognise the fact that D *as we have it* is a late compilation, some of which dates from after 1100, and none of it probably from much before 1100². Of course this Chronicle went through various stages of growth before it assumed its present shape³: and in tracing this development, and in comparing D with the other Saxon Chronicles and with the Latin Northumbrian annals preserved by Simeon of Durham, we have seen clearly that D is largely made up of ancient materials⁴. But where the narrative of D is not supported in either of these ways, the question must be faced whether it is based on documents approximately contemporary, or whether it merely represents the traditions current about the year 1100, as collected and embodied by the last compiler. Nor will a comparison of D with Florence of Worcester, who of the Latin chroniclers is the nearest to D, help us to prove an earlier date for any of these entries. For Florence survived till 1118, and therefore cannot furnish any additional evidence of antiquity, though the fact that some of these entries are not in Florence *may* throw additional suspicion on them.

§ 78. These entries, which are peculiar to D, fall into two classes:—(i.) annals which are found in D alone; (ii.) insertions by D of additional matter in older annals⁵. Of the two classes,

¹ See above, § 24.

² This comparative lateness of D makes it more than possible that where in the later portions of the Chronicle D and E are parallel, E may be nearer to the original source than D. I am inclined to think that this is the case, *e.g.* in 1057, 1072 (= 1073 D). This also explains how all the way through E has often preserved the true reading

which D has corrupted. See above, § 60.

³ See below, §§ 114, 115.

⁴ See above, §§ 66, 69-72, 74.

⁵ I am speaking strictly of matter peculiar to D; and this in itself excludes the cases already discussed, § 65, of the amalgamation of northern with southern annals, most of which are common also to E.

D in its present shape a late compilation.

Entries peculiar to D.

the latter seem to me, generally speaking, to be open to greater suspicion than the former. Of the annals between 900 and 967, which are peculiar either wholly or in part to D, I do not speak here, because I have already given reasons for supposing that, though unsupported by the other Chronicles or S. D., they may be derived from the Mercian Register or the later group of Northumbrian annals¹. There is, however, an obvious interpolation in one of the southern annals in D about this point, *viz.* the passage describing the manner of Edmund's death in 946: 'þ wæs wide cuð . . . his cwen.' A comparison of the text of D with that of A, B, C makes it clear that this is just such an addition as a modern editor of a text would place in a note². The notice of the consecration of Ælfric in 1014 is an obvious insertion, and breaks the thread of the narrative. The account of the meeting of Edmund Ironside and Cnut has been recast by D³. The assertion that Harold succeeded Cnut immediately is an addition of D in 1035, and it is wrong⁴. The beautiful little anecdote about the death of Æthelric of Selsey in 1038 may be compared with the account of Edmund's death in 946⁵. Of the other insertions in the later parts of D, most have been dealt with already under other heads.

In language D is conservative.

§ 79. On the other hand there is very little in D of that linguistic degeneration, which is such a marked feature in the later parts of E. Beyond the occasional use of a foreign word like 'corona' or 'prisun,' there is little in the language which marks a late period⁶. This fact, and the existence of the frag-

¹ 926 D, which relates the submission of the Scotch, Welsh, and Northumbrian princes to Athelstan, is one of the unsupported annals; and, in view of what has been said, it is impossible absolutely to refute Robertson's contention that it is a later insertion. See however note *ad loc.*

² Fl. Wig. has also details as to Edmund's death; but his account is at any rate not derived solely from D. The use of the pedantic word 'cleptor' seems to point to the

earliest life of Dunstan, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 29, as his source.

³ 1016 D. This may perhaps count as one of the Scandinavian additions alluded to above, § 73.

⁴ See note *ad loc.*

⁵ On the conflate reading of 1042 D, see note *ad loc.*

⁶ 'We find little to distinguish it from the language of the tenth century, and we feel that we have to do with the preserved and cultivated diction of a cloister,' Earle, Introduction, p. xlii.

ment H, which cannot be earlier than 1113, should warn us against arguing as if E was a normal specimen of the English written in the first half of the twelfth century.

§ 80. The junction of the southern Chronicle with the Gesta Northanhymbrorum is, on the whole, not unskillfully done; but in some cases the work of compilation is performed very clumsily, and the recurrent 'Her,' . . . 'her' . . . in the same annal without any connecting particle shows the mechanical union of annals derived from different sources¹. Moreover, this taking of matter from different sources leads sometimes to the entry of the same event twice under different years², in one case twice under the same year³.

§ 81. But apart from these deficiencies in literary craft, D is from first to last very inaccurately and carelessly written; it is full of mistakes and omissions. Some of these have been already cited (§ 60) to illustrate the relation of D to E, and to show that D cannot be the original of E or of any other of our existing Chronicles. A full list of the annals in which the more important of these errors occur is given in the note⁴. The tendency

¹ See *e.g.* 906, 909, 913, 943, 954, 975, 979, 988; in 943 and 988 no less than three separate sources seem to be conflated in this way. In 988 all three elements stand out distinct; in the second part of 943 two of them have been amalgamated; but if the words 'ymbset . . . 7 he cyning Eadmund,' 'þa,' and '7 he him . . . gyfode' be omitted, this part of the annal would be restored to the form which it bears in B and C. Instances of unskillful insertions have been already pointed out, § 78.

² Cf. 702 (northern) with 704 (southern), accession of Cenred duplicated; 729 N and 731 S, death of Osric repeated (these are also in E); 801, 802, consecration of Beornmod (not in E); 1047 and 1049 are possibly doublets.

³ 731, death of Bryhtwold entered twice. This is not in E. A possible attempt to correct what was

thought to be a doublet may be seen by comparing D, E with A under 722 and 725; B, C has made the correction in the reverse way; 872 and 873 D, E compared with A, B, C exhibit a similar tendency.

⁴ 155, 716, 725, 726, 731, 743, 755, 759, 774, 777, 799, 806, 823, 838, 851, 853, 855, 860, 866, 868, 870, 871, 875, 876, 878, 885, 886, 887, 890, 892, 894*, 895*, 896, 897*, 901*, 904, 905, 910, 911*, 915, 918, 934, 937, 945, 975, 994, 997, 998, 999, 1004*, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1016, 1034, 1052^b*, 1065 (on 1067, 1068, see notes *ad loc.*), 1073*. The annals marked with an asterisk contain omissions, the larger number being due to homoioteleuton, the surest proof of non-originality. The mistakes here enumerated are peculiar to D. Where a mistake is common to D, E, it shows that it is due to one of their common ances-

to write *w* for *p*¹ and *p* for *w*² is well known to all students of English MSS.; but the confusion points to a later time when native names, including that of the divine progenitor of Anglo-Saxon royalty, had become unfamiliar.

Deliberate alterations in D.

§ 82. Some of the alterations found in D have been made deliberately. He occasionally omits pedigrees, 716, 755 *ad fin.*, though in this he is much less trenchant than E³. But the most important of these deliberate alterations are those which are due to the party standpoint of the compiler. Though not so strongly Godwinist as E (ε), he clearly takes that side and edits his materials in that sense. The most glaring instance of this is his account of the arrest of the Etheling Alfred in 1036; but instances of the same tendency occur at 1052^b, 1053, 1056, 1065, and 1066⁴.

Relation of D to older MSS.

§ 83. It remains to say something further on the relation of D to the older existing MSS. A, B, C. And in this discussion B may be practically neglected. It is a mere pale reflexion of C, and stops at 977, so that it cannot have influenced the composition of D. Of the two remaining MSS. it is obvious that D is much more closely related to C than to A; from 983 to 1022 it runs, as we have seen, closely parallel to C, and in this part C is wholly independent of A. Like C it uses the Mercian Register, though in a different way; and of this there is no trace in A. In the annals 901, 903, 904, 905, 915 [= 918 A]⁵

It is nearest to C,

tors. Such cases will be found in 828, 833, 835, 836, 845; common omissions occur 851, 865, 882, all due to homoioteleuton. Other alterations common to D, E are deliberate, and mark a later time, 743, 750, 752, 835, 836, 851; see notes *ad loc.* In a few cases D, E have preserved the right reading against A, B, C, *e.g.* 885 (Sture).

¹ 788, 794, 796.

² 800, 855 (Poden *for* Woden; this is overlooked by Thorpe). All these cases of confusion occur in proper names. This is rare in other MSS., *viz.* Awuldre *for* Apuldre, 892 E; forspeldon *for* forsweldon,

1006 E; cf. 626 W., but this may be Wheloc's error.

³ Many of the pedigrees in A, B, C occur in the part where D is defective, 262-603, and therefore the point cannot be fully tested. D has, however, the pedigrees at 694, 726, 731, 855, all of which E has cut out.

⁴ See the notes on all these passages.

⁵ This point, 915 B, C, D [= 918 A], clearly marks a stage in the growth of the Chronicle, for it is after this annal that B, C insert the Mercian Register unaltered, while A for a time is wholly independent. See below, § 93.

B, C, D exhibit a recension differing in important particulars from A; while they have not the interesting annals, 919-924, which are peculiar to A. It is true that in the earlier part of the Chronicle up to 898, where A, B, C are practically identical, D, E not infrequently agree with A against the other two; but this, as a rule, only means that A D [E] have preserved the true reading, which B, C have corrupted¹; and does not point to any special affinity of A and D. But, on the other hand, D cannot be copied from C. This is most clearly seen by the many cases in which D has passages which C has omitted²; and we are thus confirmed in the opinion which has already been put forward that C and D are not derived the one from the other, but are to be traced back to some common ancestor or ancestors.

§ 84. I have already said³ that of the Latin chroniclers Florence shows the greatest affinity with D. The materials for comparison, however, are somewhat diminished by the fact that in the early part of the history, 565-731, 827, many annals are taken direct from Bede and not from the Chronicle; while in the second half of the ninth century most of the entries, with but slight variations, agree bodily with the text of Asser⁴. That Florence had a Chronicle of the D, E type, *i. e.* a Chronicle in which the northern and southern elements had already been conjoined, seems clear from many

¹ 33, 703, 718, 730, 740, 754, 762, 784, 790, 821, 823, 860, 867, 870, 877, 885 *ad fin.* In all these cases I believe that A, D, E have preserved the true reading. So in the part where D is mutilated, E often agrees with A against B, C; 456, 485, 491, 534, 577, 614, 628, 632, 635, 639, 645, 648; here too the readings of A, E are right, and D, if we had it, would probably agree with them.

² 730 (whole annal omitted by B, C), 755, 855 *ad fin.*, 878, 883, 894, 896, 1009, 1010; all the cases too already cited where D agrees with A against B, C, are evidences that D cannot have been copied

from C; as are also the cases to be cited later, § 90, where C has readings (generally errors) peculiar to itself. That D was not copied from A, in addition to the arguments already used, a few instances of omissions in A which are not in D will decisively show: 868, 876, 878, 894 *ad fin.*, 911.

³ § 77.

⁴ 849-887, with occasional exceptions. I have deliberately avoided the statement, so frequently made, that Florence took these annals direct from Asser. I incline rather to the view that they both took them from some common source. This view would explain the fact

instances¹. The special affinity with D is shown by those cases in which Florence has entries which are peculiar to D². But this does not by any means exhaust the relations of Florence to our Chronicles. He has the annals 919-924, which are found only in A³; he has also annals 980-982, 1030, 1039, 1055, 1065, which are peculiar to C, and the Mercian Register complete, not merely the fragments of it embodied in D⁴. Like D, Florence incorporates the M.R. with the main body of the Chronicle, but much more systematically⁵. Whether Florence

that though Florence is as a rule briefer than Asser, yet he has here and there phrases which are not in the latter, *e.g.* 'sui patris rogatu,' i. 74; 'in sancta . . . solennitate,' *ib.* 103; or Florence may have added these himself. Anyhow these annals are not the work of Florence. There was no reason why he should desert his usual mode of dealing with the Chronicle, unless he had some Latin authority at hand, which he considered equal or superior to the Chronicle. As to the form of Chronicle used by Asser, the annals 853, 872, 873 show that it was of the A, B, C type; while 851, 874, 876, 886 show that it was not our A. In one point he is nearest to C (855 C *ad fin.* = Asser 860 *ad init.*), but in other points he does not share the peculiarities of C or B. All that we can say then is that his Chronicle was of the southern type, and probably not identical with any of our existing MSS. Into the discussion of the date and character of the so-called Asser, I am fortunately not bound to enter. I trust the many problems connected with it will soon be solved for us by Mr. W. H. Stevenson.

¹ 705, 737, 744, 757, 759, 760, 761, &c. The northern elements are, however, sometimes omitted: 710, 716, 741, 785, 795, 796, 798, 806. *Per contra* he has a northern entry in 800 which is not in the

Chron. Other points, not northern, in which Fl. Wig. follows the D, E recension are 584, 978, 980 (= 977, 979 Fl.), 1028, 1071-1075.

² 925, 926, 940 (part), 941, 946, 947, 948, 952, 954 (part), 957, 958, 965, 1016 (part), 1018 (part), 1021, 1026, 1033, 1034, 1038, 1043, 1045-1049, 1051, 1052^a, 1052^b (part). 1054, 1057-1061, 1063, 1067, 1068. The dates are those of D; Florence's dates sometimes differ slightly. On the other hand he has not the annals 943, 955 D. The latter he may have omitted, because he knew it to be wrong; *v.* note *ad loc.*

³ In Fl. they are numbered 916-921; on the chronological question something will be found in the notes, ii. 116, 117. Fl. has also 931, 932, 934 A (= 932, 933, 935 Fl., agreeing with the original numbering in A). In the following cases also Fl. is nearer to A than to any other of our existing MSS.: 643, 722 compared with 725, 838, 894, 898; while in 710, 787, 805, 833, 845, 909, 943 he seems to agree with the A, B, C recension against that of D, E. In 705 the two recensions seem conflated.

⁴ See Florence 904-924. In 999 and 1009 also, Fl. shows a decided affinity with the text of C.

⁵ From 901 to 915 the four Chronicles, A, B, C, D, are so closely parallel that it is hard to say to which of them Fl.'s text of the *main* Chronicle is most nearly allied.

Florence
not dependent
wholly on
D.

took the M.R. from C or had it as a separate document I cannot say; I think the former is more likely¹. In some cases Florence gives a text compounded of C and D²; in another, 1038, D and E seem conflated; while in the later part of the Chronicle Florence and his continuators use E or some closely allied document³. If we were justified (as we are not) in assuming that no type of Saxon Chronicle existed besides those which have come down to us, we could explain nearly all⁴ the phenomena of Florence by supposing that he had access to MSS. resembling our A, C, D, E; nor, considering Florence's diligence in collecting materials, is this at all an impossible supposition⁵. But when we consider how many Chronicles

Only in 901 and 905 is there a marked difference between A and B, C, D; in 901 Fl. seems to have conflated the two versions; in 905 he agrees with B, C, D. Also in the chronology he agrees with B, C, D against A. On the whole I think he is nearest to C. In Fl. 914 there seems a slight conflation of the texts of C and D. From 904-915 Florence's text = main Chron. A, B, C, D + M. R.; in 916-920 it = A + M. R. Again in 965 Fl. = 964 A + 965 D.

¹ *Per contra* he has not 971, 977, peculiar to B, C, and his 1010 is not from C.

² Florence 978, 1017, 1053, 1056, 1066.

³ *ib.* 1079-1109, 1113-1115, 1118-1123, 1126, 1128, 1130. In 1010 and 1023 also Fl. seems nearer to E than to any other MS. In 926 Fl. seems to embody 927 E, F. But this is one of the second group of Northumbrian annals, which Fl. may have known in their original form and not merely through the Chronicle. On the other hand Fl. has not E's 1025, 1032, 1033, 1036; and in the case of such a zealous researcher as Florence the argument from omission is worth something. Anyhow Theopold is clearly wrong in treating D as Florence's sole

authority among the Chronicles, p. 93.

⁴ There are a few cases in which Fl. seems to differ from all our Chronicles, *e.g.* 694, 852, 1016. The only case of any importance is the last, where Fl. has an interesting passage which seems certainly based on a Saxon original, but is not in our existing Chronicles; *v.* note *ad loc.* Of Florence's materials other than the Chronicle I am not called upon to speak here; they are very numerous, and most of them can be identified. Of Florence's value as an historian I have said something in the notes; see on 1118. Green's estimate of him seems to me distinctly one-sided and unfair, C. E. p. 381.

⁵ Florence three times cites the Chronicle by name, 672, 674, 734: in the two first cases he speaks of it in the singular, 'secundum Anglicam Chronicam'; but in 734 it is noteworthy that he uses the plural, 'secundum Anglicas Chronicas,' which seems to show that he had at any rate more than one MS. The Chronicle is also twice cited, in the singular, in the West Saxon pedigree at the end of Fl. Wig. i. 271, 272. In his preface to W. M. II. xxi, Dr. Stubbs has suggested that a 'Latin Chronicle . . . possibly

have perished, and how differently the materials are combined even in our existing Chronicles, it would be rash to assume that this is the explanation.

Relation of
William
of Malmes-
bury to the
Chronicle.

§ 85. And here something must be said on the relation of William of Malmesbury to the Chronicle. W. M. is a more ambitious writer than either the diligent Florence or the superficial Henry of Huntingdon. He is not content, as they are, with the annalistic form, but aims at being an historian rather than a chronicler¹. Hence it is less easy to trace his relations to the Chronicle than in the case of the other two writers. Something, however, may be made out. W. M. refers to the Chronicle several times, and, like Florence, he sometimes in speaking of it uses the singular², and sometimes the plural³. He describes it as 'quaedam uetustatis indicia chronico more et patrio sermone per annos Domini ordinata'. That he had a Chronicle of the D, E type is clear from many instances⁵. But he also embodies many entries which are found only in E⁶, and

underlies the Chronicon ex Chronicis of Florence of Worcester.' The suggestion is an interesting one; and if it could be proved, it would detract very much from Florence's merits as a translator and compiler from the native Chronicles. My own impression is distinctly the other way, that Florence, except in the Asser passages, drew directly from the Chronicle without any Latin intermediary. On the subject of lost Chronicles, see below, § 121.

¹ 'Ipse mihi sub ope Christi gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinaverim post Bedam uel solus uel primus,' ii. 518; cf. *ib.* 567.

² i. 13, 120, 229.

³ i. 1, 12, 26, 30, 32. At i. 280 the Chronicle may be referred to in the vague phrase 'Angli dicunt.'

⁴ i. 1.

⁵ 737 (i. 67); 757, 759, 774, 778, 789, 790 (i. 74); 797 (i. 183); 980 (i. 184); 1028, 1030 (i. 221). To these may probably be added 449

(i. 44, where W. M. evidently interprets the words of the Chron. as meaning that the Angles came to Northumbria in that year); 565 (i. 13); for though D is defective here. E probably represents the D, E recension. It is otherwise with 430; see next note.

⁶ 430 (i. 26, 'Patricius' for 'Palladius'; this reading seems not to have been in D, for it is not in F, and therefore was probably not in ϵ , but was introduced either by η or E); 1012 (i. 207, W. M. follows the wrong reading of E, '8,000' instead of '48,000'); 1036 (i. 227, W. M. follows E in the erroneous date for Cnut's death, and as to the share of London in the election of Harold); 1036 (i. 229, as to the death of the Etheling Alfred, W. M. says 'chronica tacet'; this is true of E, not of C or D); 1039 (i. 228, death of Harold at *Oxford*, only in E); 1048 (i. 241, the account of Eustace at Dover is clearly from E, *v. s.* § 47); 1052 (i. 243, the mention of Ralph and Odo as comman-

others which are found only in D¹ of our existing Chronicles. In one or two cases W. M. has readings which differ from all our MSS., and suggest that he had a Chronicle of a distinct type². On the whole, I think these features probably come from some other source, and that the relations of W. M. to the Chronicle may be expressed by saying that he either had two MSS., one resembling D, and the other resembling E; or that he had a MS. which combined some of the features of both. The examples of Henry of Huntingdon, and probably of Florence, show that there is nothing improbable in the former supposition, and we know that W. M. had MSS. of the two recensions of Bede³.

§ 86. In tracing backwards the development of the Chronicle, I depart slightly from the chronological order in order to clear the way by disposing of MS. B, the history of which admits of being very shortly told. I have already said⁴ that it is a pale reflexion of C. Their affinity is indeed obvious, and is closer than that of any two existing MSS. of the Chronicle, with the exception of \bar{A} and A. In the first place, they both insert the Mercian Register at the same point and in the same form, and in both that document ends in the same abrupt and incomplete way, showing that the original was either mutilated or illegible at that point⁵. There are also other annals outside the Mercian Register which are peculiar to B and C⁶. But besides all this

B taken
out of
order.

B a shadow
of C.

ders of the English fleet is only in E); 1066 (i. 280, 'Haroldus . . . arripuit diadema, quamvis Angli dicit a rege concessum,' probably a reference to E, which alone says 'swa swa se cyng hit him geuðe'); 1088 (ii. 360 ff.); 1089 (ii. 374); 1090 (ii. 363).

¹ 925, 926 (i. 142, 146); 941 (i. 157); 946 (i. 159); 948, 952, 954 (i. 162); in 1041 W. M. seems to conflate D and E (i. 228, 'inter pocula' from D, 'apud Lamudam' from E). In 885 W. M. quotes *as from the Chronicle* a pedigree which is not in E; but it is in D, i. 120. In 765 he agrees with D rather than

E, i. 74. In 591 the MSS. of W. M. vary in the same way as do the MSS. of the Chronicle. At 1066 W. M. has what is a late addition in C, the story of the Northman who held the bridge at Stamford Bridge. But possibly both got it from oral tradition; *v. s.* § 55.

² 592 (i. 21, *Wodnesdic for Wodnesbeorh*); 652 (i. 23, 'Wirtgenesburg'). See on this question W. M. I. xx, liii; II. xxi, xxv, cxvii.

³ See my Bede, I. xciv, note.

⁴ § 83.

⁵ 924 B, C, and note *ad loc.*

⁶ 957, 971, 977.

they agree together in the most marked way in mistakes¹, in omissions², in insertions³, and in other varieties of readings⁴. That the points in which they agree with one another and differ from the rest are sometimes of the minutest character, such as the spelling of a name with a *k* instead of a *c*⁵, only illustrates more forcibly the closeness of the connexion. And yet, with all this, neither is a transcript of the other. C is not copied from B; for it has annals⁶ and parts of annals⁷ which are omitted by B. B is not copied from C; for C has its own omissions which are not in B⁸.

Yet
neither is
a transcript
of the
other.

B and C
come from
a common
source.

§ 87. Hence we must trace them back to a common source which exhibited these peculiarities shared by B and C⁹. We

¹ 633 (*þær for fæt*); 673 (*Æþelbriht for Æþeldryht*); 703 (*xxxvii for xxvii*); 716 (*Ceolwold for Ceolred*); 741 (*xxvi for xvi*); 763 (*Eadbriht for Eanbriht*); C repeats this error in 764, and both have it again in 790; in 785 both have Eanbriht; the other MSS. all spell the name with an initial I; 860 (*Wulfheard for Osric, r. note ad loc.*). In one case, 796, B and C have a common correction of an error which runs through all the other MSS., *Ceowulf, A, D, E, F*; *Cynulf, B, C, recte*.

² 12, 461 (= 465 *A, E*); 501, 519, 568, 680, 725 (the omission here was probably deliberate, the scribe considering that the latter part of 725 *A* was a doublet of the latter part of 722 *A*); 730 (the whole annal omitted in B, C, though it is in *A, D, E, F*); 823, 827, 860, 877, 885 (homoioteleuta); 878, 883 (the omission here is very noticeable, as it leaves the passage without any proper construction); 894.

³ 2, 100, 455, 456, 495, 508, 577, 584, 606 (the addition of Gregory's parentage); 642 (the addition of the epithet *þa ealdan cyricean*, on the significance of which see below, § 113, note); 635, 639, 643, 644, 647, 654, 673, 694 (these also are little explanatory touches, and show a

later hand); 853, 871, 879, 889, 959, 975.

⁴ 1, 30, 33, 35, 46, 70, 85, 189, 381, 430, 473, 485, 491, 514, 530, 534, 552, 565, 571, 577, 591, 607, 614, 628, 632, 635, 639, 641, 642 (here the distribution of the entries between the years 641 and 642 differs from *A*); 644, 645, 649, 655, 658, 661, 688, 705, 710, 717, 746, 754, 784, 812, 821, 823, 836, 845, 867, 870, 876, 878, 882, 890, 915, 944.

⁵ 477, 644, 645.

⁶ 675, 921, 976. ⁷ 758, 868.

⁸ 755, 855 *ad fin.*, 896; all these are cases of homoioteleuton.

⁹ We shall see later (§ 113), that of these peculiarities common to B and C some had their origin at Winchester before the Chronicle was transplanted to Abingdon; while others, such as the insertion of the Mercian Register, were due to the Abingdon editor. But besides the special points common to B and C, B has certain peculiarities of its own: 71, 653, 670 (here the territorial '*Westseaxnaland*' seems late; it is due to the mistake in C [F] of *Westseaxna for Westseaxan*; the genitive thus created required something to depend on); 672, 679, 680, 682, 685, 688, 709 (be *westan Selewuda for be westan wuda, A, C,*

may call this common source Γ . But this common source must be carefully distinguished from that common source to which we have already traced some of the later parts of C, D, E; for the parallelism of C, D, E only begins about 983, whereas B ends with 977; and after the same point there is a change of hand in C. These two facts warrant us in assuming that Γ , at the time when it was copied by the scribes of B and C, went no further; and this date, like 892 and 915, marks a stage in the development of the Chronicle. Moreover, B is written in one hand throughout. It is pretty clear that B is a transcript made with a view to its becoming the stock of a new Chronicle, and that for some reason or another this stock remained barren.

As to the home of Γ , the notice of Abingdon in 977 and of Thame in 971, two annals peculiar to B, C, *i. e.* to Γ , point conclusively to Abingdon, and this fits in with what has been already said as to the Abingdon character of the common ancestor of C, D, E from 983 to 1018. In other words, the compiler of C found ready to his hand a Chronicle extending to 977 and a continuation extending from 983 to 1018, both of which had already passed under the hands of Abingdon editors.

§ 88. In one point B probably originally resembled \mathbb{A} , viz. in having the Genealogical Preface. In Cott. Tib. A. iii. f. 178, is a leaf containing the genealogy of the West Saxon house (cited by me as β), which, apart from scribal variations, resembles that in \mathbb{A} , except that it is continued down to Edward the Martyr¹. It has been suggested that this leaf really belongs to B; and the suggestion is highly probable. The writing is very similar, there are the same number of lines to the page (23), and though the size of the page in Tib. A. iii.

D, E, F); 716, 734, 737, 755, 758, 784, 837, 868, 871, 876 *ad fin.*, 880, 882, 893, 894, 897 (insertion of 'witan' after 'þa gepungenestan,' because 'þa gep.witan' was a current phrase); 906, 915, 937, 942. This last and 709 are the only variants of any interest or impor-

ance. On the connexion of B with St. Augustine's, Canterbury, see above, § 18.

¹ I have given the variants from this leaf in the critical notes, i. 2-5. It is printed in full in Thorpe, i. 232, 233, who also gives a facsimile.

Γ an Abingdon book.

B had originally a Genealogical Preface like \mathbb{A} .

is rather bigger than in B, I believe the difference to be due to B having shrunk in the great Cottonian fire. The part of the page actually covered by writing is of the same size in both. And this probability is very greatly strengthened by the fact that the genealogy is brought down to exactly the point reached by the Chronicle. B ends, as we have seen, at 977; the genealogy ends imperfectly: 'þa feng Eadweard to, Eadgares sunu, 7 heold . . .' The writing stops at the beginning of a line, so that the incompleteness is not due to mutilation. It is due to the fact that the original continuator of the genealogy did not when he wrote know how long Edward 'held the kingdom'; for the very good reason that in 977 Edward was still alive. He was murdered in 979; and thus we can fix within two years, 977 × 979, the time, not indeed when B was transcribed, but when Γ was compiled. The Genealogical Preface was probably therefore in Γ; B preserved it, while C preferred a different introduction to the Chronicle¹.

¹ Wanley, pp. 84, 199, and Hardy, Cat. i. 576, both held the view adopted in the text; MS. notes by Sir F. Madden, in Tib. A. iii, and in B, show that he shared it. Professors Earle and Pauli were inclined to take a different view, see Earle, pp. xxv, xxvi. In a later section (§ 124 note) I have shown that the Junius transcript (Junius 66) and the Joscelyn transcript of the genealogy (Laud Misc. 661) are both taken from β, and afford no evidence of the existence of any Genealogical Preface to B other than β. The question turns largely on Joscelyn's copy of the West Saxon genealogy in his *Collectanea*, Cott. Vitell. D. vii. f. 138. This copy is taken from A as far as Alfred, with various readings from 'historia Saxonica monasterii Augustini Cant.,' which we know to have been Joscelyn's designation for our B. These, *vv. ll.*, agree with β in all cases except one, where for the 'xxxi' of A it is noted that the 'hist. Sax.

Aug.' reads 'xxi'; as a matter of fact β reads 'xx,' but this might easily be a slip of Joscelyn's influenced by the 'xxxi' of the text before him. After the reign of Alfred, Joscelyn continues 'hic desinit hist. Sax. [ecclesiae] Christi Cant. quam habet doctor Wutton [=A]. Tradit iam hist. Sax. [S. Augustini] Cant. quam habet Ioannes Twyne Cant.;' and then continues the genealogy up to Edward the Martyr. This latter part also agrees closely with β except in two minute particulars: for 'Eadmund,' β, Joscelyn has 'Eadmond,' and for 'ða feng Eadwig to Eadmundes sunu cinges,' β, he has 'ða feng Eadwig Eadm. sunu ci . . .' [*i. e.* cinges, not 'to rice' as Professor Earle read the burnt margin, so that the divergence is reduced to the accidental omission of 'to']. It was on the ground of these differences that Professor Earle doubted the view that β belongs to B, but they are obviously too slight to support his conclusion. More-

§ 89. The relations of C to B, D, E, so far as they are parallel, have been already discussed in dealing with those MSS. We have seen that its kinship is closest with B so far as B extends; but that C, D, and E must all, in the parts in which they coincide, be traced back to some common original or originals¹. It only remains, therefore, to discuss the relation of C to \bar{A} . We have seen² that \bar{A} , B, C up to 892 belong to an earlier recension, which differs considerably from that which underlies the corresponding part of D, E. From 894 to 915 \bar{A} seems to stand over against B, C, D. After 915 [= \bar{A} 918] the parallelism of \bar{A} to the other MSS. ceases for a time, from 933 to 975 the parallelism of \bar{A} is intermittent, after 975 it ceases altogether, *i. e.* it ceases just about the point where Γ ended; another indication that we have about this point a well-marked stage in the development of the Chronicle.

§ 90. But though belonging to the same class as \bar{A} , C is not copied from it; \bar{A} has several omissions which are peculiar to itself, and prove that it cannot be original³. Nor can \bar{A} be copied from Γ , which, as we have seen, had several omissions which are not in \bar{A} ⁴; still less can \bar{A} be copied from B or C, which, besides the omissions which they both derived from Γ , have each omissions peculiar to themselves⁵. We must there-

over, if B had a genealogy other than β , would it not be strange that Joscelin in his *Collectanea* should have used B, but when actually transcribing B itself should have taken the genealogy from a different MS.? I may add that Mr. G. F. Warner, who with his usual kindness went most carefully into this question for my behoof, was convinced that the scribe of β was identical with that of B. If, however, any one still prefers the opinion of Professors Earle and Pauli, it might be suggested that β belonged originally to the lost MS. Γ , which we know to have ended at the same point as B.

¹ §§ 63, 69, 71, 72, 83, 86, 87.

² §§ 59, 65 ff.

³ *e. g.* 853, 868, 871, 876*, 878*, 883, 886, 894*, 911; those marked with an asterisk are cases of homoioteleuton. These show equally that B cannot be copied from \bar{A} , though Theopold strangely asserts the contrary, p. 14.

⁴ See above, § 86.

⁵ *ib.* § 86, and note. As to C, cf. 674, 856 *ad fin.*, 894 *ad fin.*, 896*. So in the part independent of \bar{A} there are omissions peculiar to C; 1009, 1010*, 1017, 1020. In one annual, 722, there is an agreement of \bar{A} and C in a curious little blunder, but this must be accidental merely.

fore trace \bar{A} and Γ back to some common original, the readings of which have however, as a rule, been more faithfully preserved by \bar{A} ¹.

Peculiarities of C.

Besides the omissions already noted, C has other special readings²; it has several annals wholly or in part peculiar to itself³, and also makes additions to older annals⁴. Some of these additions certainly have the look of later non-contemporary insertions. On the other hand, the annals peculiar to C are of great interest, and often form our most valuable authority for the times to which they refer. Even where D or E are parallel with C, C will generally be found to be more original than either. It is only in the early part of the Chronicle that the inferiority of C appears, and this is largely due to the corruptions introduced by its immediate predecessor Γ .

Can. Abingdon book.

§ 91. That C is an Abingdon MS. has long been recognised. From 971 to 1050 it contains many Abingdon notices⁵. On most of these something has been said already, and reasons have been given why some of them are common to B and others to E⁶.

¹ This is certainly true almost without exception wherever \bar{A} is supported against B, C by the authority of D or E or both. Even where D and E are not parallel to \bar{A} , B, C, and are therefore not available as evidence on either side, I am inclined, as a rule, to prefer the authority of \bar{A} to that of B, C; for the agreement of these merely testifies to the reading of Γ , which, as we know, was a highly individual MS.

² 81, 167, 418, 449, 556, 738, 743, 764, 785, 839 (Cantwara byrig for Cwantawic), 845, 853, 872 (Scireburnan for Winburnan), 879, 888 (=887), 999 (þa ylcodan þa deman, v. note *ad loc.*), 1001, 1009, 1013, 1016. In all these cases the reading of C is probably, in many certainly, wrong.

³ 976, 978-982, 1023, 1030, 1045*, 1046*, 1047*, 1049*, 1050,

1051, 1052*, 1053*; the asterisks indicate that only parts of those annals are peculiar to C.

⁴ 1009 ('þe we heton Ðurkilles here'); 1012 ('7 hine þær þa bysmorlice acwylmidon,' which certainly looks like a later hagiographical development); 1014, *ad init.* ('þe on Englalande wæron'); 1016 ('ðuruh Eadrices ræd ealdormannes,' which looks like a later attempt to throw all the blame on the national scapegoat; see note on 980 C, and the references there given; later in the same annal C inserts 'eal be norðan Temese, 7 swa ut þuruh Claighaunran'); 1017 ('7 eft hine hét ofslean').

⁵ 971 B, C, 977 B, C, 981 C, 982 C, 985 C, E, 1016, *ad fin.*, C, E, 1044 C (1043 E), 1047 C (1046 E), 1048 C (1050 D, *ad fin.*), 1050 C (1048 E).

⁶ Above, §§ 63, 87.

Another feature of C which has already attracted notice is its strongly anti-Godwinist tone¹. For this peculiarity I cannot account by the position of the Abingdon compiler. In the Chronicle of Abingdon, which deals so minutely with the property of the abbey, and charges even the great Alfred with spoliation², there are no such charges brought against Godwin, though they are not uncommon elsewhere. Godwin signs many grants to Abingdon; and, even if some of these grants are spurious, the attaching of his signature to them only shows the more strongly that he was not regarded as unfriendly, while Harold appears as actively favouring the acquisition and recovery of property by the abbey³.

§ 92. C ends with the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066; the last paragraph telling in much later language, probably from oral tradition, the story of the stout Northman 'who kept the bridge so well' till he was laid low by a dastardly manœuvre which even the Etruscans did not practise against Horatius. The addition of this paragraph on a new leaf was intended to give a sort of ending to the obviously unfinished annal⁴, an incompleteness due probably to mutilation. We cannot therefore tell how far the MS. originally extended. But even before this point the compiler's materials began to fail him. The years 1057-1064 are vacant in C. After 1056 half a page is left blank, as if to receive any entries for which materials might be forthcoming at a later time. And this gives confirmation to the idea, already put forward⁵, that the inter-

¹ See notes to 1036, 1052, 1053, 1056, 1065, 1066; and above, § 82.

² i. 50-52, 125; ii. 276. See note on 901, *infra*, ii. 113.

³ i. 469, 475, 484. There is, however, as the Rev. C. S. Taylor kindly points out to me, some evidence on the other side: the same Chron., i. 457-459, 475, seems to show that Godwin had been appealed to in vain to right a wrong done to the monastery by a certain Brihtwine; cf. Pearson, *Historical Maps*, p. 64,

who also remarks, *ib.* 65: 'it is at least suspicious that... Washington, one of the best properties in the county [Sussex], which had belonged in Edgar's time to Abingdon Abbey (K. C. D. No. 1250), is entered in Domesday as a possession of Earl Gyrth.'

⁴ We may compare the shorter and obviously late ending to the Gospel of St. Mark found in a few MSS. and versions; cf. Westcott and Hort, *Appendix*, p. 38.

⁵ § 72, and note.

mittent parallelism of C, D, E with one another in the later parts of the Chronicle is due to the use of separate documents, each covering only a short period of time. The existence of such a document, *e.g.* for the reigns of Harold Harefoot and Hardacnut, seems evidenced by the fact that for those years C is strictly parallel to D, whereas for the first two years of the Confessor C is parallel to E.

Of the use made of C by Henry of Huntingdon and Florence enough has been said already ¹.

Relation of
A to other
MSS.

§ 93. We have seen that up to 892 A, B, and C are practically identical; they represent the same recension of this part of the Chronicle, only exhibiting such scribal variations as are to be expected in any group of MSS., however closely allied ². We have however also seen that these variations, slight as they are, are sufficient to show that no one of the three MSS. is copied from either of the others ³. It remains therefore to trace back A on the one hand, and Γ (the common original of B and C) on the other, to a common source which, for reasons which will appear presently (§§ 100, 101), I call æ. An analysis of this common stock of all the Chronicles will be attempted later (§§ 105-108). For the present I leave it on one side, and proceed to trace the development of A from this point. From 894 to 915 [= A 918] A runs parallel to B, C, D, though it exhibits a somewhat individual recension ⁴. After

¹ §§ 55, 84.

² See above, §§ 59, 65, 89. For readings in this part peculiar to A, see 381†, 508, 560, 653†, 792, 796, 800, 827, 835*, 836, 838*, 851 (here A has an entirely different arrangement of the events in the annal from that in the other MSS.), 879, 882†. In the cases marked with an asterisk I should say that the reading of A was undoubtedly right, and in those marked with a dagger, undoubtedly wrong. In the other cases it is somewhat difficult to decide, and except in 851 the differences are very unimportant.

³ This is shown especially by the omissions, see above, §§ 86, 90. The omissions peculiar to A in this section are at 787, 835*, 853, 855*, 866, 868, 871, 874, 876*, 878*, 882*, 886. Those asterisked are cases of homoioteleuton. There is an omission also in 860, though it has been supplied above the line by the first hand. At 883 it might be a question whether A has omitted, or the others have added.

⁴ See above, § 89. Readings peculiar to A in this section are at 895 *ad fin.*, 896 *ad fin.*, 897, 898, 901, 905, 910, 918 [= 915 B, C, D]. Some of these differences

915 there is a marked break in B and C, which insert at this point the Mercian Register, while A continues with annals 919-924, which are peculiar to itself. These annals are, however, strictly a continuation of the preceding annals 894-918 A, and deal with precisely the same subject, *viz.* the wars of Alfred and Edward the Elder against the Danes. Two views are abstractly possible: either the compiler of A had a copy of these annals which extended further than that which underlies the other MSS.; or the compiler of A was himself the author of these annals, and continued them in his own copy after a transcript of the earlier ones had been made and sent to other places. The former theory is much the more likely, and accounts for the different recension which A exhibits in this part of the Chronicle. Moreover, the omissions to be found in this section also of A prove that A is not an original here¹.

§ 94. From 925 to 975 A, B, C are very fragmentary; a few obits and successions, three or four poems, and some notices of the northern wars of Athelstan and Edmund, make up the whole of the common matter which they contain, and which evidently comes from some common source or sources². But into this common source A has inserted several annals and parts of annals which are peculiar to itself; and of these by far the greater number have to do with Winchester, and it is this part of the Chronicle which most clearly stamps A as in origin at least a Winchester book³; a fact which has been frequently noted. And this character it retains to the end of 1001; for though the only Winchester entry between 975 and 1001 is at 984, the details in 1001 relating to Hampshire and

A a Win-
chester
book up to
1001;

of considerable importance. See notes *ad loc.*

¹ Omissions peculiar to A in this section are at 894*, 903, 911. In the next section also A cannot be original, for there is an omission, due to homoioteleuton, which positively extends over two annals, 942-3; see note *ad loc.* That there is a distinct break after 924 is shown by the fact that at that

point half a page of the MS. is left blank.

² 933, 937, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 973, 975.

³ 931*, 932*, 933* (part), 934*, 951*, 955 (part), 962, 963*, 964*. Those marked with an asterisk are Winchester insertions. Another indication of this may be found in the crosses placed against Frithestan's name at 910.

Devonshire would be much more likely to be written down at Winchester than at Canterbury, \bar{A} 's second home.

After 975 \bar{A} becomes wholly independent of the other Chronicles, and we have seen that Γ , the common parent of B and C, ended about the same point, *viz.* at 977, the two last entries, 976 and 977, being peculiar the one to C, the other to Γ . We see once more at this point a well-marked stage in the development of the Chronicle. And, indeed, the death of Edgar was an event which produced effects which were likely to react on historical writing. From that point to 1001 the entries in \bar{A} are very meagre, only a few royal and episcopal obits; the sole exceptions being 993 and 1001. And this barrenness continues to the end. From 1002 to 1070 there are but ten entries.

§ 95. But though equally meagre, the entries are different in character; six out of the ten refer to Canterbury, one being merely a spurious Canterbury Charter (1031), while the last, 1070, refers to the standing quarrel between Canterbury and York. After this the Saxon entries cease, and the Chronicle tails off into the Latin record of the Acts of Lanfranc¹. The book, such as it has now become, is a Canterbury book. And I believe that at some time after 1001 the book was bodily transferred from Winchester to Canterbury. It is not a case like those which we have met with in the course of our investigations, where a MS. belonging to one religious house is transcribed for the benefit of another house, which continues it in its own way. Had this been the explanation we should expect to find two things: (1) that the MS. up to the point where the change of locality takes place would be all in one hand; (2) that the community which had been at the pains to procure the transcript would take the trouble to keep it up to date². To neither of these expectations does \bar{A} answer. There are several changes of hands before 1001; while not even the

¹ The entries in \bar{A} between 1001 and 1070 are 1005*, 1006*, 1017, 1031*, 1040*, 1042, 1050*, 1053, 1066, 1070*; those marked with

an asterisk are Canterbury entries.

² B is, however, as I have already shown, § 87, an instance to the contrary.

after 1001
 \bar{A} becomes
a Canter-
bury book.

martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah finds any record in its pages; though the MS. was made use of to receive a few casual jottings from time to time. These facts become more intelligible if we remember that the date at which *A* was transferred to Canterbury was probably very late. Earle suggested that the transfer was due to the exertions of the Canterbury monks to repair the damage done by the fire of 1067¹, while Mr. Warner dates the first of the Canterbury hands, quite independently, to about 1075.

§ 96. What caused the suspension of historical writing at Winchester after 1001 I cannot positively say. From the death of Edgar, as we have seen, *A* becomes very meagre. The death-blow may have been struck by the ravages of the Danes. We may note the special reference to Winchester in 1006.

Meanwhile considerable light will be thrown on the question of locality by an examination of the interpolations in *A* prior to 1001. These are fairly numerous, especially in the earlier part of the Chronicle; and by far the larger number are due, as I have already stated, to the scribe of *F*, who also wrote the Latin Acts of Lanfranc, and probably the Charter at 1031. For most of these additions he was indebted, as we have seen, to the text of *ε*; some, however, come from other sources, and of these independent insertions nearly all have to do with Kent and Canterbury². Other insertions are in earlier hands, and of these too the majority are concerned with Canterbury³. It is clear that a MS. which required so many Canterbury additions could hardly have had its original home at Canterbury.

§ 97. That the MS. *ε*, from which most of the interpolations were taken, was an Augustinian MS., while *A*, in which they

Death of historical writing at Winchester after 1001.

The interpolations in *A*.

MS. *ε* must have been borrowed

¹ Introduction, p. xxiii.

² The insertions due to the scribe of *F* are the following: 11, 27†, 47†, 99†, 101†, 155†, 167†, 189†, 283†, 379†, 381†, 409†, 423†, 430†, 443†, 449†, 508†, 519†, 530†, 534†, 547†, 560†, 565†, 583†, 591†, 592†, 593†, 595†, 603†, 604†, 607†, 616†, 640*, 725*, 748*, 760*, 768†, 784*, 925*, 941*. Those marked with a dagger

come from *ε*; those asterisked refer to Canterbury.

³ These earlier interpolations will be found at 688, 710, 728, 870*, 890*, 903, 923*, 925*, 942*, 943*, 956*, 959*, 961*, 988* (Latin), 993*, 1001. On the hands in which these are made, see above, § 14. The asterisk again indicates a Canterbury reference.

of St.
Augustine's by
the monks
of Christ
Church.

were inserted, was at Christ Church, need cause no difficulty. Borrowing of MSS., common everywhere, would be specially easy between two monasteries in the same place. F, which we have proved to be based on ϵ , was also a Christ Church book. The Latin Acts of Lanfranc are probably also from an Augustinian source. They are concerned mainly with Lanfranc's dealings with the monks of St. Augustine, and we have seen that a marginal note in \bar{A} testifies to the existence of these Acts in an Augustinian MS.¹ We seem to have evidence of the existence of both \bar{A} and F in the Christ Church library at the beginning of the fourteenth century; for in the catalogue of that library made under Henry of Eastry, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1285-1331, we find among the 'Libri Anglici,' 'Cronica uetustissima a[nglice],'^{i. e.} \bar{A} ; and 'Cronica latine et anglice,'^{i. e.} F².

Relation of
A to \bar{A} .

§ 98. A few words must now be said on MS. A (W., G.). The consideration of it cannot be separated from that of \bar{A} , upon the history of which it throws some light. As already stated, the original MS. (with the exception of three leaves³) perished in the great Cottonian fire, and for the bulk of it we are dependent upon Wheloc's edition. The fragments of the MS. which remain show that Wheloc is, on the whole, very correct. Still there are minute differences⁴, which prevent us

¹ See above, § 15.

² MS. Cott. Galba E. iv. f. 134 r^o. col. 1. For a knowledge of this most interesting MS. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Herbert, of the British Museum. Since the above was written, Dr. M. R. James has kindly pointed out to me that F is proved to be a Christ Church book by a curious mark $\bar{\Lambda}$ in the top corner of the first leaf of the Chronicle, standing either for 'liber Anglicus,' or 'Latine et Anglice.' See an article by Dr. James in the *Guardian* of May 18, 1898.

³ These fragments, much injured, extend from 823 to 871, printed in Thorpe, i. 110-141; see above, § 17.

⁴ *e. g.* 826 (= 827 \bar{A}), 833, 851, 853, 854 (= 855 \bar{A}), 865, 867, 871. In one or two cases the difference seems due to the fact that Wheloc silently corrected his MS. That he did allow himself considerable latitude in dealing with his MSS. is shown by the fact that he sometimes places the interpolated matter, which he can *only* have got from \bar{A} , under quite different years from those which it occupies in the MS.: 155 under 145; 167 under 189; 409 under 435; 565 under 560. In view of these facts it would be well worth while, as Horst has suggested, for any future editor of the Chronicle to collate Lambard's

from arguing with absolute certainty from the printed text to the MS.

That A (W.) is a copy of \bar{A} can hardly be doubted. It agrees with \bar{A} in the minutest points¹, and in the most obvious blunders². There are, however, differences. Most of these are slight scribal variations of no importance³; some may be due to Wheloc or his printer. But in other cases the variations are more serious, and seem to imply deliberate alterations on the part of the scribe⁴. There are also some omissions in

An evident copy.

transcript of A which is now at Dublin, Engl. Studien, xxiv. 8. 9; where also Horst rightly refutes the untenable view of Kupferschmidt, that A is not copied from \bar{A} , *ib.* xiii. 182. Both these essays seem to me to be vitiated by the assumption that the Chronicle can be treated as a single whole, and that consequently the mutual relations of the MSS. are the same in all parts of it.

¹ e.g. 661 (oþ \bar{A} , A, on B, C, of E); the fact that A (W.) omits the words 'æt Icanho' in 654, which are in \bar{A} , might seem an argument against A's copying of \bar{A} . It really tells the other way. So obscure is the position of these words in \bar{A} that Professor Earle, like A, passed them over altogether, while Mr. Thorpe brackets them as if they were a later addition.

² 653 (Middelseaxe for -engle); 655 (Penda for Peada); 716 (7 inserted before æfter); 722 (7 for þe, C also has this); 787 (omission of Norðmanna); 855 (Frewining for Frealafing); 868 (omission); 874 (omission of Ceolwulfe, and he for hit); 882 (scipheras for sciphhlæstas, and forslægene for forwundode); 886 (omission, and he for he); 887 (berædne for berædde); 892 (insertion of this number wrongly in the middle of 891); 893 (him for hi); 894 (him for hi); 897 (wicgefera for -gerefa); 911 (frið for riht); 941-2 (omis-

sion); 945 (to eal for eal to); 973, *ad fin.* (omission of þa).

³ 35, 47, 167, 473, 495, 584, 650, 660, 670, 716, 734, 741, 755, 773, 792, 851 (here for men, a reading also in C), 853, 855, 865, 867 *ad fin.*, 875, 876, 878, 880 (to for of, a reading also in E); 892, 894, 895, 896, 897, 901 (Tweoneam for Tweoxneam, a later form; cf. the modern Twinham); 905, 913, 922, 962, 973.

⁴ 30 (the annal recast by A, yet the form gefulluhtud shows that he is following \bar{A}); 449 (insertion of to fultume); 457 (fewer weras for IIII wera, a misunderstanding of A, or possibly of Wheloc); 568 (A agrees with E, F in reading Oslac for Oslaf \bar{A} , B, C); 592 (Wodnesbeorlige for Woddesbeorge); 606 (A gives Gregory's father, but not his mother also, as do B, C; \bar{A} gives neither, but possibly something has been erased); 614 (xlvi for lxxv); 672 (Seaxburh heold an gear rice for Seaxburg an gear ricsode; possibly A disliked saying that a woman 'reigned,' and wished to imply that it was a mere usurpation); 694 (xxx manna for xxx m̄, i. e. millia; we cannot be sure whether this erroneous expansion of the contraction is due to A or to Wheloc; see note *ad loc.*); 911 (Eadweard cyng 7 his sunu for E. c. 7 his witan); 918 (gefengon Cameleac ðone biscop on Ircingafelda; the insertion of

A (W.), but these can be accounted for as mere scribal slips¹. And taken all together, I do not think that the variations imply that A (W.) had any other source besides \mathfrak{A} . The MS. ended with 1001, and had none of the later annals in \mathfrak{A} ; while of the other insertions in the text of \mathfrak{A} none appear in A (W.) except 688, 710, 728, 1001 *ad fin.*²; and none of these refer to Canterbury, and are all in early hands. Moreover, A (W.) has pedigrees and other matter which have been erased in \mathfrak{A} to make room for interpolations³. All this seems to show clearly that A (W.) was copied from \mathfrak{A} before the latter was removed to Canterbury from Winchester⁴. And the existence of this copy may have enabled the Winchester folk to send their old Chronicle to Canterbury. If the copy was made with the idea of continuing it from time to time, the idea was not carried out; and A (W.) remained, like B, a barren stock and a further testimony to the decline of historical writing at Winchester.

The date at which \mathfrak{A} was transferred to Canterbury cannot be exactly fixed; but we have seen that it was probably quite late in the eleventh century, between 1067 and 1075⁵. Of

ðone seems to show that A took the phrase, as I have taken it, to mean 'bishop of Archenfield,' not 'captured at A.,' *v. note ad loc.*; 921 (he friðode *for* se cyng friðian wolde, a stylistic alteration); *ib.*, *ad fin.* (aræd hæfde *for* aræd); 923 (Mauiŋgeceaster *for* Mameceaster).

¹ 654 (on this, see above, p. xcix, note 1); 676*, 685*, 755*, 816, 894*, *sub fin.* Those marked with an asterisk are cases of homoio-teleuton.

² There are entries in \mathfrak{A} at 27, 101, 595, which seem to be interpolations in the latest hand (the scribe of F), which, nevertheless, are in A (W.) at the years 26, 92, and 596. The explanation is that the interpolator of \mathfrak{A} erased these entries at the years where they formerly stood (as in A) and re-inserted them under their present

dates. The majority of A's interpolations are inserted by Wheloc in his text between square brackets, and he also gives \mathfrak{A} 's continuations at the end. It is curious, but for us fortunate, that knowing the more ancient MS., he should deliberately have based his text on the younger. Wheloc also places 465, 588, 761, 879 in brackets, as if he had taken them from \mathfrak{A} and not from A (W.). If this was really so, then A must accidentally have omitted them, as they are certainly an integral part of the text of the Chronicle.

³ 547, 552, 560, 616, 626.

⁴ Earle supposes that A was copied from \mathfrak{A} at *Canterbury* (Introduction, p. liii); but I can see nothing in favour of this. Mr. Arnold rightly argues for the other view, H. H. p. lii.

⁵ See above, § 95.

the use by Florence of certain parts of the Chronicle now only to be found in *A*, I have already spoken (§ 84).

§ 99. Another of the Latin chroniclers, and the earliest, must now be taken into account, Ethelwerd, or, as he calls himself, 'Patricius Consul Quaestor Ethelwerdus.' The bombastic title is but too typical of the general characteristics of his style. He was a descendant of Ethelred I, the brother of Alfred the Great, and almost certainly identical with the alderman Æthelweard mentioned at 994, and with the Ethelwerd 'dux,' who signs charters from 973 to 988¹. His Chronicle extends to the death of Edgar in 975². Up to about 892³ he is mainly dependent on the Chronicle, from that point to the end he is largely, if not entirely, independent of it; and we can easily imagine that for the later period his own knowledge and that of his older contemporaries would furnish him with independent material. Even in the earlier period, however, he has many details peculiar to himself, the source of which it would be interesting to learn. I do not think, however, that they oblige us to suppose that Ethelwerd used a form of Chronicle differing very widely from those which have come down to us. These details probably come from some independent source. It seems clear that the Chronicle used by Ethelwerd was of the earlier southern type represented by *A*, *B*, *C*; there is no trace in him of the northern additions of *D*, *E*, and in other respects also Ethelwerd conforms to the earlier type⁴. And in several points he seems nearer to *A* than to *B*, *C*⁵, and shows no affinity with the special peculiarities of *B*, *C*⁶, or of *C*⁷. On

Relation of
Ethelwerd
to the
Chronicle.

He used a
Chronicle of
the *A*
type.

¹ See M. H. B., Introduction, pp. 81, 82; Text, pp. 499, 514; Crawford Charters, pp. 118-120; *infra*, notes to 991, 994.

² Here again we see the importance of this date. As Ethelwerd lived at least till 988 there was no reason why he should not have continued his Chronicle beyond 975; and had he done so he would have been a strictly contemporary authority.

³ Note again the significance of this date. See M. H. B. p. 518, note a.

⁴ Cf. e.g. 530, 547, 560, 568 (Oslaf, not Oslac); 722, 729, 731, 833, 836, 845, 873, 885 (Stufe for Sture). The dates are those of *A*.

⁵ 853 (omission of 'bæd' by the original scribe of *A*); 878 (omission of the passage about the raven banner); 883 (shorter form of the annal as in *A*); 886 (omission of the sentence about Paris).

⁶ e.g. 639, 694, 860; and the absence of the Mercian Register.

⁷ e.g. 837, 839, 871.

the other hand there are passages in which he seems to differ from \bar{A} ¹. On the whole, the conclusion seems to be that Ethelwerd used a Chronicle which was not our \bar{A} , but was closer to it than to any other of our existing Chronicles².

IV. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRONICLE.

§ 100. We have seen that up to 892 \bar{A} , B, C, and also those parts of D, E which are common to them with \bar{A} , B, C, must be traced back to a common original which I have called \bar{a} ³. The question naturally arises: Was this common original the autograph of the writer (whoever he may have been) who compiled the Chronicle up to 892? To this question we may, I believe, give a decided negative, and for the following reason. It is now fully recognised that from about the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century there is a chronological dislocation running through all our extant Chronicles, a majority of the events which can be tested proving to be two years, and some, towards the end of the period indicated, three years behind the true chronology. This was first clearly shown by Dr. Stubbs in the

The common ancestor of \bar{A} , B, C, D, E up to 892 not an autograph.

The chronological dislocation.

¹ 851 (insertion of 'Thanet,' which is in the other Chronicles, but not in \bar{A}); 855 (insertion of Scef in the pedigree, which is not in \bar{A} ; but here Ethelwerd seems to differ from all the Chronicles); 874 (insertion of Ceolwulf's name, which is not in \bar{A}); 876 (insertion of the passage about the hostages omitted by \bar{A}).

² Of Ethelwerd's weakness as a translator some examples will be found in the notes; see especially 161, 381, 593, 658, 661, 710, 755. It is not my province to discuss the characteristics of Ethelwerd except in relation to the Chronicle. W. M.'s judgement is interesting as showing how fully he recognised Ethelwerd's indebtedness to the Chronicle, and how justly he appraised his style: 'De Elwardo, illustri et magnifico uiro, qui chronica illa Latine aggressus est

digerere, praestat silere; cuius mihi esset intentio animo, si non essent uerba fastidio. . . . Haec ita polliceor, si . . . diuinus fauor . . . me praeter scopulos confragosi sermonis euexerit, ad quos Elwardus, dum tinnula et emendicata uerba uenatur, miserabiliter impegit,' i. 1, 3. Earle calls him 'the most monstrously absurd of all pedantic translators,' p. lvii. Professor York Powell suggests to me that Ethelwerd may have been brought up abroad, and that this is the cause of his imperfect mastery of his native tongue. This would hang well together with the dedication of his work to his (in every sense of the word) distant relative, the lady Matilda. There is an article on Ethelwerd by Mr. Riley, in *Gent. Mag.* iii. 120-131 (1857).

³ See above, §§ 62, 68, 83, 89, 93.

Introduction to the first volume of his edition of Hoveden¹; and it has since been worked out with great care and elaboration by Dr. Ludwig Theopold in an excellent monograph². This dislocation is purely mechanical, and is due to the scribe passing over now and again (as may easily be done) some blank annal against which nothing is recorded³. But the fact that it runs through all our Chronicles shows that it must already have existed in the common original from which they all in this part ultimately spring⁴. But the mistake was due to a copyist, and not to the original compiler of this part of the Chronicle. The proof of this lies in the fact that we have evidence of the existence of a Chronicle in which this dislocation had not taken place. This evidence is to be found in the so-called Annals of Asser or Annals of St. Neot⁵. Of little value in themselves for history, for they contain little or nothing which may not be found better elsewhere, they are of great importance for the criticism of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; for, while founded largely on that Chronicle⁶, they have pre-

The
Annals of
St. Neot.

¹ pp. xc, ff. For details, see the notes to the annals in question.

² 'Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur angelsächsischen Geschichte des Achten Jahrhunderts,' Lemgo, 1872. It is a pity that this admirable piece of criticism has not appeared in a more attractive form than that of a German 'Inaugural Dissertation.'

³ See Theopold, *u. s.*, pp. 59 ff. The phenomenon occurs on a smaller scale in one or more MSS. of other parts of the Chronicle, sometimes, as here, through overlooking of a blank annal, sometimes through the mechanical repetition of the same number; cf. *e. g.* 456-472; 640-658; 800, 801; 811-818; 851-892 (here C is for a long time a year in advance of the others); 917, 918 (A is three years ahead of the rest); cf. the repetition of the numbers 1046, 1085 in E, and the omission of the numbers 1044, 1069 in D.

⁴ Another mistake which runs through all the Chronicles is the three years given as the length of Egbert of Wessex's exile, instead of thirteen; see 836 and notes.

⁵ Printed in Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores* (1691), pp. 141 ff.

⁶ See the annals 455, 488, 495, 579, 597, 601, 605, 611, 616, 634, 636, 642, 644, 651, 654, 655, 664, 665 (= Chron. 668), 670, 672-674, 676, 685, 703, 705, 709, 714, 729, 731, 740, 757 (= 754), 757 (= 755), 763 (= 761), 786 (= 784), 794 (= 792), 796 (= 794), 799 (= 797), 802 (= 800), 825 (= 823), 839 (= 836), 842 (= 839), 891, 892, 894, 895, 901, 902-904, 909-912 (= 903-905, 910-913). The annals 565, 678 are possibly taken direct from Bede. From 851 to 887 the annals are taken from Asser or Florence. Conversely passages from the Annals of St. Neot have been incorporated in the text of Asser; and these, though enclosed in brackets, are sometimes

served the true chronology, which in all our MSS. is disjointed. Dr. Theopold was the first to point out this interesting fact¹. It follows therefore that behind the MS. æ, the common ancestor of all our Chronicles up to 892, we discern another MS. Æ, extending to the same date, the autograph of the writer who compiled the Chronicle up to that point.

§ 101. To whom are we to attribute this earliest form of the national Chronicle? I have no hesitation in declaring that in my opinion the popular answer is in this case the right one: it is the work of Alfred the Great². I do not mean that the actual task of compiling the Chronicle from the earlier materials was necessarily performed by Alfred, though I can well fancy that he may have dictated some of the later annals which describe his own wars. But that the idea of a national Chronicle as opposed to merely local annals³ was his, that the idea was carried out under his direction and supervision, this I do most firmly believe. And we may, I think, safely place in the forefront of the Chronicle the inscription which encircles Alfred's Jewel: ÆLFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN, 'Alfred ordered me to be made'⁴; and I have chosen the symbol Æ for this

quoted as if they were part of the text of Asser. As to the form of Chronicle underlying the Annals of St. Neot, it follows from the fact that they imply a Chronicle older than the common original of our existing Chronicles that it must have been of the earlier or southern type; and of our three surviving Chronicles of that type, A, B, C they are, up to 892, nearest to A. They have the southern continuation from 894 to 912 [= A 913], stopping two years short of the point which that continuation reaches in B, C (*i. e.* F), and several years short of the point which it reaches in A. In this part, where, as we have seen, A seems to represent a somewhat different recension from B, C, D, the Annals of St. Neot seem to agree with the latter, speaking of the rebellious Etheling Æthelwold

as King of the Danes, 901, 904 (= 905 Chron.). This may point to the fact that this is the more original version, A having altered it in the supposed interests of Edward. They show no trace of the Mercian Register.

¹ *u. s.* pp. 51 ff.

² For this the high authority of Dr. Stubbs may be quoted: 'I believe it, like the rest of our vernacular literature, to owe its origin to Alfred, to have been drawn up originally from Latin annals, and to have been continued in the national tongue,' Hoveden, I. xc. The statement about 'Latin annals' will require, I think, a little modification. See below, § 106 note.

³ Such as, *e. g.*, the Latin Gesta Northanhymbroborum.

⁴ This is just what Gaimar says, who is the earliest author (twelfth

original Chronicle partly because it is the initial of the great king's name, and partly because it expresses the fact that this original stock branches out on the one side into our *A*, and on the other into our *E*, the two Chronicles which are the furthest apart from one another in character, as they are in time, of all our existing Chronicles. And the impulse thus given was continued during the remainder of Alfred's reign, and under Edward the Elder. Florence indeed says of the latter that he was 'litterarum cultu patre inferior', and this is no doubt true; but in regard to the Chronicle he seems to have followed in his father's steps. The annals in *A* (which here, as we have seen, is the most complete of the MSS.) from 893 to the death of Edward have the same character as those immediately preceding 892². They are national and contemporary records of the finest and most authentic kind³. But with the death of Edward the impulse was exhausted; the glories of the reigns of Athelstan and Edgar, real as they were, left little trace on the pages of the Chronicle. Not till we get to the second and so different contest against the Danes under Ethelred do we find any annals which can at all compare with these. And in

The impulse continued under Edward the Elder.

Decline after Edward's death.

century) who directly connects Alfred with the Chronicle; *vs.* 3451 ff.

*Il fist escrivere un livre Engleis,
Des aventures, e des leis,
E de batailles de la terre,
E des reis ki firent la guere.*

Cf. ib. 2321 ff., to be cited presently, p. cxii, note 4. Ingram suggests that it may have been Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, 890-914, who superintended the compilation of the Chronicle up to 891, p. xii. The suggestion is an interesting and perfectly possible one (Alfred mentions 'Plegmund my archbishop' among his helpers in the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*, ed. Sweet, pp. 6, 7); but in the nature of things it does not admit of proof. The mention by Gaimar of the laws, 'des leis,' almost looks as if he knew of MSS. like *A* and *A*, in which

Alfred's laws were found side by side with the Chronicle.

¹ i. 117.

² Professor Earle has pointed out how the opening words of 893, 'þe we gefyrn ymbe spræcon,' point back to what has preceded, p. xvi. If this does not absolutely prove 'identity of authorship,' it at least implies unity of effort, and continuity of inspiration. Note also how the list of distinguished slain in 905 is connected with the similar list in 897 *ad init.*

³ Of the annals 893-897 Professor Earle says: 'Compared with this passage, every other piece of prose, not in these Chronicles merely, but throughout the whole range of extant Saxon literature, must assume a secondary rank,' p. xvi.

the latter case we may be pretty sure that the inspiration came from no royal source.

Evidence
of the
Genealogi-
cal Preface
in \mathfrak{A} .

§ 102. The view taken above of the relation of Alfred to the Chronicle derives some confirmation from the Genealogical Preface in \mathfrak{A} . The genealogy is carried down to Alfred, and there it stops; and nothing is said as to the length of his reign, for the excellent reason that when the preface was written the length of the reign could not be known; and later scribes, with more self-restraint than they sometimes manifest, have refrained from supplying the deficiency¹. We have thus the strongest evidence that the preface to \mathfrak{A} was drawn up in the reign of Alfred, and was intended for a Chronicle compiled in that reign.

Evidence
of the
Orosius
translation.

§ 103. Another fact which points the same way is the strong resemblance between the phraseology of the Chronicle and that of Alfred's translation of Orosius. Of this many examples are given in the notes, but the force of them can hardly be estimated when thus dispersed, and I therefore tabulate the principal ones here. The quotations from the Chronicle are taken from the text of \mathfrak{A} .

CHRONICLE.

60 b. c. Iulius . . . Brettas mid gefeohte cnysede.

3. Herswealt Herodus from him selfum ofsticod.

47. Eac swelce Orcadus þa ealond 7c.

81. Titus . . . se þe sæde þæt he þone dæg forlure þe he noht to gode on ne gedyde².

OROSIUS.

Ac . . . Atheniense hie mid gefeohte cnysedan, p. 96.

he hiene selfne ofsticode, p. 28.

on norðhealfe [is] Orcadus þæt igland, p. 24.

He [Titus] wæs swa godes willan þæt he sægde þæt he forlure þone dæg þe he noht on to gode ne gedyde, p. 264.

¹ I have already shown how a later scribe did continue the genealogy to the exact point to which his own Chronicle extended; see above, § 88.

² See note *ad loc.* This is one of the most interesting of all the parallels; for the story is not in the

Latin Orosius, but was introduced by Alfred himself into his translation, perhaps from Isidore. We can fancy how this saying of the 'deliciae generis humani' would come home to 'England's darling'; see ii. 113.

409. Her Gotan abræcon Romeburg.

755 *ad init.* Her Cynewulf be-
nam Sigbryht his rices.

ib. p. 48 [hie] þa on þæs wifes
gebærum onfundon. . . .

865. [hie] genamon friþ wiþ
Cantwarum, 7 . . . under þam friþe
. . . se here hiene on niht up
bestæl.

867. þær wæs ungemetlic wæl
geslægen.

871 *ad fin.* þæs geares wurdon
viii folc gefeoht gefohten wiþ þone
here, . . . butan þam þe him . . .
cyninges þegnas oft rade onridon.

879. þy geare gegadrode on hloþ
wicenga.

891. wið ðæm ræde here.

ib. on elþiodignesse beon.

893. seo ea . . . lið ut of þæm
wealda.

894. hæfde se cyning his fierd
on tu tonumen, swa þæt hie wæron
simle healfe æt ham, healfe ute,
butan þæm monnum þe þa burga
healdan scolden¹.

901. 7 sæde þæt he wolde oðer,
oððe þær libban, oððe þær licgan.

911. hie offoron ðone here
hindan.

918. [hie] bedrifon hie on anne
pearruc, 7 besæton hie þær utan.

ib. æt sumum twam cirron, . . .
þa slog hie mon æt ægþrum cirre 7c.²

¹ This again is a most interesting
parallel. See note *ad loc.*; and cf.
note on 896.

ða Gotan . . . iowre burg abræ-
con, p. 48; cf. *ib.* 2: hu Gallie . . .
abræcon Romeburg.

Æfter þæm Persa cyning benom
þone ealdornon his scire, p. 96.

Swa hit mon on þara wæpnel
monna gebærun ongitan mehte,
p. 194; cf. p. 52.

he genom friþ wiþ þæt folc, 7
hiene siþþan aweg bestæl, p. 218;
Galua frið genam wið hie, 7 hi
under þæm friðe beswác, p. 210.

þær wæs ungemetlic wæl ge-
slagen.

he leng mid folc gefeohtum wið
hie ne mehte, ac oftrædlice he wæs
mid hloþum on hi hergende, p. 118;
cf. p. 18.

he scipa gegaderode 7 wicengas
wurdon, p. 116; cf. pp. 5, 226.

on þæm ræde here, p. 124; cf.
p. 154.

ælc þara þe on elðeodignesse
ware, p. 248.

Seo Wisle lið út of Weonodlande,
7c., p. 20.

Hie heora here on tu to dældon,
oþer æt ham beon [sceolde?] heora
lond to healdanne, oðer ut faran to
winnanne, p. 46.

to tacne þæt hie oþer woldon,
oððe ealle libban, oþþe ealle licgean,
p. 138; cf. p. 190.

Tarentine . . . þa oþre hindan
offoran, p. 154.

[he] hiene bedraf into anum fæs-
tenne 7 hiene ðær hwile besæt,
p. 146; cf. p. 224.

he sige hæfde æt twam cierrun,
p. 228.

² I have continued the parallels
into the reign of Edward, consider-
ing the Alfredian impulse to be

No doubt some of these phrases are ordinary phrases which any two historical writers might use¹; but in many cases the resemblance goes much beyond this, and the total impression is strong that the two works are akin. Professor Wülker assigns the Orosius translation to the years 890-893², and if this is right, as it very well may be, then the two works would be practically contemporaneous, and their kinship is sufficiently accounted for.

Negative evidence of the Bede translation.

§ 104. On the other hand the affinity with Alfred's Bede is much less close, and even in those parts of the Chronicle which are derived from Bede there is no trace of the influence of the Saxon version³. This is true even of the northern (D, E) recension of the Chronicle, in which, as we have seen (§ 59), the part derived from Bede is so much greater: and this tends to prove that that northern recension must have been made very soon after the reception in the north, about 892, of the Alfredian Chronicle; a view which receives further confirmation from the fact that in E that Chronicle does not extend beyond that point. But this seems to me fatal to Wülker's theory (supported also by August Schmidt in his useful monograph on Alfred's Bede⁴, and by Professor Schipper⁵) that the Bede is earlier than the Orosius. All preceding writers, with the one exception of Dr. Bosworth, rightly place the Orosius before the Bede⁶.

Circulation of the Chronicle.

For the sending of copies of the Chronicle to different religious houses, we have an exact and instructive parallel in the

traceable beyond Alfred's death, see above, p. cv. No doubt there are parallels between the Orosius and the later parts of the Chronicle, and several of these are given in the notes. But they are neither so numerous nor (with the exception of the one quoted under 975 E) so striking as in the earlier part of the Chron.

¹ Many more such parallels might have been included, had I desired simply to swell the list as much as possible.

² Grundriss, p. 396.

³ So Grubitz rightly, p. 22.

⁴ Untersuchungen über Ælfred's Bede-übersetzung, Inaugural Dissertation, Berlin, 1889, p. 8.

⁵ Sitzungsberichte d. kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, 1898. For a copy of this I am indebted to Prof. Schipper himself.

⁶ See the list given by Wülker, *u. s.* p. 393. Moreover, if the Bede translation is later than 893, we can explain why the chronological epitome at the end of the H. E. is omitted in the translation, the reason

sending of copies of the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* to the various bishops¹.

§ 105. The question next arises: What materials would Alfred find available when he came to carry out his scheme for a national Chronicle? We have distinct evidence from Bede that already some system had grown up of recording at any rate the accessions and number of regnal years of the kings in Northumbria, and that means were taken to keep the various records in harmony with one another². For, speaking of the brief reigns of the heathen kings who succeeded Edwin in Bernicia and Deira, he says: 'Infaustus ille annus, et omnibus bonis exosus usque hodie permanet, . . . propter apostasiam regum Anglorum . . . Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus, ut, ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est Osualdi, . . . regno adsignaretur³.' The

Alfred's materials.

Lists of kings.

being that it had already been incorporated in the Chronicle. The above argument is even more fatal to Pauli's rather wild view that the *Gesta Northanhymbrorum* were first embodied in the Chron. in the twelfth cent. See *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.* xii. 161.

¹ See Alfred's preface to that work, ed. Sweet, pp. 2-8: 'to ælcum biscepstole on minum rice wille [ic] ane onsendan'; and note the noble simplicity of the statement how the work of translation had to be carried on 'ongemang oðrum mislicum 7 monigfaldum bisgum ðisses kynerices,' pp. 6, 7; cf. the Preface to the *Boethius*: 'Ælfred kyning . . . for þæm mistlicum 7 manigfealdum weoruld bisgum þe hine oft ægþer ge on mode ge on lichoman bisgodan.'

² This may perhaps be the basis of the developed legend of the *Scotichronicon*, that every monastery of royal foundation in England was bound to have an official chronicler, and that at the first council of a new reign all these chroniclers had to meet together and compare and

correct their records of the late reign. Cited by Gibson in his preface.

³ H. E. iii. 1, and note *ad loc.*; cf. iii. 9: 'Unanimo omnium consensu firmatum est, ut nomen et memoria apostatarum de catalogo regum Christianorum prorsus aboleri deberet, neque aliquis regno eorum annus adnotari.' And as a matter of fact, in the list of Northumbrian kings found at the end of the Moore MS. of Bede, the names of Osric and Eanfrid are omitted; *v. M. H. B.* p. 290; *Palaeog. Soc.* vol. ii, plate 140. The date of this list is c. 737, and I ought to have printed it in my *Bede*. Cf. Grubitz, p. 23. When Nennius, § 3, enumerates 'annales Saxonum' among his authorities, he evidently refers to the Saxon genealogies, *ib.* §§ 57 ff. There is no trace of the use of any Saxon annals in the strict sense in his work. These genealogies are of special interest, for in their original form they are older than Bede, dating from about 696, *Z. N. V.* pp. 78 ff. And of these the principal ones are Northumbrian.

West Saxon Genealogical Preface to \mathfrak{A} may give us a fair idea of the nature of these records; and they probably supplied the chronological framework when the West Saxon traditions came to be written down. The existence of such records for Northumbria is vouched for by Bede, a specimen of them is found at the end of one of the earliest MSS. of Bede¹, and from them the few Northumbrian notices in the early part of the southern Chronicle which do not come from Bede are most likely derived²; and something of the same kind probably existed in Mercia³.

§ 106. For Kent the beginnings of such a record appear in Bede himself⁴, but it is clear that other records were also kept at Canterbury; the successions of archbishops⁵, the accounts of the missionary enterprises which proceeded from Canterbury, the documents received from Rome, would all find a place in the Canterbury archives, and in this way the habit of historical record would grow up⁶. And just as the first impulse to the recording of native customs was due to Roman influences⁷, so too the first reduction to writing of native traditions was probably owing to the same cause. In fact the impulse which gave rise to Bede's incomparable work itself emanated from Canterbury: 'Auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus abba reuerentissimus, uir per omnia doctissimus, extitit⁸.' And it is interesting to remember that Albinus was Abbot of St. Augustine's; for we have seen that the development of the Chronicle is far more closely intertwined with St. Augustine's than with Christ Church. Grubitz is therefore

¹ See last note.

² 547, 560, 588, 593 (part), 670 (part), 731, 738. The occupation of the north by the Danes would account for the paucity of northern notices in the southern recension of the Chronicle.

³ 626, 755 *ad fin.*

⁴ H. E. i. 15.

⁵ In other sees also lists of bishops would be kept.

⁶ Bede, H. E. Pref.: 'Albinus . . . omnia quae in ipsa Cantuari-

rum prouincia, uel . . . in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis beati papae Gregorii gesta fuere, uel *monimentis litterarum*, uel seniorum traditione cognouerat.' In Essex, East Anglia, and Lindisfarne historical writing seems also to have been practised, *ib.*

⁷ H. E. ii. 5: 'Qui [Aedilberct] . . . decreta . . . iudiciorum [dómas] *iuxta exempla Romanorum* . . . constituit.'

⁸ H. E. Pref.

certainly right in tracing a number of the earlier annals of the Chronicle to Canterbury¹. This does not, however, constitute the Chronicle a Canterbury Chronicle; it only means that Canterbury was one of the sources from which Alfred drew his materials.

§ 107. When and where the earlier West Saxon traditions were written down is difficult to say. It is natural to think of Winchester as at once the civil and the ecclesiastical capital of Wessex, and the civil capital for a time of England. And the time is almost certainly later than Bede, for I have shown elsewhere how scanty were Bede's sources of information for the history of Wessex². In the same work I have expressed

West
Saxon
traditions.

¹ Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsischen Annalen bis zum Jahre 893, Göttingen, 1868, pp. 10 ff. Whether we can pick out with certainty these Canterbury annals, as Grubitz professes to do, is another question. To Canterbury he would assign, wholly or in part, 733, 734, 736, 737, 741, 746, 748, 754, 758-761, 763, 764, 772, 773, 780, 785, 790, 792, 794, 796, 797, 799, 802-805, 812-814, 816, 819, 821, 822, 825, 827-833. The attempt of Grubitz to fix these Canterbury annals definitely to St. Augustine's on the ground of the mention of Abbots Forthred (803) and Felogild (830) will not hold: Forthred was a Mercian abbot (see Stubbs in D. C. B.), and though Felogild's abbacy is uncertain, *ib.*, it certainly was not St. Augustine's. He does not occur anywhere in the Chronologia Augustiniensis appended to Thorne and Elmham. A further question which arises is this: were these Canterbury and early West Saxon annals in Latin or in Saxon? I incline to the latter view, for the following reason. If the table of parallel passages from the Chron. and Orosius given above (§ 103) be examined, it will be found that they almost all fall either before or after the period covered by these early

Canterbury and West Saxon annals. Had these annals been Latin, there was no reason why the translation of them should not have been influenced by the diction of the Orosius; that they show so little of that influence seems to me to indicate that they already existed in a Saxon form. I may add that the list was formed before this argument had occurred to me, and therefore was not drawn up with a view to supporting it. This is what I meant by saying (§ 101, note) that the statement about the Saxon Chron. being based on Latin annals needed modification. The only parts of which that can be predicated with certainty are: (1) the introductory annals from universal history, (2) the Bede passages, (3) and (4) the two groups of northern annals.

² Bede, ii. 141. So rightly, Grubitz, p. 27. In the early days of the conquest the Saxons would be too busy with fighting to have any time for writing. It was with a true instinct that Professor Earle took as one of the mottoes of his edition of the Chronicle a sentence from Robinson Crusoe: 'And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first I was in too much hurry.'

my scepticism as to the possibility of raising a sound historical superstructure on the basis of these traditions¹; and this scepticism is increased by the evidently artificial system of chronology which has been often noticed to run through the arrangement of them², as well as by the aetiological character of many of the traditions³. At Winchester probably also were kept those later historical West Saxon annals which led up to the full development of historical writing under Alfred. But all this does not constitute Alfred's Chronicle a Winchester Chronicle, except in this sense, that being a national Chronicle its home was naturally at the national capital; and to the same place I would refer the continuation of it up to the death of Edward the Elder⁴.

Winchester
the head
quarters
of the
Chronicle.

¹ Bede, ii. 28.

² Arrangement in fours and eights. It is possible to exaggerate this symmetry, but it certainly exists: 457, 465, 473, 477, 485; | 491, 495; | 519, 527; | 530, 534, 538; | 540, 544; | 552, 556, 560; | 584, 588; | 593, 597, 601; | 607, 611. The symmetry was probably once greater than now appears, when it has been disarranged by the introduction of annals taken from other sources. Attention was called to this point by Lappenberg, i. 76, 77; E. T. i. 77; Earle, p. ix; Grubitz, p. 26.

³ See notes to 465, 477, 501, 508, 514, 519, 527, 544; and cf. Earle, pp. ix, x, who says, not too strongly, 'parts of this section are pure dream-work.'

⁴ Cf. the Winchester entries 909, 910. The question whether the Chronicle up to 892 is a Canterbury or a Winchester Chronicle seems to me a little beside the point. It is both, and it is neither. Alfred would naturally collect his materials wherever he could find them, at Canterbury, Winchester, and where else. As Professor Earle has pointed out, it would have been impossible to compile a Chronicle at the end of

the ninth century if partial Chronicles had not existed before, *Introd.* p. vi; cf. Gibson, *Preface*, p. vi. It is of course quite a different question whether *A* is not a Winchester *manuscript*. I have tried to show that it is, and that in the tenth century it has been interpolated with Winchester entries; above, § 94. The view that Winchester was, so to say, the official head quarters of the Chronicle under Alfred (and probably under Edward) is strongly supported by the passage of Gaimar alluded to above, p. cv, note.

Croniz ad num un livre grant :

Engleis l'alerent asemlant.

Ore est issi auctorizez,

K'a Winchester, en l'eveskez,

La est des reis la dreite estorie,

E les vies e la memorie.

Li reis Elfred l'out en demaine,

Fermer i fist une chaine.

Ki lire i volt bien i guardast,

Mais de son liu nel remuast,

vv. 2331 ff.

The view that the early West Saxon traditions were written down at Winchester is strongly supported by Grubitz, p. 29; and is confirmed by the regularity with which the Bishops of Winchester are entered 634-754, a point already emphasised

§ 108. Further, for some of the beginnings of the national Bede. story recourse was had to Bede, the chief events of whose history lay ready to hand in annalistic form in the summary which Bede appended to his work¹; the earliest parts of which were filled in from some epitome of universal history, the source of which I have not yet been able to trace; but I agree with Earle (pp. viii, ix), and Grubitz (p. 29), in thinking that this was only done in the last stage of the compilation of the Chronicle (up to 892) in order to furnish an introduction to the whole; and therefore I do not regard Bede as the father of historical writing in the south in the same way as he undoubtedly is in the north of England.

§ 109. Of one influence which has powerfully affected the formation of many Chronicles, I mean the tables of Paschal cycles, I do not see any direct trace in our Chronicles. The margins of such tables, in which each year occupies a single line, offered a convenient means of entering brief historical notices in chronological order; and when the convenience of this was discovered, the margin of such MSS. seems often to

Influence
of Paschal
Tables.

by Earle, p. xi; cf. Liebermann, p. 56. I may remark generally that my analysis of the Alfredian Chronicle is much less elaborate than that given by Earle and by Grubitz. I cannot feel that certainty about their results which would justify me in embodying them. The only stage which seems to me to be clearly marked is the end of Æthelwulf's reign in 855, where the elaborate pedigree, answering to the passage in the Genealogical Preface where Æthelwulf's descent is traced back to Cerdic, seems to mark the close of an earlier West Saxon Chronicle, Earle, p. xii; Grubitz, pp. 17, 18. These writers also think that the fact that Asser does not use the Chronicle beyond 887 shows that there was an edition of the Chronicle which stopped at that point, Earle, p. xv; Grubitz, p. 32. The inference is uncertain, and is denied by Kupfer-

schmidt, *u. s.* pp. 171, 172; but, if true, it would merely mean that we must move back the compilation of the Alfredian Chronicle some four or five years.

¹ The annals taken from Bede are B. C. 60; A. D. 47, 167, 189, 381, 409, 430, 449 (part), 538, 540, 547, 565, 596, 601, 603, 604, 606, 616*, 625, 626 (part), 627, 632*, 633*, 634*, 635*, 636* (part), 640 (part), 642, 644, 645*, 646*, 650*, 651, 653, 654* (part), 655 (part), 657*, 658* (part), 661* (part), 664*, 668, 670*, 673*, 675 (part), 676*, 678, 679*, 680, 685 (part), 688*, 690* (part), 694* (part), 703*, 704, 705 (part), 716*, 725 (part), 729, 731*, 733, 734. Those marked with an asterisk are not taken at any rate wholly from the epitome; and these, as we have seen (§ 59, note), have mainly to do with Wessex; cf. Grubitz, p. 22.

have been made more than usually ample for this very purpose¹. Many Chronicles, both foreign and English, owe their beginnings to this system². None of our actual Saxon Chronicles are written in this way. It is possible that some of the earlier materials on which they are based may have been so written; and the system may have left its mark in the way in which a MS. sometimes shows that the scribe originally planned his work on the assumption that a single line would suffice for each annal, so that when longer entries had to be made he was forced to alter the arrangement³. And at first these single-line entries did suffice. For, as we have seen⁴, the object originally was not to write a full record of events, but rather to keep apart the ever-receding years which tend to melt into one another in the haze of unassisted memory. And we have one Chronicle partly Anglo-Saxon, which is written in this way, and is of special interest because it comes from Christ Church, Canterbury⁵.

V. OF THE GROWTH OF THE CHRONICLE.

Elements
out of
which the
Chronicles
were com-
pounded.

1. The
Alfredian
Chronicle.
2. The
northern
recension.

§ 110. We are now in a position to see more clearly the various elements out of which our Chronicles were compounded, and the various stages of their growth. We have:—

(1) The Alfredian Chronicle up to 892, itself compiled from earlier materials under Alfred's supervision, and on lines laid down by him: A, B, C.

(2) The northern recension of the same Chronicle, augmented

¹ Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Geschichtsquellen*, p. 1.

² For English examples, see Liebermann, *u. s.*, pp. 2, 9, 13, 84; for foreign examples, Pertz, i. 86, 91, 96, 102; ii. 184, 247, 251, 252, 254; iii. 1, 19, 136, 137, 149, 152, 155, 160, 166, 169, 171, 185; iv. 5, 7; v. 9, 10, 37, 51; x. 1; xiii. 38, 39, 50, 80, 87, 88, 718; xv. 1289, 1293, 1298; xvi. 503, 507, 590, 618, 632, 729; xvii. 33, 275; xxiii. 1; Ord.

Vit. V. lxx. The system is, however, English in origin, Grubitz, p. 9; Pertz, i. *ad init.*

³ See critical notes to i. 118, 126, 132; so of the annals partly printed by Liebermann, *u. s.*, pp. 84 ff., Hardy says: 'in no case is more than one line of manuscript given to any year,' Catalogue, ii. 453.

⁴ See above, §§ 6, 7.

⁵ Liebermann, *u. s.*, pp. 1 ff.; above, § 30.

by the incorporation of passages from the text of Bede, and of the Northumbrian Gesta: D, E¹.

(3) The official continuation of the Alfredian Chronicle, 894-924. This exists most completely in A, but up to the end of 915 it exists also, though in a slightly different, perhaps more original, recension in B, C, D (not in E at all). 3. The official continuation.

(4) The Mercian Register, 902-924. In its original form this exists only in B, C, but is partially incorporated in D, whose copy perhaps extended somewhat beyond 924². 4. The Mercian Register.

(5) A group of Northumbrian annals, 901-966, existing fragmentarily in D and E; more completely in Sim. Dun. 5. The second northern group.

(6) A somewhat fragmentary continuation from the death of Edward the Elder (925) to the death of Edgar (975), consisting of ballads³, obits, and other scraps⁴. All the MSS. have pieced out these meagre entries in their own way: A, with Winchester annals⁵; B, C, with Abingdon notices which extend the continuation to 977⁶; D, with northern and other matter, his additions being the most considerable of all⁷. E's additions 6. A fragmentary continuation, 925-975.

¹ In this section I take little or no account of F. Its character has been definitely determined above, §§ 32-41; it is a later epitome, and only incidentally illustrates the *growth* of the Chronicle.

² The existence of this Mercian Register must lead us to modify a little the strong statement of Lapenberg: 'Mercien hat uns weder . . . schriftliche Gesetze noch selbst eine dürftige Chronik hinterlassen,' i. 216; E. T. i. 221. That the earlier materials on which the Chronicle is based should, as a rule, have disappeared, need not surprise us; for, as Dr. Stubbs says, the composition of the Chronicle probably 'stopped the writing of new books, and ensured the destruction of the old,' Hoveden, I. xi. Bede's great work had something of the same effect; cf. my Bede, I. xlvii, and the parallel there suggested of the synoptic Gospels.

³ On the poems of the Chronicle, see Abegg, Zur Entwicklung der

historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen, 1894. He divides them into two classes: I. Annalistic verses due to cloister learning. II. Popular Ballads. In the former class he places the poems on Brunanburh, 937; cf. C. P. B. I. lv.; the freeing of the Five Boroughs, 942; Edgar's coronation, 973; and death, 975 A, B, C; the death of Edward the Confessor, 1065 C, D. In the latter he places the poems on the glories of Edgar, 959 D, E; the death of Edgar, 975 D, E; the destruction of the monasteries, 975 D; the capture of Canterbury, 1011 C, D, E; the death of Alfred Etheling, 1036 C, D; the marriage of St. Margaret, 1067 D; the marriage of Earl Ralph, 1076 D, 1075 E.

⁴ Owing to the fragmentary nature of this continuation it seems to me impossible to determine the place where it originated.

⁵ See above, § 94.

⁶ *ib.* § 87.

⁷ *ib.* §§ 70, 71.

are mostly from the same source as D's, but he has one or two of his own¹. At this point B ceases altogether; A becomes independent, but at the same time nearly barren.

7. The second Danish struggle, 983-1018.

(7) For a few annals after this point, C on the one hand and D and E on the other have independent continuations, but from 983 to 1018 they are practically identical, the main differences being due to the fact that certain Abingdon notices in C, preserved in E, have been omitted in D, which has also a few insertions of its own². This continuation seems all of one piece, and has a strongly marked unity of subject, the struggle against the Danes under Ethelred and his lion-hearted son³. It ends appropriately with the reconciliation of the two races under Cnut on the basis of Edgar's law. As to the place where this continuation was originally written, the indications are not very sure; but such as they are they seem to me to point to Canterbury⁴. Notices as to archbishops are indeed, as I have already implied⁵, national rather than local matters, and by themselves are no safe indication of origin. But the lamentation over the 'too speedy' flight of the Kentish fyrd in 999⁶, the details in 1009, the lamentation over the ruin of Canterbury, 'captive that once was head of the English kin and of Christianity,' the minute narrative of Ælfheah's martyrdom in 1012, all seem to me to point to Canterbury as the home of this continuation.

This section probably Kentish.

8. Last annals.

(8) Soon after this point, 1018, the relations between the

¹ See above, § 62.

² It might be thought that it was a more natural explanation to suppose that D was copied from a MS. in which these Abingdon notices had not yet been inserted; but for reasons given above, § 63, the view of the text seems preferable.

³ See notes to 1016, 1018 D. For marks of contemporary writing in this section, see notes to 1009, 1012, 1016.

⁴ 986 (ravaging of Rochester); 988, 990, 991, 994, 995, 996, 999, 1006, 1009, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014. Earle would place the composition

of this section at Abingdon, p. xxxvii.

⁵ See above, § 67.

⁶ 'wala þ hi to raðe bugon 7 flugon.' The addition in E, 'forþam þe hi næfdon fultum þe hi habban sceoldan,' may be a further Kentish addition of E, wishing to excuse his local fyrd. Note, too, the distinction between the West Kentings, 909, and the East Kentings, 1009. The distinction occurs nowhere else in the Chronicle; cf. K. C. D. iv. 266: 'pegenas ge of East Cent ge of West Cent,' a document of 995 x 1005.

three surviving Chronicles C, D, E, become too complicated to be expressed in any single formula. All we can say is that in some cases two or more of them used common materials¹. But we have every possible variety of relation between them. Sometimes all three agree together; sometimes all three are independent; sometimes C, D agree against E; sometimes C, E against D; sometimes D, E against C. C ends abruptly in 1066, D ends incompletely at 1079, E alone continues to 1154.

§ 111. Having thus traced the Chronicles to their ultimate source it will conduce to clearness, though it may involve some repetition, if we reverse the process, and endeavour to trace the development of each of our existing Chronicles from the common Alfredian stock. Starting from the autograph of the original Chronicle up to 892, *Æ*, we have seen that all our MSS. ultimately come from a transcript, *æ*, extending to the same point, but faulty in having a dislocated chronology caused by the inadvertence of the scribe². That at least one other transcript existed in which this error did not occur, is proved by the fact that the correct chronology is found in the Annals of St. Neot, though they are evidently derived ultimately from the Saxon Chronicle³.

§ 112. Of *æ* copies seem to have been made and sent to different monasteries. One of these remained at Winchester, where it became the basis of our *A*, and received successively the official continuation up to 925⁴, and the second continuation up to 975; the former of these the scribe seems somewhat to have edited⁵, while he eked out the poverty of the latter with some local annals. After 975, *A* is continued in complete independence but somewhat meagrely up to 1001; after which

¹ See above, § 72.

² *ib.* § 100.

³ *ib.* The copy of the Chronicle underlying the A. S. N. had the official continuation up to 913 *A* (= 912 A. S. N.) inclusive. That is the last English entry in A. S. N., which end with 914, a Franco-

Norman entry. And of this continuation, as we have seen, p. civ note, the recension underlying A. S. N. agrees with B, C, D, rather than with *A*.

⁴ It is noteworthy that a change of hand takes place in *A* at 925.

⁵ See above, § 89, 93, 100.

date the MS. was transferred bodily to Christ Church, Canterbury¹, where it received a few Canterbury additions, ending up with the Latin Acts of Lanfranc. But before the MS. left Winchester, a transcript was made which is our A (W.). The subsequent fate of this MS. is obscure, as it received no further additions.

§ 113. The history of B and C is, as we have seen, closely connected with Abingdon². It may be a question when the transcript of æ which underlies them came to Abingdon, whether immediately after 892, or not until it had received the official continuation up to 915. If the former was the case, then the monks of Abingdon must have subsequently received and inserted a copy of the continuation up to that point. I am inclined to think the second alternative is the more probable, as it will better explain the curious 'harking back' in the chronology in order to insert the Mercian Register, which could not be incorporated in strict chronological order³, because the Chronicle, as they received it, already went beyond the point at which the Mercian Register began⁴. Anyhow, whether the copy sent to Abingdon extended to 915 or only to 892, it had marked scribal peculiarities distinguishing it both from the copy which underlies our A, and from that which underlies our D, E⁵. Next, after 924, where the Mercian Register ends, comes the meagre continuation, 934-975, to which one or two Abingdon entries were added, bringing it up to 977. This Abingdon copy extending to 977 is the hypothetical MS. which I have called T⁶. At this point two copies were made of it. One is our B. This

¹ See above, § 95. ² *ib.* §§ 87, 91.

³ *ib.* §§ 55, 69, 86; and i. 92, 100, where it is shown that the M. R. really begins with six blank annals, 896-901. But no one would begin an independent work in this way; therefore the M. R. must have begun yet earlier. Perhaps the compiler omitted the earlier entries, because they were in substance identical with what he already had in the main Chronicle.

⁴ This is confirmed by the addi-

tion of B, C in 642 [= 643 A], 'se Cenwalh het atimbran þa [ealdan B, C] ciricean on Wintunceastre.' This insertion to distinguish the 'old church' or cathedral at Winchester from the 'New Minster' (afterwards Hyde Abbey), would be much more likely to be made at Winchester than at Abingdon; but it cannot have been made before 903, as only in that year was the New Minster hallowed, 903 F.

⁵ Above, §§ 86, 87.

⁶ *ib.* § 87.

was apparently sent to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, but remained a barren stock, and developed no further. The other is our C, in which after 977 there is a change of hand. For a few years C continues independently; then with 983 begins the section which comprises the story of the second Danish struggle up to 1018¹, after which C is continued, as we have seen, sometimes in agreement with, and sometimes independently of D and E. It ends, probably mutilated, at the end of a folio in the middle of the year 1066, though a much later hand has completed the annal after a fashion, by adding the story of the gallant Northman at the battle of Stamford Bridge.

§ 114. Another transcript of æ was sent to some northern monastery, probably Ripon². Here it was enlarged by the addition (1) of passages taken from the text of Bede; (2) of the Northumbrian Gesta. This enlargement must have taken place very soon after the reception of the southern Chronicle, for before this northernised recension had extended beyond the original limits of 892 a copy of it was sent to some other northern monastery, where it became the basis of our E, of which more anon. The other copy remained at Ripon, and here received both the official continuation up to 915, and the Mercian Register extending perhaps somewhat beyond 924, which two documents the scribe endeavoured to weld together in chronological order³, not always quite successfully⁴, or completely⁵. Similarly the next continuation (up to 975) is combined with some of the second group of Northumbrian annals alluded to above⁶. It is possible that some of the other

Origin
of the
northern
recension.

History of
D.

¹ But for some time after this point, C must have been copied from some older MS., and is not original; for apart from questions of reading, there is no change of hand between 982 and 1047, probably none between 978 and 1049.

² That this copy extended no further than 892 is proved, I think conclusively, by the barrenness of E after that year.

³ This strongly confirms what was said above about the compass

of the copy of the southern Chronicle which was originally sent to Abingdon. The Abingdon scribes, having a Chronicle extending to 915, were obliged to append the M. R. out of order; the Ripon scribes, whose original Chronicle only extended to 892, received independently the continuation up to 915 and the M. R., and so were able to amalgamate them.

⁴ See above, § 69.

⁵ *ib.*

⁶ *ib.* §§ 70, 110.

additions which are found in D between 924 and 983 may have been inserted at this stage; though it is also possible that some of them may not have been added until the final transcription of this part of the MS. at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century¹. It should also be noted that the continuation, 934-975, differs towards the end in the D, E recension from that in the A, B, C recension. The poem on Edgar's coronation is reduced to prose, the poem on his death is different, while there is a poem on his accession, where none exists in the other recension. That during the compilation of most of this section the original MS. was still at Ripon is made probable by the northern character of many of the entries, and almost certain by the mention of Ripon in 948. From 978 to 981 D, E have a continuation of their own; but from 983 to 1018 they have the annals of the Danish struggle, though one or two insertions are made by D.

Question
of the date
when D
was trans-
planted to
Evesham.

§ 115. To what locality are we to refer the incorporation of this section into the original of D²? Some time between 966 (the last northern entry) and 1033 (the first Worcester entry), the MS., or a transcript of it, was transferred to some place in the Worcester diocese, probably Evesham³; and the question arises whether we can fix the date more precisely. My impression is that this took place soon after 975. The continuation, 978-981, special to D, E, seems to me distinctly southern in tone; and the additional details given by D in 1016 as to the meeting of Edmund Ironside and Cnut at Olney seem to indicate local knowledge or tradition. The insertion of the consecration of Ælfric to York in 1014 might seem to point to a northern origin, but is not really inconsistent with the opposite view, because of the close connexion at this time of the sees of York

¹ See above, §§ 75-78.

² This question must be kept distinct from two others: (1) the question where this section was originally composed, which I believe to have been at Canterbury; (2) the question of the home of the MS. which was the common parent of C,

D, E in this section, which was almost certainly Abingdon. And this confirms what follows, for it would be easier for an Abingdon MS. to get to Evesham than to Ripon.

³ Above, § 73.

and Worcester¹. It must, however, be admitted that this argument is not wholly conclusive, because these passages also may have been inserted at the last transcription of the MS. And consequently the locality of this section, as it is found in D, must be regarded as somewhat uncertain. But from 1019 onwards the details as to Cnut and Scandinavian affairs, the Worcestershire, and more especially the Evesham notices, seem to me to fix the locality quite clearly. The character of the varying relations of D to C and E from this point onwards has been already sufficiently defined². It ends mutilated in the middle of 1079, though a very much later hand has added a brief notice under 1080, which really belongs to 1130.

§ 116. We have now to trace the development of E. Its separate history begins with a transcript of the northern recension of the Alfredian Chronicle, which did not extend beyond 892³. This was sent probably to some northern monastery, where for some time it remained comparatively barren⁴. It did not receive the official continuation, 894-924, in any shape, or the Mercian Register. Consequently all that it has during this period is a few obits and a selection from those Northumbrian annals, a different selection from which is found in D. It did, however, receive the next continuation, 934-975, in the same recension as that which is found in D, though it abbreviates it by omitting the poems at 937, 942, and one of those at 975⁵. For the next section, 983⁶ to 1018, it is parallel to C and D, often being nearer to C than to D. And the same question arises as to the locality of this section in \bar{E} , as arose with reference to it in the case of D. Somewhere between 966

¹ Above, § 72.

² *ib.* §§ 62, 72, 110.

³ *ib.* § 114.

⁴ Possibly because the Danish troubles interrupted communications with the south. It may have been this northern ancestor of E which was used by Gaimar. See above, §§ 57, 58. The idea of Kupferschmidt that the scribe of E omitted the annals 894 ff., because as a

northerner he disliked the part which Northumbria was represented as playing, seems to me too fanciful for serious discussion, *Englische Studien*, xiii. 184, 185.

⁵ These omissions may, however, have been made at one of the later transcriptions, that of η or of E itself.

⁶ After the continuation, 978-981, common to it with D.

and 1036 the MS., or a transcript of it, migrated to St. Augustine's, Canterbury¹, but the exact point is not clear; 1023 and 1031 are perhaps rather northern in character; on the other hand the insertion in 999 E as to the want of support given to the Kentish fyrd looks rather like the local patriot attempting to excuse the failure of the local forces. But this may have been inserted at a later stage. This Chronicle was continued at St. Augustine's to about 1067; and again at St. Augustine's, or some other southern home, to 1121. Then it was transplanted to Peterborough, where its development has already been traced so fully that the tale need not be repeated here².

Origin of
F.

§ 117. From the original remaining at St. Augustine's a bilingual epitome was made for the use of the neighbouring monastery of Christ Church; and in this various local notices were embodied. This is our F. It was compiled late in the eleventh, or early in the twelfth, century. It ends defaced and mutilated in 1058.

VI. OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF THE MSS. OF THE CHRONICLE, ETC.

Relative
value of
the differ-
ent MSS.

§ 118. The investigation just concluded naturally raises the question of the relative value of the different MSS. of the Chronicle, and of their several parts. There is an uncritical habit, still much in vogue, of quoting every statement of every part of every Chronicle as if they were all of the same value³. I have already (§ 41) entered a caveat against this practice in the case of F, and of course the spuriousness of the earlier Peterborough interpolations in E has long been recognised. I think, from what has been said, it results further that something of the same attitude of reserve must be adopted towards some of the unsupported assertions of D.

Prestige
of A

On the whole I think the general tendency of our inquiry has been to lower somewhat the prestige of A, by disproving its claim to be an original, and showing that it is at least, as Plato might say, at the second remove from truth, a copy

¹ Above, § 47.

² *ib.* §§ 45, 50 ff.

³ Cf. Theopold, p. 11.

of a copy¹. Our obligations to it are greatest for the reign of Edward the Elder.

In the same way I think the authority of D is somewhat lessened by a consideration of the late date at which it assumed its present shape; which makes it possible that entries in the earlier part, which cannot be proved to be based on older documents, may have been inserted at the latest stage of compilation. This does not, however, detract in the least from the value of those parts of D which may reasonably be supposed to embody more ancient materials, some of which have survived in D alone.

As to C our inquiry has had, I think, a twofold effect. As to the earlier part it has shown that C and B both come from a MS. which was somewhat faulty, but in its latest part it is an authority, generally independent, and of the highest value.

E, on the other hand, has distinctly gained by criticism; and the fixing of the true locality of the section 1035-1066 has given it a value which had not been fully appreciated before. Its authority for the Norman period has, of course, long been recognised.

§ 119. Another consideration which results from our investigation is one which the progress of the science of textual criticism tends more and more to emphasise: namely, the importance, for the determination of the original text, of bearing in mind the history and relationship of the MSS. in which the text is preserved². Let us suppose—and it is a case which not unfrequently occurs—that in a passage of the Alfredian

¹ At least up to 892; from 894 to 984 it may be a copy, not a copy of a copy. But I do not think it is an original, for one hand extends from 969 to 1001, both inclusive, and this is too long a period to be covered by the same scribe making contemporary entries. It is quite possible that from 993 to 1001 it may be an original.

² It was the great service of the late Dr. Hort to the cause of the textual criticism of the N. T. that

he brought out this principle more clearly, and applied it more firmly than had ever been done before; though Bengel and Griesbach had made some approach to it. Subsequent research will probably modify the estimate which Dr. Hort formed of the relative value of the different groups; but that the only hope of progress lies in a grouping of MSS. according to their derivation is a principle which subsequent research can only emphasise and confirm.

Chronicle a certain reading is found in *A*, *E*, another reading in *B*, *C*, while *D* is defective or corrupt. If we merely count authorities without weighing them, it would seem that the evidence for the two readings was about equally strong—two MSS. on each side; and if *A* be somewhat older than *B*, *C*, they in turn are older than *E*. But when we consider the relations and history of the four MSS., we see at once that *B*, *C* do not give us the evidence of two independent witnesses, but of a single witness, *F*; and that, as we have seen¹, a very idiosyncratic witness, which is far outweighed by the evidence of two MSS. like *A* and *E*, which have been so independent of one another in their development, ever since they branched off from the common stock.

§ 120. The earlier editors of the Saxon Chronicle, Gibson², Ingram, and to some extent M. H. B., treated it as if it were a single homogeneous work, the product of a single mind, like the Decades of Livy, or the Annals of Tacitus. Accordingly, they attempt to weld all the materials contained in their various MSS. into a continuous text. Consequently we never know, without referring in each sentence to the critical notes, whether what we are reading is a twelfth century addition of *E* or *F*, or one of the best contemporary annals of *A*, *C*, or *E*; and records are amalgamated mechanically, though their chronology differs it may be by as much as three years³. Moreover, we thus get combined, in a single narrative, passages which merely tell the same thing in different words⁴; or, worse still, accounts of the same events told from opposing points of view⁵.

¹ Above, §§ 86, 87.

² Wheloc is an exception, as his text is practically edited from a single MS.; and the interpolations of *a*, which he embodies in his text, are clearly distinguished by being enclosed in square brackets.

³ Thus an entry of the M. R. of 902 is amalgamated with an entry of the main Chronicle under 902, though 902 M. R. = 905 of the Chronicle. In this particular point of the M. R., even Thorpe has followed the

bad example of his predecessors.

⁴ See *e.g.* Ingram, 1035, 1037, 1043; and cf. p. 236, note.

⁵ See *e.g.* Ingram, 1055, where the statement of *D* that Ælfgar was banished 'almost without guilt,' is combined with the directly opposite statement of *E* that his guilt was self-confessed. In many cases Ingram himself has to abandon the attempt at conflation, and places the divergent text in the notes.

The only part of the Chronicle which could really be treated as the work of a single mind is the Alfredian Chronicle up to 892¹; and even here we should require at any rate two parallel texts for the southern and northern recensions, and this is practically secured by Professor Earle's plan, followed in the present edition, of printing *A* and *E* opposite to each other. But the supplementary extracts given in our pages from the other MSS. are an ocular proof that even a double text does not adequately represent the material contained in the Chronicle, and there can be no doubt of the superiority of Thorpe's plan of printing all six MSS. in parallel columns, though there are some grave defects in his execution of the plan².

§ 121. Another question which is forced upon us is the Lost
Chronicles. question of the existence of other Saxon Chronicles now lost or hidden. For we have seen that the phenomena of our existing MSS. can hardly be explained without the hypothesis of other MSS., such as those which I have called *Æ*, *æ*, *Γ*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε*, *η*³. We have also seen that a passage in Florence clearly implies a Saxon original which is not in any of our Chronicles⁴, and Dr. Liebermann has pointed out that Hermann, the author of the Miracles of St. Edmund, seems to have had a MS. of the Chronicle differing from those we know⁵. We are not, however, left to conjecture in the matter. In our *H* we have a fragment of a lost Chronicle; and in the twelfth century Catalogue of the Durham Library among the 'libri Anglici' occur 'duo Cronica Anglica,' and also 'Elfredes Boc,' which, as I have suggested⁶, may be the Mercian Register. Another piece of evidence was pointed out to Professor Earle by the late Mr. Bradshaw. In the University Library at Cambridge is a MS. of *Ælfric's*

¹ And even in it the unity is rather of selection than of composition; see above, § 4..

² As I shall have later to criticise some of the details of Thorpe's work, I wish here to state, as emphatically as I can, my great obligations to it. It has never been out of my hands during the progress of my own work; without it the writing of many of my notes would

have been difficult, and the composition of this Introduction impossible.

³ Above, §§ 34, 49, 50, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 87, 93, 100, 101, 111 ff.

⁴ *ib.* § 84 note.

⁵ Ungedruckte Geschichtsquellen, pp. 228, 234, 246. Other Latin chroniclers, such as Ethelwerd, Ann. S. Neoti, also show traces of Chronicles differing from ours; see above, §§ 90, 100. ⁶ Above, § 69.

Grammar (Hh. i. 10). It is mutilated at the end, and Mr. Bradshaw showed that the missing part must have contained what Archbishop Parker, in his list of books given by him to the Library, calls 'Hist. Angliae Saxonica,' and what James, in his *Ecloga*, p. 69, calls 'Annales Saxonici.' On the other hand a hint given in *M. H. B.*, Pref., p. 77, when followed up by Professor Earle and the Vicomte de la Villemarqué, only led to a MS. of the *Chronicon Magdeburgense*. Nor is there any reason to think that Joscelin's 'Hist. Petroburg.' is other than our E. Wheloc confused the matter, first of all, by attributing the interpolations in *A* to Joscelin, and then by asserting that Joscelin assigns them to the 'Codex Petroburg.,' whereas Joscelin merely notes from time to time 'sic et in Cod. Petroburg.,' which is true enough; for, as I have shown, the entries in E and the interpolations in *A* often come from a common source¹. That in the reckless and wanton destruction which accompanied the dissolution of the monasteries many MSS. of the Chronicle, as of other works, should have perished is nothing surprising². The history of literature, especially of late years, has been full of strange and romantic recoveries of works long thought to be irretrievably lost. And

¹ Above, § 32.

² Cf. Bishop Bale's lament in his preface to Leland's *New Yeares Gift to Henry VIII*, 1549, cited by Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 4: 'If there had been in every shyre of Englande but one solempne lybrary, to the preseruacyon of those noble workes, and preferment of good lernynges in our posteryte, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroy all without consyderation, a great number of them which purchased those superstycyouse mansions, reserued of those lybrarye boke, some to serue their iakes, some to scour their candlestyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonder-

ynge of the foren nacyons. Yea, the unyversytees of thys realme are not all clere in thys detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye whyche seketh to be fedde with such ungodly gaynes, and so depely shameth hys natural contreye. I know a merchaunt man, which shall at thys time be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryies for XL shyllinges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these X yeares, and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come.' But it occurs to us to ask, if the good bishop knew that these priceless treasures were being sold for the price of 'graye paper,' why did not he, like Parker, make some effort to preserve them?

it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that in some private or foreign collection one or more Saxon Chronicles may yet be found; but it must be confessed that the chances at present do not seem very great.

§ 122. Of the relation of the Latin Historians and Gaimar to the Chronicle down to Malmesbury and Huntingdon in the twelfth century enough has been said¹, nor is it necessary to pursue the subject further. Roger of Wendover in the next century is too utterly uncritical in his early history to repay analysis². And from the twelfth century onwards the will and the power to consult the original sources of our history decayed; partly because the key to the ancient tongue was lost; partly, as Earle has said, because 'Malmesbury's work carried with it a prestige of finality'³; until in the pages of Capgrave, the first to apply the native tongue once more to the original writing of history, the greatest name in all English history, the name of Alfred, moves like the shadow cast by a great luminary in eclipse⁴. 'Saxon history was lost or forgotten'⁵. But for men like Parker, Joscelin, Cotton, and Lisle, it might have been lost irrecoverably.

Decay of
Saxon
studies.

VII. OF THE EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE SAXON CHRONICLE.

§ 123. The story of the general revival of Anglo-Saxon studies cannot be told here; but something must now be said about the editions and translations whereby a knowledge of the Chronicle was gradually recovered. The first of these, the *Editio Princeps*,

Editions
and trans-
lations of
the
Chronicle.

See above, §§ 50-58, 84, 85, 99, 100.

² See Theopold, pp. 7, 70, 92.

³ Earle, Introduction, p. lxiv.

⁴ 'In this tyme regned Alured in Ynglond, the fourt son of Adelwold. He began to regn in the 3ere of our Lord DCCCLXXII. This man, be the councele of Seint Ned, mad an open Schole of divers sciens at Oxen-

ford. He had many batailes with Danes; and aftir many conflicties in which he had the wers, at the last he overcam hem; and be his trefy Godrus [a nominative inferred from Godrum = Guðrum!] here Kyng was baptized, and went hom with his puple. XXVIII 3ere he regned, and deied the servaunt of God' (cited by Earle, p. lxxv). ⁵ *ib.*

is that of Abraham Wheloc, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge (1593-1653)¹.

Wheloc.

This was printed at Cambridge in 1643 and 1644 as an Appendix to Wheloc's *Editio Princeps* of the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, and was certainly a considerable performance for the time at which it was done; nor can the shortcomings, inseparable from a first attempt made at a time when the revived study of Anglo-Saxon was in its infancy and the appliances were few², detract from the glory which belongs to Wheloc, that (in Gibson's words) 'primus omnium praeclarum istud huius nationis monumentum a blattis ac tineis uindicauit'³. Of the MSS. used by Wheloc, and the way in which he treated them, enough has been said above⁴. It remains to add a few words on the Latin translation with which he accompanied his text. That it should contain many errors, some of them rather comic, was to be expected⁵; but on the whole it is a courageous and creditable performance. To Cambridge thus belongs the honour of producing the first edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle⁶. But from that time to this the history

¹ On Wheloc's work in connexion with Bryan Walton's Polyglot Bible, &c., see Todd's Life of Walton, i. 230 ff. (I owe the reference to Professor Margoliouth.)

² On the progress of Anglo-Saxon studies up to Wheloc's time, see Wülker, *u. s.*, pp. 1-17.

³ Gibson, Preface.

⁴ §§ 17, 98.

⁵ *e. g.* 755: oð þ hy þær Ine (inne) fulgon, 'donec Inam sequerentur'; 871: sumorlida, 'aestiuales'; 875: Stræcled Wealas, 'Britones pictos'; 879: georadroe on hloð wicenga, 'Hlothwicengam [as place-name] confluit'; 889: twegen hleaperas, 'duos leprosos'; 891: hi ne rohton hwær, 'illam uero non remigabant'; 894: hie to londe comon, 'Londinum uenerant'; 897: þæt hie nytwyrþoste beon meahtan, 'modo illa ne pessima esse possent'; 898: Heahstan

biscop, 'summus episcopus'; 921: þa se fyrdstemn for ham, 'tum exercitus *Ite domum* uociferatur'; 955: on Frome, 'in aetatis uigore'; 973: cyninges leohta hyrdes, 'regis Leothyrdi'; 975: gamolfeax hæleð, 'cameli pilis tectus'; 1031: tæper æx, 'cereum'; cf. also 67, 418, 518, 538, 560, 607, 616, 653, 661, 685, 700, 716, 718, 733, 833, 851, 864, 878, 885, 886, 887, 893, 894, 895, 896, 925, 964. Naturally the poetical parts caused the greatest difficulty to a beginner. The translation of the Song of Brunanburh is quite hopeless, and Wheloc evidently was not happy about it, for he says: 'idioma hic et ad annum 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum lectoris candorem et diligentiam desiderat.'

⁶ Cambridge was, however, nearly anticipated by Oxford. Dr. Gerard Langbaine (1609-1658), Provost of

of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has been mainly connected with Oxford¹.

§ 124. Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), afterwards Bishop of London, published his edition in 1692, when he was only twenty-three; and it is certainly a most remarkable performance. It was at the instance of John Mill, the author of the *Exemplar Millianum*, that he undertook the task. He had, as he confesses, one very great advantage over Wheloc in the publication of Hicke's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, and in the private assistance which he derived from Hicke. 'The consequence was that his edition was a great advance on Wheloc's, and altogether an admirable work. His Latin version is in general not only correct, but happy. Substantially it has been the basis of all later versions².' The faulty principle on which

Queen's, had contemplated an edition 'ut apparet ex schedis eius MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana,' but gave up the idea when he found that Wheloc had anticipated him: 'opus isthoc infeliciter praeripuerat,' says Gibson, with praiseworthy loyalty to the former head of his own college. Bishop Fell, at the instance of Junius and Marshall, prevailed on William Nicholson to undertake a new edition, but his removal from Oxford frustrated the plan, which was ultimately carried out by Gibson. See his Preface. From the collations of MS. F of the Chronicle, to be found in Junius' copy of Wheloc (Junius MSS. No. 10, see below), Gibson, *u. s.*, infers that Junius himself had contemplated an edition.

¹ Thorpe was not at either University.

² Earle, p. lxx. This does not mean that either the translation or the text is free from faults; cf. 634*: for ðan heþenscipe þe hi drugon, 'propter Paganismum quo [uitam] ii traxerant'; 675*: wið translated 'cum,' and so often; 755†*: on þæs wifes gebærum, 'intra mulieris domicilium'; *ib.* †: heora

agene dom, 'proprias ipsorum libertates'; 871: sumorlida, 'quies aestiua'; 894†*, *ad fin.*: on anre westre ceastre, 'in Occidentali quadam ciuitate'; 941: 7 he wæs þa xviii wintre, 'et ei [*sc. regno*] praefuit xviii annis'; 1016†, *ad init.*: ælc mann þe feor wære, 'unusquisque longe dissitus'; 1086†, p. 190: fyrrest to eacan þam cynge, 'regi maxime fidelis'; 1087†*: Rodbeard a Mundbræg, 'R. pacis uiolator'; 1137†, p. 240: was [*lege war*] sæ me tilede, 'litus arabant, *i. e.* frustra arabant'; cf. also 189†*, 418, 560†, 616†, 640†*, 656†, 685†*, 686†, 709†*, 716†*, 790*, 794†*, 796, 852†*, 853, 854†, 867†, 876†*, 881†, 883†*, 885†*, 886†, 891†, 894†, 896*, 897†*, 903†*, 919†*, 920, 921†*, 922†, 941, 942, 957†, 961†*, 963, 975†*, 992, 994*, 1004†*, 1006†*, 1009†, 1010†, 1011†*, 1013†, 1016†*, 1020, 1036*, 1041†*, 1042, 1046†, 1047†, 1048†*, 1055†*, 1070†, 1083†, 1086†, 1090†, 1091†*, 1093†, 1094†*, 1099†*, 1100, 1103, 1106†*, 1114†*, 1125†*, 1135†*, 1137†*. (The dagger means that the mistake is repeated by Miss Gurney, the asterisk that it is

Gibson constructed his edition has been already explained¹. But further, he never formed any clear view of the relative value of the authorities which he employed, and takes sometimes one and sometimes another as the basis of his text. For materials Gibson did not go beyond the walls of the Bodleian. It is worth while to see exactly what materials he had. In the first place, he had the printed text of *Wheloc*; this practically gave him A and \bar{A} ². Secondly, he had our E, which he cites as *Laud*. This in itself gave him a large amount of new material³, though his complaint that *Wheloc* used 'mutilated' MSS.⁴ rests on that misconception of the nature of the *Saxon Chronicles* which underlies the plan of his edition. Thirdly, he had a transcript of B made by *Joscelin*; this is the MS. which he cites as *Cant*.⁵ Fourthly, he had *Junius'* collations and extracts

repeated by Dr. Ingram.) Gibson's translation of the *Song of Brunanbuth* is almost as hopeless as that of *Wheloc*, though he protests against the epithet 'horridum' which *Wheloc* applies to it, and though he quotes H. H.'s version in the notes, which might have kept him right in some cases where he has gone wrong. In several instances he has wrong readings; p. 2: *palas* for *Walas*; 584: *yrfe* for *yrre*; 870; 977; p. 239: *wessien* for *werrien* (which he turns into a proper name); cf. *was* for *war*, p. 240. It is, however, one of Gibson's merits that he never tries to gloss over words or phrases which he does not understand: 'quid significet hoc uocabulum omnino nescio'; 'quis sit sensus me omnino latet'; 'harum uocum significationem ignoro'; 'uocis significatio mihi plane incognita'; 'quae sit huius uocabuli significatio uideant alii'; pp. 115, 194, 216, 219, 231, 236, 239, 240; cf. his preface, where he speaks of 'quaedam Chronici loca, in quibus meam insecitiam libere profiteor.'

¹ Above, §§ 11, 120.

² Gibson clearly grasped the relation of \bar{A} and A: 'alterum alterius apographum esse omnino uideatur.'

³ 'Huic uni plus debent *Annales Saxonici*, quam caeteris omnibus.'

⁴ 'Ad fidem Codicis mutili ac mendosi'; 'neuter [\bar{A} and A] integrum Chronicon complectitur, sed ipsius fragmenta.' Ingram. however, remarks justly: 'These MSS. were . . . not less entire, as far as they went, than his own favourite *Laud*,' p. ii.

⁵ Now *Laud. Misc.* 661; 4to. chart. ff. 46. It is in a larger and more formal hand than *Joscelin's* ordinary hand; but a comparison with a note in his ordinary hand to be found at the end of 915. seems to me to show clearly that the text is by *Joscelin* also. Gibson was ignorant of its derivation. He calls it 'Codex . . . non omnino . . . contemnendus . . . ad exemplar aliquod descriptus . . . hodie . . . extinctum.' At the end is the West *Saxon pedigree*. This I believe to be taken from *Tib. A. iii.* (So *Wanley*, p. 84; and so *Mr. Macray* in his *Catalogue of the Laud MSS.*)

from F alluded to above¹; this is the MS. which he calls Cot. It will thus be seen that Gibson had practically access to A and A, B, E, and F. Of C and D he knew absolutely nothing. It was the great merit of Ingram that he first made use of these interesting and important MSS.

§ 125. But before Dr. Ingram's work was published, there appeared, in 1819, the first translation into modern English of the Saxon Chronicle. This was the work of a lady, the learned and benevolent Miss Anna Gurney (1795-1857). She had intended to publish her work, but hearing that Dr. Ingram's edition was in preparation, she contented herself with printing a limited number of copies for private circulation². This

With the exception of one homoioteleuton omission (specially easy to make in a document where the same phrases constantly recur) and two or three minute differences of spelling, it agrees exactly in all respects. It affords, therefore, no evidence of the existence of a genealogical preface belonging to B *other* than Tib. A. iii (β). Another copy of the pedigree by Junius is in Junius MSS., No. 66. This is expressly stated by Junius to be taken from Tib. A. iii. Gibson used both MSS., pp. 15-17, not realising that they are both transcripts of the same MS. Laud 66r he calls *Cant.* as before; Junius 66 he calls *Cot.*, which at first sight causes confusion, that being his symbol for Junius' transcript of F. But as F does not contain the genealogy, there is no real doubt as to his meaning. As Gibson did not know the origin of Laud 66r, he cannot have called it *Cant.* because of its derivation from B, a book of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. He probably called it so as having belonged to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; the symbol *Laud* having been already appropriated to E.

¹ Junius 10; § 88, note. 'Inde nos eas descripsimus, singulari

hominis in his rebus religione merito innixi.' As F is now in many places very difficult to read, these collations and transcripts of Junius would be well worthy of the attention of any one who should undertake a new six-text edition of the Chronicle, a work much to be desired.

² The copy in my possession is one presented by Miss Gurney's printer to a reverend gentleman, unnamed, because he had heard from 'my friend, Mr. Holmes, that it will find a welcome reception in your library.' It is somewhat of a satire on this 'welcome reception' that the book, when it came into my hands, was almost wholly uncut. My late friend, the Rev. Edward Hill, sometime Rector of Wishford, Wilts., once told me that, as a boy, he used to attend the same church as Miss Gurney; and that, with a boy's curiosity, he would sometimes go early to church, in order to see this gifted lady (who owing to a paralytic affection had been a complete cripple from her infancy) carried into her pew by her men-servants. There is a brief but interesting account of her 'busy, active, and happy life' in the Dictionary of National Biography. Mr. Hill also gave me an account of

translation is based on Gibson's edition, the lady, as stated in the Preface, having 'only access to the printed texts.' But it is by no means a mere rendering into English of Gibson's Latin, but an independent translation. Though in a certain number of cases she follows Gibson's errors¹, yet in many cases she corrects them from a better knowledge of the original²; and the English is vigorous and idiomatic. This translation is the basis of Dr. Giles', which will be mentioned presently.

Ingram.

§ 126. Ingram's edition appeared in 1823. He did not, like Gibson, confine himself to Oxford materials, but extended his researches to London and Cambridge. Thus he knew *Æ* at first hand, and not merely through Wheloc; he used B, *β*, and F in the originals, and not merely in the Bodleian transcripts; and he incorporated for the first time the additional and important material afforded by C and D. He added an English translation, and introductions, notes, and appendices, which contain many interesting and just remarks. Thus his edition is in many ways a great advance on that of Gibson. Unfortunately it was constructed on the same faulty plan, and this evil was enhanced by the very excellences of the edition; for the greater the amount of materials collected, the greater is the confusion produced by conflating them. The translation seems to me less spirited and idiomatic than Miss Gurney's. He retains, as we

the comic dismay of the Professor of Anglo-Saxon, the Rev. H. B. Wilson, of St. John's, when Mr. Hill applied to him for instruction, and on being questioned by the Professor as to what he had read on the subject, replied that he had read Hicckes' Thesaurus, which was possibly more than the Professor himself had done. According to Dict. Nat. Biog. a second edition of Miss Gurney's translation was called for; but of this I can find no trace. Nor have I succeeded in finding the MS. translation by Gough, which Ingram says exists in the Bodleian Library; it was based, like Miss Gurney's, on

Gibson's edition, Ingram, p. xvi.

¹ See above, § 124, note.

² 418, 560, 755, 790, 796, 853, 886, 896, 920, 941, 963, 1006, 1010, 1016, 1036, 1061, 1087, 1088, 1093, 1100, 1103, 1116, 1131, 1135. Miss Gurney's translation of the Song of Brunanburh is an immense advance on Gibson's, and is superior to that of Ingram. Even where she has not succeeded in solving the difficulties of the original, her rendering is always spirited. On the other hand, she has fallen into some errors for which Gibson is not responsible: 675, 887, 891, 1012, 1022, 1045, 1088, 1127.

have seen, a good many of Gibson's errors¹, and that too in cases where Miss Gurney, whose work he praises (p. xvii), might have shown him the right way. He has, no doubt, corrected several of Gibson's blunders²; but *per contra* he has introduced a good many new ones of his own³. In the translation of the matter which Ingram introduced from C and D he was a pioneer, and mistakes were to be expected⁴.

§ 127. In 1847 Dr. Giles published a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Like others of Dr. Giles' literary productions it was largely based on the labours of others, among whom he acknowledges especial obligations to Miss Gurney.

§ 128. In 1848 appeared a handsome folio volume: 'Monumenta Historica Britannica (M. H. B.), or Materials for the History of Britain from the Earliest Period: Vol. I, extending to the Norman Conquest.' This was the first instalment of a scheme, projected by Mr. Petrie the principal editor († 1842),

Monu-
menta
Historica
Britannica

¹ Above, § 124, note.
² 560, 616, 656 (p. 44), 675, 755, 854, 871, 885, 886, 959, 992, 1003, 1006, 1009, 1010, 1016, 1035, 1103, 1116, 1135, 1140. In one or two cases he corrects Gibson's text, Pref., 854 *ad fin.*, 977. He fails to do so, 584. Now and then he endeavours to correct Gibson where Gibson is quite right, e.g. pp. 295, 339, notes.

³ 597, 656 (pp. 43, 45), 722, 734, 793, 823, 830, 839, 865, 871 *ad fin.*, 893, 894, 911, 918, 942, 947, 959, 975, 1009, 1013, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1104, 1105, 1131, 1132, 1137, 1154.

⁴ 1041: this is a good illustration of the consequences of Ingram's system of conflation. E reads 'Her . . . com Eadward Æðelredes sunu cinges hider to lande of Weallande.' C, D read 'Her . . . com Eadward [Hardacnutes] broðor on medren fram begeondan sæ Æþelredes sunu cinges.' Ingram reads 'Her . . . com Eadward Æð. s. c. hider to lande on Medren of Weallande,' and translates: 'This year . . . came Edward, &c., hither to land from

Wealland to Madron' (!) Another choice rendering is 1075 *ad fin.*, 'sume getawod to scande,' 'some were towed to Scandinavia'; cf. also pp. 58, 180, 208, 211, 222, 223, 232, 234, 239, 246, 252, 255, 256, 259, 261, 263, 271, 279, 281, 284. One frequent cause of Dr. Ingram's blunders is that he transliterates rather than translates, and takes a word which sounds like the original, though it may have nothing to do with it. Thus getawod = towed (*v. s.*), genotud = noted (really, = consumed), p. 116; æsc = esk, p. 122; gehadode menn = hooded men, p. 187; gefremian = frame (here there is an etymological connexion, though it does not give the sense), p. 211; to handesceofe = handcuff, p. 227; cf. pp. 249, 265, 309, 311, 312, 319. Another curious feature is the introduction of extreme modernisms: 'copyholds,' 'viceroy,' 'privy council,' 'peers,' 'corporation,' pp. 75, 124, 186, 197, 263. This extends to proper names: Geraint appears as *Grant*, Beocca as *Beeke*, pp. 61, 111.

for publishing a complete series of our early Chronicles, &c. No other volume was ever published, because Mr. Petrie's scheme was ultimately abandoned in favour of that which has given us the well-known Rolls Series. The Saxon Chronicle occupies pp. 291-466; and the editing of this part of the volume was mainly the work of Mr. Richard Price († 1833), 'a good man and highly accomplished scholar¹,' who also commenced the edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws ultimately completed by Mr. Thorpe. As the volume did not extend beyond 1066, the later parts of D and E were necessarily omitted. In the arrangement of the text a great improvement was made by making A the standard MS. wherever possible, and by printing separately below the line those parts of the various MSS. which did not admit of being combined with the texts placed above the line. But there is still too much conflation², and when A fails there seems to be no fixed principle as to what shall be placed above the line and what below³; and the reader has still painfully to consult the very intricate *Apparatus Criticus* in order to ascertain on each occasion what he is really reading. But it is in the translation that the improvement is most conspicuous; and it forms a striking testimony to the rapid progress of Anglo-Saxon studies in the ten years between the appearance of Ingram's edition in 1823 and the death of Mr. Price in 1833⁴.

Stevenson.

§ 129. In 1853 appeared a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, in his series of 'The Church Historians of England.' The first part, up to the Conquest, was taken by permission from M. H. B., with 'a few unimportant corrections⁵';

¹ Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, I. xvii.; see also Thorpe's *Chronicle*, I. xxi., xxii.

² See e.g. 640, 912, 943, 980.

³ In some cases part of an annual from a MS. is placed above the line, and another part of the same annual from the same MS. is placed below, 876, 1022, 1038.

⁴ This does not mean that the translation is faultless; there are still mistakes here and there, e.g.

188, 616, 655, 657*†, 680†, 685, 693†, 716, 755*, 777*, 871*, 878, 894†, 917, 918†, 937*†, 962, 973†, 975†, 981, 1009†, 1013, 1036, 1050 D, 1048 E, 1052 E†, 1052 C, 1056, 1066*†. In those annals marked with an asterisk, corrections have been made by Stevenson; in those marked with a dagger, by Thorpe. See below.

⁵ It will be seen from the last note that there are many errors in

from 1067 the translation is the work of Mr. Stevenson¹. Professor Earle says: 'on the whole, this appears to be the best translation which has hitherto appeared².'

§ 130. In 1861 appeared Mr. Thorpe's six-text edition, with Thorpe. translation, in the series of the Master of the Rolls. I have already emphatically expressed my sense of the great value of this edition and of the plan on which it is constructed, which may well make us pardon some imperfections in detail. Of these the most important seem to me to be (1) the omission of almost all the Latin entries in E; (2) the almost entire neglect of the Latin text of F³; (3) the uncritical conflation of the Mercian Register with the main Chronicle; (4) the liberties taken with the text both in the way of arrangement⁴ and of unauthorised and not very successful emendation⁵; (5) the dislocation of the parallelism in some of the later parts of the Chronicle, 1044-1052, just where (owing to defective chronology, divergence in the beginning of the year, &c.) it was most necessary to bring out the parallelism clearly.

As to the translation Mr. Thorpe corrected several of the errors of his predecessors⁶, but the arrangement is very confused, and reproduces some of the worst features of the conflate editions; it must, one would fancy, be very puzzling to any one

M. H. B., which Mr. Stevenson did not correct; and he made one or two new ones: 896, 1052^a D.

¹ In this part also there are some errors: 1067†, 1069†, 1070 E †, 1071†, 1075†, 1086†, 1087†, 1091, 1092, 1094†, 1099†, 1100†, 1104†, 1107†, 1125, 1127†, 1131†, 1132†, 1154. Several of these are inherited from his predecessors. Those marked with a dagger are corrected by Thorpe.

² Introduction, p. lxxiii.

³ In Pertz, xiii. 94, the late Professor Pauli expresses his wonder at the universal neglect of the Latin text of F, and gives some extracts from it.

⁴ *e.g.* the breaking up of the

annal, 910 E, and the distributing it over different years; the transposing the notice of the comet from the beginning to the end of 905 D. In 1004 D he has inserted the words 'þ hi þær togædere fon sceol, don' though in the MS. they have been omitted through homoioteleuton. In 343 E he has an entry (the death of St. Nicholas) which is not in E at all, but only in F.

⁵ *e.g.* the unlucky 'scipan' for 'sciran,' 1097; 'Angeow' for the corrupt 'oncweow,' 1110; see notes *ad loc.*

⁶ He also added several new ones of his own: *e.g.* 617, 790 E, 1036, 1041, 1087, 1093, 1100, 1120, 1131, 1137.

who could not control it by reference to the original¹. But in spite of these drawbacks this work amply deserves the praise which Earle bestowed upon it as 'one of the greatest boons that could have been conferred on the Saxon student².'

Earle.

§ 131. In 1865 the Clarendon Press published 'Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with supplementary extracts from the others, edited, with introduction, notes, and a glossarial index, by John Earle, M.A.' But though not published till 1865, the Introduction shows that the text had been in type for some eight years previously³. Therefore the conception, and to a large extent the execution, of the work were quite independent of Mr. Thorpe's edition. I have already said that the six-text arrangement has great advantages, but it must be remembered that Mr. Thorpe had behind him the resources of the English Government; while, as compared with the M. H. B., Earle's advance in clearness is incalculable; and though the texts do not include all that was given by Thorpe, yet as far as they go they are more correct⁴, and the printing of the interpolations in A in a separate type, so as to be discernible at a glance, was a great improvement. Professor Earle's plan did not include a translation, but in the notes he brought a wide linguistic and historical knowledge to the elucidation of the Chronicle, and cleared up many passages previously obscure⁵. But perhaps the greatest advance was made in the Introduction, the first attempt to give a rational and connected account of the growth of the Chronicle and the relations of the different MSS. The words of a German critic express the sober truth: 'Earle was the first to prefix to his edition a really critical investigation of the various MSS.'⁶

¹ It is quite clear to me that Thorpe made his translation from the text of M. H. B. (see *e.g.* 876, 980, 1017, 1022, 1038), and not from his own texts.

² Introduction, p. lxxiii.

³ 'If I had the text to print again, with eight years' more experience,' &c., p. li.

⁴ 'Die sonst entschieden bessere Ausgabe von Earle,' Theopold, p. 11.

⁵ See *e.g.* the notes on wedbroðor, 656 E; gebærum, 755; the meaning of 'up' in the sense of 'inland,' 865, &c.; manbryne, 962; Welisce men, 1048 E; þ he dyde eall, 1070 E; werscipe, 1086; þ hi ealle abohton, 1125; and the happy and certain emendations of Beorn for Harold, 1046 E, and oncneow for oncweow, 1110; see notes *ad loc.*

⁶ Grubitz, p. 2.

§ 132. The present edition, as the title-page declares, is based on that of Earle, but it differs from it in some important particulars. In the text the expansion of contractions in the MSS. is indicated by the use of italics; the earlier and later interpolations in MS. A are distinguished by the use of different types as explained in the Preface. The Mercian Register has been placed in parallelism with the main Chronicle, instead of being relegated to an Appendix, as in Earle. By the omission of parts of C, which are practically identical with the corresponding parts of E, room has been gained for additional extracts from other MSS.; the passages from F Lat. may perhaps be specially mentioned. The Glossary has been regularly grouped under head-words, instead of being a mere word-list as in Earle's edition; and all words are included in it which occur in any of the texts here given, and not merely those derived from A and E. And last, but not least, a copious index has been added. Whether these changes are improvements must be left to others to decide.

The present
edition.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION

ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR IN THE SAXON CHRONICLES

MUCH has been written on this question since the appearance of Plummer's second volume in 1899, and it is therefore desirable to replace his note with a statement of the present position.

Plummer considered that of the many methods of commencing the year employed in medieval times (Christmas, the Annunciation preceding 1 January of the Year of Grace, the Annunciation following it, Easter, the Greek indiction of 1 September, the Caesarean indiction of 24 September) only two occur in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, namely, Christmas and Easter. It has since been claimed that annals which he took to be dated from Easter are really using the so-called Florentine style, which begins the year at the Annunciation (25 March) following 1 January of the Year of Grace, and that a third method, unrecognized by Plummer, is sometimes employed, which begins the year with the Caesarean indiction at 24 September.

The majority of the annals in the Chronicle contain no indication of the date at which the year commenced, either because they refer only to events lying between 25 March and 23 September, which would be dated in the same year no matter which of these three styles is used, or because we cannot date precisely the events in them. It is possible that the number of indecisive annals may be decreased as more work is done on unpublished materials, especially on calendars. There are, however, some annals which afford positive or negative evidence of the date at which the year began, either by the arrangement of events within the annal, or by the dating a year too late or a year too early—according to our method of reckoning—of events falling within the periods of the year which are crucial for this investigation. It must, however, be borne in mind that in the parts of the Chronicle compiled considerably later than the events

recorded, the author may have drawn materials from sources employing different methods of beginning the year. Moreover, when an event appears to us to be a year out in its dating, the possibility of error must be kept in sight. Chronological dislocation by mechanical error is common, and thus the question of the date of beginning the year cannot be safely considered apart from that of the general chronology of the various manuscripts. In recent years much attention has been given to the alteration of the annal numbers of A; but it has not been sufficiently realized that the numbers in C also have been tampered with, and that the printed texts present no consistent picture of either the original or the corrected dates. Moreover, it is still necessary to go to the manuscript to find out which of the annal numbers assigned to B have manuscript authority.

In spite of these difficulties, some conclusions can be drawn. The brief annals of the early part of the Chronicle afford no safe evidence; there is too much uncertainty about the true dating of events, and too much chronological dislocation in the manuscripts. Where dependent on Bede, they normally repeat his dates, and it would be hard to prove that occasional divergences are intentional.¹ The first annal in the main Chronicle to contain a clear indication is 794 (for 796), which calculates from Christmas, beginning with the death of Hadrian on 25 December, and ending with that of Egferth about 17 December. The additions made in this section of the Chronicle in its northern recension were made by a man who did not change his year in September, as may be seen from 780, 792, 797 D, E. Dating from 24 September seems also excluded by annals 822 (for 824) and 823 (for 825) in the main Chronicle, for the synod of *Clofesho* recorded in the first of these is probably that of October 824, while Egbert seems still to have been engaged in Devon on 19 August 855, and it would be impossible for all the subsequent events mentioned in this annal to have occurred between this date and 23 September.²

The first clear indication of the commencement of the year in the

¹ The view that Bede commenced his year on 24 September, for which R. L. Poole made a very strong case in *J. Theol. Stud.* xx (1919), has been disputed by W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 265-79. Levison argues for Christmas, explaining as error

dates that seem calculated from 24 September. The matter is still *sub judice*, but to the present writer Levison's view seems to present serious difficulties.

² On these data see A. J. Throgood in *E. H. R.* xlvi. 354-9.

autumn comes at 851, where a battle (two battles in A) is recorded before the Danes took up winter quarters. Between the annal for 825 and this annal no entry is decisive, but it has been argued that for other reasons 840 seems the most likely place for a change of style.¹ From this year until 890, no annal is incompatible with a September dating, and many speak for it. A great deal happened before Easter in 853; 855 begins with the wintering of the Danish army, which normally took place in autumn; 867 begins with the Danish attack on York (1 November in Roger of Wendover) and 'late in the year' the rival Northumbrian factions combined to attack the Danes. This attack took place on 21 March (Symeon of Durham), which would not be late in a year beginning at Christmas. (Annunciation dating is not excluded by this annal, but is impossible in 871 and 878.) The annal for 867 thus makes it clear that the annals from 866 to 890 include the movement of the Danish armies in the previous autumn. This result is corroborated by the dating of events that can be proved to have occurred between 24 September and Christmas a year too late in 879, 880, 882-887, and 890, for this cannot be attributed to a mechanical dislocation, seeing that the Battle of Saucourt, which was fought in August, is correctly dated.²

Hodgkin claims Christmas dating for 892-6 (= 893-7 C, D, and altered dates in A), and perhaps for 891 (= 892 C, D, and altered dates in A).³ If it were certain that Arnulf's victory at the Dyle took place after 23 September, it would be clear that the annal 891 was not using indictional dating, but as one continental opinion would place the battle in September, or even late August, the matter must be left open. I am not convinced that we need assume a change to a Christmas commencement even in the annals 892-6. It is true that these annals do not keep to a year from September to September, but I suspect that the reason for this is that in this set of annals, which are written, apparently all in a piece, in a distinctive style, the writer is more concerned to mark the end of a campaigning year than of a calendar year. He gives the events of the first, second, and third years after the landing of the great army in the autumn of 892, and as the campaigns went on until the army took up winter quarters, his annals go on after 23 September. Even if, however, we accept

¹ See *ibid.* pp. 359 f.

in E. H. R. xxxiii. 328-42.

² On all this see M. R. Beaven

³ See E. H. R. xxxix. 497-510.

Hodgkin's view that he begins his year at Christmas, we should attribute this change to an individual writer, for after he ceases we find at 900 the September beginning still in use, if, as is generally agreed, Alfred died on 26 October 899.

The chronology of the entries for the reign of Edward the Elder is extremely confused, but dating from an autumn date can be seen in 912 A (913 C, D), and there is nothing to suggest a change between 900 and that year. In fact, if the Battle of the Holme took place about 12 December 902,¹ and if 903 was the original numbering of the year in which the Chronicle entered it,² this annal can be added to those with a year beginning before Christmas. The Mercian Register, on the other hand, begins its year in Christmas in 915, and less certain indications suggest the same system in some other years, while nowhere in it is any other method implied. The main Chronicle also begins its year in Christmas in 918 A (915 C, D) and 921 A, all other annals for the latter part of Edward's reign being indecisive. As we have seen above, the tenth-century interpolator of the northern recension did not use a September beginning of the year. The only remaining clear instance of the latter is the entering of Athelstan's death, which probably occurred on 27 October 939, at 940. The annals for this reign are not contemporary, and their author may have consulted for this entry a regnal list which began its year in September. Eadred's death on 25 November 955 is entered under that year in A, B, D, E, and F; C's 956 is more probable due to error than to dating from 24 September. There can be no doubt that 963 A is reckoning from Christmas, and 963 E, F at any rate not from September. Apart from the isolated instance in 940, it would appear as if the change were made in the middle of the reign of Edward the Elder. It is possible that the entry of Archbishop Ælfric's death at 1006 in the main Chronicle, instead of 1005 as in A, may have been taken from a list using indictional dating;³ for his obit was observed on 16 November, and it would be difficult to assign to the period between then and 24 December the translation of his successor Ælfheah to Canterbury, the appointment of Ælfheah's successor,

¹ See F. T. Wainwright in E. H. R. ix. 390.

² See W. S. Angus in E. H. R. liii. 204-6.

³ Consultation of the same list may account for the entry in C. D.

E, F of Archbishop Siric's death in 995, for there is reason to believe that he died towards the end of October 994. See K. Sisam, R. E. S. vii. 16.

Cenulf, to Winchester, and the latter's death. In fact, the annal implies that all this took place before midsummer 1006. Yet the annal 1006 cannot as a whole be using a September beginning, for it goes on to Christmas and beyond.

In the later part of the Chronicle are some annals which Plummer believed to begin the year at Easter; but R. L. Poole contended for an Annunciation dating, on the grounds that the Easter reckoning was not used in pre-Conquest England and that the only two annals which seemed to support it against the Annunciation could be otherwise explained: the entry in 1047 C which refers to 29 March 1048 he ascribes to the error of the new scribe who began with this entry and placed it one year too soon; and he claims that 1067 D is an anomalous annal with events out of chronological order.¹ This annal requires further discussion later.

Plummer would see the first sign of a year beginning in the spring in 1009 and 1010, but, although 1009 certainly overshoots Christmas, I doubt whether this was an intentional change; the writer is describing the movements of the Danish army, and in 1009 the campaign continued through the winter, and only in the spring did the Danes settle down to repair their ships. It is this which prevented the annalist from dividing these two annals at Christmas in accordance with his usual practice. Similarly 1006, unnoted by Plummer, went on after Christmas in order to conclude the campaign; after the Christmas season, Ethelred held a council and sent an offer of tribute to the Danes, both of which events are rightly assigned by Florence of Worcester to the beginning of 1007. The annal for 1013 ended with Ethelred's flight after Christmas, but in this case we certainly cannot infer that the year was begun at the Annunciation, for 1014 begins at Candlemas. It would therefore be very unsafe to assume Annunciation dating for the other annals that do not stop at Christmas. In this section of the Chronicle Christmas seems likely to be the date of commencement of annals 979 D, E, 1014-1016 C, D, E, 1053 D, and of the following annals in E: 1047-8 (for 1050-1), 1064 (for 1065), 1066, 1091, 1094-1127. It may also be assumed, if we exclude the possibility of a beginning in September, at 992 and 1017 in C, D, E, 1039 (for 1040) E, 1040 C, D, and in D at 1047-8 (for 1046-7), 1052 (for 1051), 1052, 1055-6, 1063; also, surprisingly, in 1055-6 C; and in 1052, 1061, 1063, in E. That we may safely exclude a September

¹ See E. H. R. xvi. 719-21.

beginning is shown by annals 1002, 1006, 1009, 1010, and 1013 C, D, E, 1022 D, E, 1042 (for 1043) E, 1043 C, D, 1054 D, besides the annals that can definitely be assigned to one or other of the two other styles.

The entry in 1041 D of the accession of Bishop Æthelric of Durham a year too early could be due to commencing the year in March, or it could simply be an error. Undoubted instances of a year beginning in the spring come in a group of annals in C, 1044–1053. The annals for 1055¹ and 1056 in C, however, do not use this reckoning, though it is reverted to in the next entry, 1065, and used also in 1066, where C comes to an end. In these last two years D also reckons from a date in the spring, and I am doubtful whether D ever returned to Christmas dating later. Poole's claim that D gave events in 1067 out of chronological order is justified mainly by the mention of the departure of Edgar Atheling and his sisters to Scotland (summer of 1068), before events which took place at the end of 1067 and in the spring of 1068. Now the long passage dealing with St. Margaret's later history is clearly an interpolation,² but the reference to the departure to Scotland comes in E at the same point as in D, though it does not there cause chronological disarrangement, for E does not mention at all those earlier events which follow the entry in D. It would appear therefore as if the disorder in D is because this annal is combined from two different sources, as are many others in this manuscript. If we ignore the entry of this departure, the events in 1067 D are approximately in chronological order; but what is odd is the division of the year; and this is true of the following annal as well. For 1067 deals with events from 6 December 1067 to the summer or autumn of 1068, while annal 1068 begins with the appointment of Robert de Comines at the end of 1068 and continues with no new number, and, indeed, no break, right through the events of 1069 and on past William's Christmas at York and his stay in the North all winter until his return to Winchester in time for Easter, 1070. This, of course will fit no style of beginning the year, and the scribe must have divided his annals wrongly. C, which in this section was using a source similar to that behind D, did not number the last four of its annals, and there may have been some obscurity in the source of

¹ From this point C leaves blank spaces instead of giving annal numbers.

² For the interest shown by D in

the Scottish royal family see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 680 f.

C and D. Thorpe assumes the beginning of a new annal (1069) at the point in 1068 D where Archbishop Aldred's death is entered. There is a fairly large capital but no break in the manuscript. But to divide here leaves events of midsummer 1069 in the annal for 1068. A better division would be at the beginning of the previous sentence, the point where E ends its annal.¹ In that case, a year beginning in the spring would present least difficulty; but it would be dangerous to draw firm conclusions from such uncertain evidence. For the rest of D the position has been obscured by a chronological dislocation: a blank annal has been inserted at 1070 and all subsequent annals dated one year too late. When this is corrected, the following annals suggest a commencement of the year in the spring; 1071 (for 1070), which deals with events of the summer of 1070 and ends with the slaying of Earl William (20 February 1071); 1076 (for 1075), which ends with the Christmas court; 1078 (for 1077), for the eclipse of the moon three nights before Candlemas took place in 1078. I can find nothing in the intervening years to indicate a change over to Christmas dating in D.

The early post-Conquest annals in E similarly show signs of a year that begins in the spring. As in D, so also in E the annal 1067 presents difficulties, for although it puts William's return to England on St. Nicholas' Day (6 December), 1067, in the same annal as his departure (March 1067), it nevertheless says it is in the next year, which would be true if the year began on 25 March or later. 1068 E suggests a spring commencement, for it begins like D with Robert de Comines' appointment late in 1068, and ends with the Atheling's flight to Scotland early in 1069, at the point which we have suggested above may have been the original conclusion of annal 1068 D. 1070 E and 1075 E share with D the indications of a year beginning in the spring; and after D has come to an end, 1083 and 1085 E go on beyond Christmas Day and 1086 (wrongly dated 1085) begins with the Easter court. 1086 (for 1087) similarly goes on to include Christmas, and has no event datable before the Annunciation. A beginning on 1 January would not be impossible. Undoubtedly Christmas

¹ In that event we end 1068 with William's capture of York and the Atheling's flight to Scotland. As William was back at Winchester by 13 April (see Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 594 note), this is compatible

with a spring commencement of the year.

Similarly, one might divide the annal for 1067 at the top of fol. 82, with the words *On pison Easton.*

dating begins again in 1091 and from 1094 until 1127 almost every annal commences with the Christmas court. 1125 is only an apparent exception: in order to explain the mutilation of the moneyers at the Christmas court the annalist found it necessary to begin a little before Christmas. 1131 begins soon after Christmas. There is little to be gained by studying the annals from 1132 to the end. They were all written by one writer, not before 1155, and he often deserts the annalistic form altogether, being incapable of assigning some of the events to the proper year. One may, however, note that his last entry, under 1154, extends to 2 January 1155.

CALENDAR OF DATES

MENTIONED IN

THE SAXON CHRONICLE

FORMA MONAÐ . . . IANUARIUS, M. 9, 10¹.

1. to geares dæge, 1096; foreweard gear, M. 6; cf. M. 4, 5.
2. .iiii. N^o. Iaň., 1154.
3. on Octaþ sċi Iohis Euglæ, 1117.
- 4.
5. [on] twelftan niht, 878*; on twelftanæfen, 1065 C, D=1066 E.
6. on twelftan dæg, 1065 C, D=1066 E; Theophanie, 1118; Ful-wihttiid éces Drihtnes, M. 11, 12.
- 7.
8. on .vi. idus Iaňr., 793 E.
- 9.
10. on .iiii^o. idus Iaňrí., 1123.
11. on iii Id. Ianuarii, 1041 D; 1131.
- 12.
13. on Idus Iaňr., 731 E; 1107; on Octaþ Epiphan', 1096.
- 14.
- 15.
16. on .xvii. kl. Febr.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
22. on .xi. kl. Feb., 1050 C.
- 23.
- 24.
25. on .viii. kl Feb., 1129.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
30. .iii. k Febuarius, 925 D; þreom nihton ær Candel-mæssan. 1078 D.
- 31.

¹ As in the Glossary, the refer-ences marked M are to the Meno-logium or Metrical Calendar, printed in Appendix A.

SOLMONAÐ . . . FEBRUARIUS, M. 16-18.

- 1.
2. Marianmæsse, M. 20; in die ·iiii^o. nonarum Feḅ., 616 E, a; to Candelmæssan, 1014 E; 1091; 1094; 1101; 1116; 1123; 1124; 1127.
3. on þone feowertegan dæg ofer midne winter, 763 A, 762 E; iii· N^o Febř., 1014 E.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. afered byð winter, M. 23, 24. [ueris initium.]
- 8.
- 9.
10. on ·iiii· ID' FÊBRIL., 1056 C, D.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
15. on ·xv· k̅. Mř., 670 E.
16. on ·xiiii· k̅l M̅R̅., 538* ; 1077 E; 1106; on Sča Iuliana mæsse-dæg, 1014 D; 1078 D.
17. on ðone dæg ·xiii· k̅ MAR', 1114 H.
- 18.
- 19.
20. on þam dæge ·x· k̅ Mř., 1077 E.
- 21.
22. on ·viii· k̅ Mř., 793 E.
23. vii· k̅ Martii, 1117.
24. on ðone dæg ·vi· k̅l MAR', 1114 H; Mathias mære, M. 27.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.

MARTIUS . . . HLYDA, HRÆDMONAÐ, M. 36, 37, and margin.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
6. on ·ii· N°. MAÿR., 1052^b D *ad init.*
- 7.
8. þes dæies ·viii· idus M̄r., 1122.
9. on ·vii· Idus M̄r., 1061 E.
- 10.
- 11.
12. on Sċe Gregories mæssedæg, 951 A; cf. M. 38-40.
- 13.
14. ii. ĪÐ Maŕt., 1051 C.
15. þes dæies IDus Martii, 1124.
- 16.
17. on ·xvi· k̄ Aþr., 1039 E.
18. on ·xv· k̄ Aþr., 979 E.
19. on ·iiii· x· k̄l April, 1061 D.
20. on ·xiii· k̄l Aþ̄r., 1045 C; 1140.
21. Benedictus . . . nergend sohte, M. 40, 41; emniht, M. 45.
22. on ·xi· k̄l Aþ̄r., 778 E; 1109; 1122.
23. x· k̄l Aþ̄r., 1047 D; 1067 D *ad fin.* (Easter).
- 24.
25. on ·viii^o· k̄ Aþ̄r., 1095 (Easter); Annuntiatio sċe Marie, 1124;
cf. M. 48-51.
26. on ·vii· kl. Aþ̄r., 655 E.
- 27.
28. on ·v· k̄l Aþ̄r., 795 E.
29. on ·iiii· k̄l Aþ̄r., 1047 C.
- 30.
- 31.

APRELIS MONAD, M. 56. EASTERMONAD, M. 72.

- 1.
2. on ·iiii· N^o. Aþr., 798 E.
3. iii. Non' Aþl., 1043 C, 1042 E (Easter); 1047 C (Easter); on s̄ce Ambrosius mæsseniht, 1095.
4. ii. Nō Aþr. s̄ce Ambrosius [mæssedæg], 1095.
5. on þære nihte nonę Aþr., 1121.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
12. ii. idus Aþr., 626 E (Easter).
13. IDUS Aþr., 1012 E (Easter).
- 14.
15. on xvii k Mai, 1053 E.
16. on þone dæg ·xvi· kī Mai, 1066 C, D (Easter).
- 17.
18. on ·xiiii· k Mai, 1061 E; 1066 A.
19. on ·xiii· k Mai, 794 E; 1084.
20. on ·xii· kī Mai, 688 E; cf. M. 73-75.
- 21.
22. on ·x· kī Mai, 1045 C.
23. on Nō. kī Mai, 725 E; 1124; on s̄cs Georius mæssedæge, 1016 E.
24. on þone æfen LETANIA MAIORA. þ ys ·viii· kī MAI, 1066 C, D.
25. vii. kī. Magi, 829 F; LETANIA MAIORA, 1066 C. D; 1109 (Easter).
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
29. on ·iii· kī Mai, 744 E.
- 30.

MAIUS . . . ÞRYMILCE, M. 78, 79.

1. on kġ Mai, 1049 D; 1118; Philippus 7 Iacob, M. 81.
2. on þone halgan æfen Inuentione sċe crucis, 912 C; cf. M. 83-86; on .vi. Nonas Mai, 980 C.
3. on .v. NŌ. Mai, 664 E; 1114 H.
4. þes dæies .iiii^o. N^o MAI, 1130.
5. on þære fiftan nihte on Maies monðe, 1110; on ðone dæg .iii N^o MAI, 1114 H.
- 6.
7. on NŌ. Mai, 762 E; [sumeres fruma] cf. M. 86-95.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
11. on .v. idus Mai, 972 E.
- 12.
- 13.
14. on .ii. idus Mai, 795 E.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. on .xiii. kġ Iunii, 685 E.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.
26. on .vii. k Iunii, 795 E; on Sċs Āgustinus mæssedæge, 946 A, D; 1061 E; cf. M. 95-106.
- 27.
- 28.
29. .iiii. KĹ IUNII, 931 A.
- 30.
31. on sċe Petronella mæssedæg. 1077 D.

ÆTTER LIDA . . . JUNIUS, M. 108, 109.

- 1.
2. þæs dæges ·iiii°. N° Juní, 1070 F.
- 3.
4. ii. ñ Iuñ., 806 F.
5. on No' Iun., 1104 (Pentecost).
- 6.
- 7.
8. on ·vi· IDUS IUNII, 1023 D ; 1042 C, 1041 E.
9. v. Ið. Iuñ., 829 F ; on þam dage þe ys gecweden twegra martira mæssedæi. Primi et Feliciani, 995 F.
10. die ·x· Iunii mensis, 731 E.
11. on ·iii· ID. IUN., 1023 D.
12. ·xii· nihtum ær middum sumera, 922 A = 918 C.
- 13.
- 14.
15. on ·xvii· k̅l̅ Iulii, 777 F ; 1023 D ; nigon nihtum ær middum sumere, 898 A.
16. on xvi. k̅l̅ IVÆ. þ̅y̅ ilcan dæge wæs s̅c̅e Ciricius tid þæs ƿroweres. mid his gefeferum, 916 C ; viii. nihton ær middan sumera, 1056 C, D.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. xii. k̅l̅. Iulii, 540*.
- 21.
22. ane dæge ær midsummeres mæsse æfene, 1052 E.
23. [to] midsummeres mæsse æfene, 1052 E.
24. on ·viii· k̅ Iulii, 803 E ; to middum sumera, 920 A, and fq. ; S' Ioh̅es messedæi, 1131 ; cf. M. 117.
25. ƿes oƿer dæies æfter S' Ioh̅es mæssedæi, 1131.
- 26.
27. ane dæge ær s̅c̅s Petrus mæsse æfene, 1048 E.
28. [to] s̅c̅s. Petrus mæsse æfene, 1048 E.
29. on s̅c̅s Petrus mæssedæg, 1048 E ; 1132 ; 1137 ; S' Petrus messe þe firrer¹, 1131 ; Petrus 7 Paulus, M. 122-130.
- 30.

¹ As opposed to S. Peter 'ad uincula,' Aug. 1.

IULIUS MONAÐ, M. 132.

1. on kġ Iul., 692 E.
- 2.
3. on ·v· nō. Iul., 693 E.
4. on Translatione s̄ci Martini, 1060 D.
5. iii· N^o. IULII, 1044 E.
- 6.
- 7.
8. viii idus Iulii, 903 a ; Iulius monoð . . . on þone eahteðan dæg
975 A ; on s̄ce Grimbaldes mæssedæg, 1075 D.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
12. on ·iiii· idus Iulii, 926 D.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
16. ðas dages ·xvii· kġ. Aug., 809 F.
17. on ·xvi· k̄ Aug', 762 E ; 791 E ; 1113 H.
- 18.
- 19.
20. xii· nihtan toforan Hlafmæssan, 1101.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
24. on ·ix· kġ Augusti, 757 E.
25. on ·viii· kġ Að., 1045 D ; 1122 ; Iacobus . . . feorh gesealde,
M. 132, 133.
- 26.
27. on þone dæg Septem Dormientium. 1054 D ; ·vi· kġ AVG',
1128.
- 28.
29. on ·iiii· kġ Aug., 1050 D *ad fin.*
- 30.
- 31.

WEODMONAÐ . . . AUGUSTUS, M. 138, 139.

1. on **ƿ** Aug', 794 E; 984 C; 1017 E; to hlafmæssan, 913 C, and fq.
2. on morgen æfter hlammæsse dæge, 1100.
- 3.
4. ii. N^o Aug't., 1116.
5. on **ð**am dæge N^o. A^vG., 641 E; 1063 D; 1108.
6. on octauo idus Augusti, 761 E; 909 D.
7. hærfest cymð, M. 140.
- 8.
- 9.
10. on .iiii. idus Augusti, 796 E; 1045 D; uppon s^{ce} Laurenties mæssedæg, 1103, 1125; cf. M. 145-147.
11. on þone dæg .iii. IDus Aug', 1089.
- 12.
- 13.
14. on .xix. k^l Sept^e., 796 E; anre nihte ær Assumptio s^{ce} Mariæ, 1077 E.
15. on .xviii. **ƿ** Seþt., 762 E; 962 A; Assumptio s^{ce} Mariæ¹, 1077 E; 1086; 1120; cf. M. 148-153.
16. on ðone dæg. xvii k^l Seþt., 1114 H.
- 17.
- 18.
19. on .xiiii. k^l Septembris, 768 E.
20. on .xiii. k^l Septem^b., 650 E.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
24. on s^{ce} Barþolomeus mæssedæig, 1065 C, D; M. 153-156.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
29. on .iiii. **ƿ** Septem^b., 1045 E, 1047 C; 1070 A; Decollatio S. Iohannis Bapt.; cf. M. 156-162.
30. on .iii. k^l. Seþt., 806 F; 829 F.
31. ii. k^l Sept., 650 E; 1056 C, D.

¹ betwux þam twam s^{ca} Marian mæssan, *i. e.* Aug. 15 and Sept. 8, 1069 E.

HALIG MONAÐ . . . SEPTEMBRES, M. 164, 167.

1. on kġ. Seþt., 806 E; vii. nihton ær þære lateran sċa Maria mæssan, 1052 D.
2. on .iiii. nō. Sept', 788 E.
- 3.
- 4.
5. on NÓ. SÉPT., 1128.
- 6.
7. on .vii. idus Sept', 780 E.
8. on .vi. idus Seþt., 797 E; 1122; on Nativitas sċe Marie. 994 E; 1011 E; 1015 E; 1066 C; 1122; 1125; [to] þære æftre sċa Maria mæssan¹, 1048 E; [to] sċa Marian mæsse, 1052 C; natiuitas sċe Marie, 1126; cf. M. 167-169.
9. on þone nextan dæg æfter natiuitas sċe Marie, 1086.
- 10.
11. on þone dæg. Proti. & Iacinthi, 1068 D.
- 12.
- 13.
14. on .xviii. kġ Octobř., 792 E; on ðone dæg Exaltatio Sċe ✠, 1114 H.
15. þes dæges .xvii. ċ Octobr., 1114.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
19. on .xiii. ċ Octob., 776 E.
20. on Vigilia sċi. Mathei, 1066 C, D.
21. þes dæges .xi. ċ Octobř., 1114; gást onsende Matheus, M. 169-173.
- 22.
23. on .ix. kġ Octobř., 789 E.
24. to hærfestes emnihte, 1048 E; emnihtes dæg, M. 175, 180.
- 25.
26. þreom dagum ær Michaelæs mæssedæg, 1086 *ad fin.*
- 27.
28. on sċe Michæles mæsse æfan, 1014 E; 1066 D; 1106; 1119.
29. to Sċe Michaelæs tide, 759*; to sċe Michaelæs mæssan, 1011 E. and fq.; heahengles tiid . . . Michæles, M. 177, 178; on .iii. ċ Octobř., 792 E.
30. ii. kġ Octobř., 653 E; 1057 D.

¹ See note on last page.

OCTOBER . . . WINTERFYLLĒD, M. 183, 184.

1. on kġ Octobŕ., 958 A.
2. on .vi. N° Octobŕ., 780 E.
- 3.
4. iiiio. N°. Octobŕ., 1097.
5. iii. N° Octobŕ., 1113 H.
- 6.
7. on NŌN. OCTOĔ., 1022 D.
- 8.
- 9.
10. vi. idus Octobŕ., 643 E; 1054 C, D.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. ii. idus Octobŕ., 633 E; 1125; on þone dæg Calesti pape, 1066 D.
15. on IDUS Octobŕ., 1072 F, 1073 D.
16. on .xvii. k. Nouembŕ., 797 D.
17. on .xvi. kġ NOVŔ., 1059 D.
18. to sĕe Lucas mæssan eugġista, 1119.
19. xiiii. kġ NOVŔ., 984 A.
20. xiii. kġ Nouembris, 905 D; 1122.
21. on .xii. k NOV', 1103.
- 22.
23. on .x. kġ Nouembris, 1048 C.
24. on .ix. kġ NOV', 1055 C, D.
- 25.
26. vii. k Nouembris, 901 D, E; syx nihtum ær ealra haligra mæssan, 901 A.
27. on .vi. kġ NOV', 941 A; on sĕe Simonis 7 Iudan mæsse æfen, 1064 E, 1065 D.
28. on þon dæg Simonis 7 Iude, 1065 C; cf. M. 186-193.
29. iii. kġ Novembŕ., 1047 E, 1050 C.
30. on .iii. k NOV., 797 E.
31. on ealra halgena mæsse niht. 971 B; . . . mæsse æfne. 1094.

BLOTMONAÐ . . . NOUEMBRIS, M. 195, 196.

1. on kī Nov', 1038 E; to alra halgena mæssan, 1053 D; to Omnium S̄corum, 933 A; ealra sancta sýmbel, M. 199, 200.
2. on þone dæg æfter ealra halgena mæssedæg, 1083 E.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. wintres dæg, M. 202. [wintres fruma.]
- 8.
- 9.
10. iiii. idus nōv̄., 627 E.
11. to Martines mæssan, 918 A, 915 D; 1006 E; 1009 E; 1021 D, E; 1089; 1097; 1099.
12. on ·ii· ID. NOVEM̄B., 1026 D; 1035 C, D.
13. on Bricius messedæg, 1002 E; on Idus Nouembris, 1020 D.
- 14.
- 15.
16. xiiii. nihton ær Andreas mæssan, 1043 D.
17. ·xv· k̄ Decemb̄., 1129.
18. on þa niht Octaþ s̄ci Martini, 1114.
19. on ·xiii· kī. Decemb., 766 E.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
23. on S̄ce Clementes mæssedæg, 955 A; cf. M. 210-214.
- 24.
- 25.
- 26.
27. on ·v· kī Decemb̄r., 1069 E.
- 28.
29. IN UIGILIA S̄ci Āndree, 963 A; on ·iii· kī Decemb̄., E.
30. [to] s̄cs Andreas mæssan, 1010 E; 1016 E; 1124; 1129; cf. M. 215-218.

DECEMBRIS . . . ÆRRA IULA; IULMONAÐ; M. 220, 221,
and margin.

1. on þære nihte k̅t Decemb̅, 1117; 8 oþer dæi efter S' Andreas
mæssedæi, 1135.
- 2.
- 3.
4. þrim wucum ær middan wintra, 919 C.
5. on S' Nicholaes messeniht, 1129.
6. on s̅c̅e Nicolaes mæssedæg, 1067 E, D; viii. idus De̅c̅., 1117.
7. þæs dæies ·vii^o. IDVS Decemb̅r, 1122.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
11. on þære nihte ·iii^o. idus De̅c̅., 1117.
- 12.
- 13.
14. on ·xix. k̅ lañr., 705 E; 1124.
- 15.
16. on xvii k̅t Ianuar', 957 D; 1117.
- 17.
18. vii. nihton ær X̅þes mæssan, 1075 E, 1076 D.
- 19.
20. on ·xiii. k̅t lañr., 802 E; 1038 C, D; on Thomes mæsseniht,
1052 C *ad fin.*, 1053 D.
21. to s̅c̅e Thomas mæsse, 1118; on ·xii. k̅t IAN̅., 1057 D; cf. M.
221-225.
22. on ·xi. k̅t lañr., 1060 E, D.
23. twam dagon ær [Cristes] tide, 1091 *ad fin.*
24. on ·ix. k̅ lañr., 779 E.
25. on ·viii. k̅ lañr., 779 D¹; cf. M. 1-3; 226-228.
26. on Stephanes mæssedæg, 1043^b E; on oðerne X̅þes mæsse-
dæg, F.
- 27.
28. on Cilda mæssedæge, 963 A; 1065 C, D; 1066 E.
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

¹ See note (p. clvi) on the different terms for Christmas Day which occur in the Chronicles.

NOTE ON THE WORDS FOR CHRISTMAS IN THE CHRONICLES

UP to the Conquest the ordinary word for Christmas is the old Teutonic and pre-Christian phrase 'Midwinter'; and it occurs not very rarely even after the Conquest; 1066 D, i. 200; 1068 D, i. 204; 1076 D=1075 E *ad fin.*; 1085^a; 1086 *ad fin.*; 1099; 1103; 1114 H; 1135. But with the Conquest the modern phrase Christmas begins to come in, and gradually prevails. I have only found one instance of its use before 1066, namely, at 1043 E; and as this is not one of the Peterborough insertions it affords a presumption that it is older than the Peterborough redaction of 1121. Of course the Peterborough scribe *may* have altered 'midwinter' into 'Christes mæsse'; I can only say that he has not done so in other cases, *e.g.* 827, 878, 885, 1006, 1009. After 1066 we find 'Christes mæsse' at 1075 E, 1091, 1094-1098, 1100, 1101, 1104-1106, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1121, 1122, 1124, 1125, 1127, 1131; and for the season 'Christes tid,' 1123. With the twelfth century a third term makes its appearance, 'natiuiteð,' evidently a representation of the French 'nativité.' This occurs 1102, 1105, 1106, 1108, 1113-1116.

NOTES



N.B.—In the Notes, as in the Glossary, MS. X is generally cited as A; the few quotations from MS. A are taken from *Wheloc's* edition and are indicated by the symbol W. As in the Glossary, an asterisk indicates that the annal or passage is in both the principal MSS. X and E.

P. 2. The West-Saxon genealogy which forms the Preface to MS. X of the Chronicle is found in two other MSS. which are cited in the critical notes and the additional critical notes, i. 2-5, 293. A fragment of it is printed in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, and a fifth copy has been printed by Professor Napier from MS. Add. 34,652, British Museum, in *Modern Language Notes* for 1897, xii. 106 ff.

For the genealogy of the West-Saxon house the chief authority apart from this Preface is the long pedigree of Æthelwulf given in MSS. A, B, C, D, at 855. These two authorities harmonise well together; and I therefore give here a genealogical tree compiled from them. The few points in which they differ are adverted to in the notes to the tree. But besides these two main pedigrees there are fragments of the genealogy of the house of Wessex under the years 552, 597, 611, 648; 674, 676, 685, 688, 728; and it must be confessed that some of these are not easy to reconcile either with the principal genealogies, or with one another. Some of the points in which they differ are given in the notes to the printed tree. Others will be noted later.

The origin of these divergences I take to be as follows.

It will be seen that of many of the West-Saxon kings the writer of the genealogical Preface is content to say 'their kin goeth to Cerdic,' *i.e.* they were 'of þam rihtan cynecynne' (1100 E, i. 236), but he did not profess to know the exact relationship. The compilers of the Chronicle, when they came to deal with the reigns of these kings, were not always content to acquiesce in this wise ignorance, and tried to frame a genealogy for some of them; but having no fixed tradition to guide them, were at variance with themselves and with the main genealogies. Thus Ceol and his brother Ceolwulf are placed in the uncertain class in the Preface,

but at 597 and 611 Ceolwulf and Ceola (=Ceol) are given a pedigree which makes them grandsons of Cynric through Cutha; while at 674, the pedigree of Æscwine, another king of the uncertain class, Ceolwulf is apparently made a son of Cynric. (In both these pedigrees 597 and 674 Ceawlin is omitted altogether.) The mistake at 676, whereby Cynegils is made a son instead of a nephew of Ceolwulf, is explained in a note on the passage as probably due to a scribal error; and in 611 he is made son of Ceola or Ceol, which is so far not inconsistent with the main authorities; but in 688 a totally different pedigree is given to Cynegils, and he is made a son of Cuthwine and brother of Ceolwald. 648 simply gives the short descent Cynegils, Cwichelm, Cuthred; 674 gives, as we have seen, the pedigree of Æscwine, 685 that of Ceadwalla, 688 that of Ine, all kings whom the Preface places in the indeterminate class, though at a later point it gives the pedigree of Ine. At 728 is the pedigree of the Wessex etheling Oswald, who does not come into the Preface at all, nor does his pedigree conflict with the latter.

It is lost labour to try and reconcile these inconsistencies. It is enough, perhaps more than enough, to have pointed them out.

Fl. Wig.
not an in-
dependent
witness.

Nor is any help to be derived from Fl. Wig. He gives, it is true, an elaborate pedigree of the whole West-Saxon house, i. 256; but after analysing it carefully I have come to the conclusion that it rests on no independent authority. It is merely formed by piecing together the different pedigrees in the Chronicle, an attempt being made to reconcile their inconsistencies by duplicating and triplicating names. Thus there are two Ceols in addition to Ceolwulf and Ceawlin; while there are no less than three Cuthas in addition to Cuthwine and Cuthwulf. It would take up too much space to exhibit this in detail.

Com-
parison of
the Preface
with the
main
Chronicle.

It follows next to compare the statements of the Preface with those contained in the body of the Chronicle. Of course the dates in **A**, the Chronicle to which the Preface is attached, must, whether right or wrong, be taken as the basis of the comparison.

It is a small matter that the Preface puts the invasion of Cerdic and Cynric in 494, while the Chronicle places it in 495; it is more serious that the Preface places the foundation of the kingdom of Wessex six years after their arrival, *i.e.* in 500, while the Chronicle places it in 519. The length given in the Preface to Cynric's reign, 17 years, is a mere graphic error for 27; β reads 26, and the Bede copy 27; Napier's MS. carries the error a step further, reading 7.

At first sight it seems unaccountable that the Preface should omit altogether the long reign of Ceawlin, to whom the Chronicle allots thirty-one years. But a comparison of Napier's MS. shows that this too has its origin in a scribal error. Ceawlin's name seems to have been written Ceolwin, then abbreviated to Ceol; this gave two Ceols apparently reigning in succession. The next scribe not unnaturally treated

this as mere dittography and omitted the former Ceol (=Ceawlin) altogether. Correcting these errors as to Cynric and Ceawlin we may exhibit the comparison of the Preface and the Chronicle from Cerdic to Æthelwulf in a tabular form:—

	CHRONICLE.	PREFACE.
Cerdic . . .	519 × 534 = 15 years	500 + 16
Cynric . . .	534 × 560 = 26 "	516 + 27 (17)
Ceawlin . . .	560 × 591 = 31 "	[543 + 31]
*Ceol ¹ . . .	591 × 597 = 6 "	574 + 6
*Ceolwulf . . .	597 × 611 = 14 "	580 + 7
Cynegils ² . . .	611 × 643 = 32 "	597 + 31
Cenwalh ³ . . .	643 × 672 = 29 "	628 + 31
Sexburg . . .	672 × 673 = 1 "	659 + 1
*Æscwine . . .	674 × 676 = 2 "	660 + 2
Centwine . . .	676 × 685 = 9 "	662 + 7
*Ceadwalla . . .	? 685 × 688 = 3 "	669 + 3
*Ine ⁴ . . .	688 × 728 = 40 "	672 + 37
*Æ|elheard ⁵ . . .	728 × 741 = 13 "	709 + 14
*Cu|red ⁶ . . .	741 × 754 = 13 "	723 + 17
*Sigebryht . . .	754 × 755 = 1 "	740 + 1
*Cynewulf ⁷ . . .	755 × 784 = 29 "	741 + 31
*Beorhtric . . .	784 × 800 = 16 "	772 + 16
Egbryht ⁸ . . .	800 × 836 = 36 "	788 + 37½
Æ|elwulf . . .	836	826

Owing to the fact that the divergences to some extent compensate each other, the ultimate difference is only ten years. But it is impossible to harmonise the two series of dates. It will be noticed that where the length of a reign as given in the Chronicle is inconsistent with the dates given in the Chronicle itself, it, with one exception, agrees exactly with the length given in the Preface. It would seem therefore that these numbers had to a great extent become fixed in tradition.

The interval which the Preface places between the Conquest of Wessex and Alfred's accession, 396 years, is of course too long.

Of the relation of this genealogical Preface to the structure and growth of the Chronicle something will be found in the Introduction, §§ 88, 102.

¹ The names marked with an asterisk are those kings of whom the Preface says, 'their kin goeth to Cerdic.'

² Yet at 611 he is said to have reigned 31 years.

³ Yet at 643 he is said to have reigned 31 years.

⁴ Yet at 688 he is said to have reigned 37 years.

⁵ Yet at 728 he is said to have reigned 14 years.

⁶ Yet at 741 he is said to have reigned 16 years.

⁷ Yet at 755 he is said to have reigned 31 years.

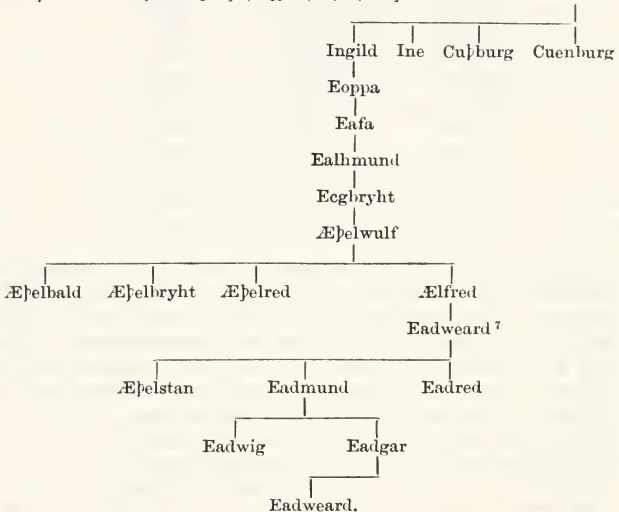
⁸ Yet at 836 he is said to have reigned 37½ years.

West-
Saxon
Pedigree.

WEST-SAXON PEDIGREE.

(To save space, the earlier steps of the Pedigree are placed horizontally instead of perpendicularly.)

Adam — Sed [Seth, B, C] — Enos — Camon — Maleel [Malalehel, B, C] —
Iared — Enoh — Matusalem — Lamach — Noe — Sceaf¹ — Bedwig [Beowi, D]
— Hwala — Hapra — Itermon — Heremod — Sceldwea — Beaw — Tætwa
— Geat² — Godwulf — Finn — Friþuwulf³ — Frealaf — Friþuwald³ —
Woden — Bældæg — Brond [Brand, B, C, D] — Friþogar — Freawine —
Wig — Giwis — Esla — Elesa — Cerdic — [Creoda⁴] — Cynric — Ceawlin⁵ —
— Cuþwine — Cuþwulf [Cuþa, 855 A, B, C, D⁶] — Ceowald — Cenred —



¹ The three steps, Sceaf, Bedwig, Hwala, are omitted in A. Fl. Wig. i. 247, makes Bedwig the son of Seth. Probably he was staggered at the idea of a son born to Noah in the ark of whom the Bible knows nothing, and seems expressly to exclude by saying of Shem, Ham, and Japheth that 'of them was the whole earth overspread,' Gen. ix. 19; whereas of Seth it is said that he 'begat sons and daughters,' *ib.* v. 7. It does not seem to have occurred to the good Florence that in that case any descendants of

Seth through Bedwig must have been cut off by the Flood. The pedigree in Text. Roff. p. 59, makes Sceaf the son of Shem, not Noah, but makes him born in the ark, which avoids Fl. Wig.'s difficulty, but on p. 62 he is made son of Noah.

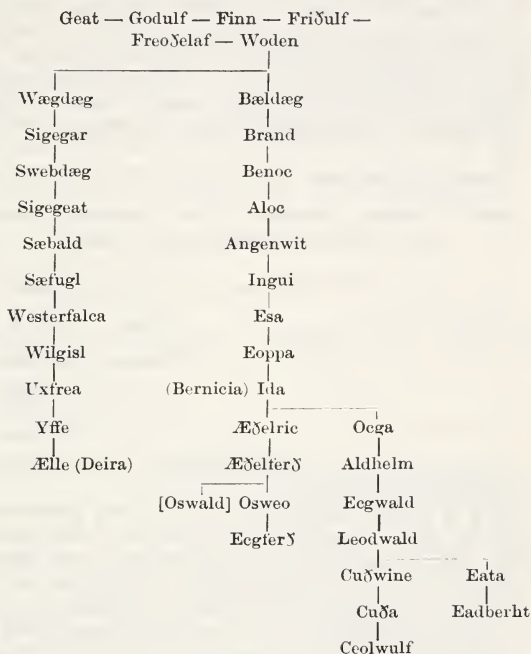
² 'Geat . . . ðene þa hæþenan wurðedon for god,' Text. Roff. p. 59; cf. Ord. Vit. iii. 161; V. li. ff.

³ Frithuwulf and Frithuwald are only in A and Fl. Wig. They are omitted in B, C, D.

⁴ Creoda is omitted by A both in the Preface and at 855. He is

As we have embarked on the pedigrees of the Chronicle, it may be well to complete the discussion of the subject. Other Pedigrees.

Northumbrian genealogies will be found at 547, 560, 670, 685, 731, 735: Northumbria. as these genealogies are quite consistent with one another I exhibit them here in a connected form:—



omitted also by A, B, C at the years 552, 597, 674, 685, 688, and by Fl. Wig. He is inserted by β in the Preface, and by B, C, D at 855. This agreement of β and B is a slight further confirmation of the view that they belong to one another.

⁵ The form *Celm* at the end of the Preface in A is clearly a miswriting of *Celin*, a by-form of *Ceawlin*; cf. the Northumbrian form of the name, *Caelin*, given by Bede, H. E. ii. 5.

⁶ *Cutha* might be a shortened form of *Cuthwine*, *Cuthwulf*, or any

name beginning with *Cuth-*; it is not therefore wonderful that in some cases we find *Cuthwine* and *Cuthwulf* amalgamated into a single *Cutha*, 579, 611, 685, A, B, C; while in 688 A, B, C, *Cuthwulf* is omitted altogether, and in 855 A, B, C, D, he is shortened into *Cutha*.

⁷ From Edward the Elder to Edward the Martyr the pedigree is taken from the Preface as continued in β . For other lists of West-Saxon kings see Hyde Register, pp. 12, 13, 94-96.

Then the word 'latin' had to be reintroduced, and so we get: 'alle lewede men þat understanden ne mahen latines ledene,' St. Juliana, ed. Cockayne, E. E. T. S., p. 2; so we have 'minster' and 'monastery,' 'frail' and 'fragile,' &c.

of Armenia] 'de tractu Armoricano,' Bede, *u. s.*, where see note. The Misreading-misunderstanding was perhaps helped by those MSS. of Bede which read 'Armonicano.'

supan of Scithian] There is nothing in Bede answering to the word Pictish 'supan,' 'from the south.' The compiler was possibly confused in his Legends. mind by those legends which connected the Picts with 'Pictauiā,' Poitou, &c.; Irish Nennius, pp. 52, 122. On the Pictish law of succession, the Dalriadic migration to Britain, and the use of the terms 'Scotia' and 'Scoti,' see notes on Bede, *u. s.*

pp. 4-5. 60 B. C.] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; D, E, F from Bede, H. E. i. 2, where see notes.

mid gefeohte cnysede, A] So Orosius, p. 96: 'ac Atheniense . . . hie mid gefeohte cnysedan'; cf. *ib.* 142.

forlædde, E] = 'disperdidit,' Bede; used by Wulfstan of the seductions of Antichrist, p. 55, 14.

mid Scottum] 'Among the Irish.' A mistake due to a misreading Misreading-found in several MSS. of Bede of 'Hibernia' for 'hiberna,' 'winter quarters.' ing.

ge refan] 'tribunus,' Bede.

ofer þone ford] 'Over *that* ford.'

to þam wudu fæstenum] 'westenum,' D; cf. 'on wudum 7 on westenum,' 'siluis ac desertis,' Bede, H. E. i. 8.

Anno 1*] This is the Dionysian era. It is now generally admitted that Dionysian era. Dionysius placed the birth of our Lord at least four years too late. I cannot say whence the annals 1-46, 62-155, are derived. Much of mediaeval Source of annals chronology comes from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' Chronicle. But 1-46, 62-155, there is no very close resemblance here, *v. Eus. Chron. ed. Schoene, ii. 145 ff.* unknown. Nor is there any great likeness to Isidore's Chron. Opp. (1617), pp. 260 ff.

3 A, 2 E. ofsticod] Cf. Oros. p. 284: 'he hiene selfne ofsticode.' Death of Josephus says that Herod during his last illness attempted to kill himself, Herod. but was prevented, Ant. xvii. 7. Ælfric, though he has Josephus' story, implies that he did kill himself, Hom. i. 88.

pp. 6-7. 12*. Lysiam, A] This must rest ultimately on a misunderstanding of Luke iii. 1, Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene being transformed Mistake. into the country Lycia.

feowricum] Note the *vv. ll.* We have 'fyðerrica,' tetrarch, Ælf. Tetrarchies. Hom. i. 364, 478: 'þa dælde se caeserg þæt Iudisce rice on feower, 7 sette þæerto feower gebroðra; ða sind gecwedene æfter Greciscum gereorde, tetrache, }æt sind fyðerrican.' For the compound cf. 'feðerfotra neata,' Bede, p. 374.

33*. Her . . . ahangen] Cf. Oros. p. 256: 'þa Crist was ahangen.'

35*] Cf. Ælfric, *Lives*, i. 220.

Death of Pilate. 38 F] Cf. Oros. p. 258: 'Pilatus . . . hiene selfne ofstong.' For the legends of Pilate's death, see Schürer, i. 412, 413.

'Gospel.' 40 F. godspell] 'Godspel' is the narrative about God; not 'good news,' and is not a translation of *εὐαγγέλιον*. So O. H. G. 'gotspel' (*Got* = God, *got* = good), and cf. Icel. *guðspjall* (Napier).

The Orkneys. 47 A, E, 46 F] F agrees with Bede. The true year is A. D. 43. The text of A, B, C from Bede, *Epit.*; that of D, E from Bede, H. E. i. 3, omitting, however, the alleged reduction of the Orkneys, and interpreting Bede's 'plurinam insulae partem' after its own fashion by 'all the Picts and Welsh.' Contrast Ethelwerd: 'Orchadae . . . superat usque ad ultimam Tylem; resistunt iugo Scotti Pictique,' M. H. B. p. 500. Note that A makes 'Orcadus' plural: 'þa ealond,' whereas the AS. Orosius says, 'on norðhealfe [is] Orcadus þæt igland,' p. 24.

uncasfoipe, E] The positive 'casfoipe' occurs Wulfstan, p. 53: 'se man . . . þe nah on his heortan ænigne casfoipe.'

pp. 8-9. 62-155] See note on 1.

71*] Cf. Oros. p. 262: 'he fordyde þara Iudena XI hund M,' Blickling Homilies, p. 79.

Titus. 81*. sepe sæde . . . gedyde] Cf. Oros. p. 264: 'He wæs swá gódes willan þæt he sægde þæt he forlure þone dæg þe he noht on to góde ne gedyde.' This point of contact between the Chron. and Alfred's Orosius is the more interesting that it is not in the original Latin of Orosius; see Introduction, § 103, note. Whence Alfred got it, I do not know. It comes ultimately from Suetonius, Titus, c. 8. Cf. Isidore, Chron. p. 268; Eus. Chron. ed. Schoene, ii. 159; Merivale, vii. 297.

84 A, 87 E] 'He bebed þæt mon Iohannes þone apostol gebrohte on Bothmose þæm iglande,' Oros. p. 264.

Eleutherus. 114 E] On the source of the Latin entries in E, see Introduction, §§ 43, 44, 49, 52.

167*] The text of A, B, C from Bede, *Epit.* (in which alone does Bede give the length of Eleutherus' tenure of the Roman See); D, E, F from Bede, H. E. i. 4, where see notes.

Ethelwerd. þurh teah, A] Cf. 'he þone unræd þurhteah,' Oros. p. 170; 'wit þæt . . . þurhtugon þæt he ðæs geðafa bion wolde,' Bede, p. 394. Ethelwerd attributes the initiative to the Pope, *u. s.* p. 501. Probably he misconstrued his chronicle, treating 'Eleutherius' as nominative to 'sende,' and 'Lucius' as a dative in agreement with 'þam.' He also makes Severus successor of Lucius, simply because he is the next person mentioned in the Chronicle.

189*] As before, A, B, C, from Bede, *Epit.*; D, E, F from Bede, H. E. i. 5, where see notes; cf. AS. Bede, p. 366: 'ond þa mid dice 7 mid eorðwalle utan ymbsealde.'

'Bred-weall.' p. 10. bred weall, F; bređen, F] 'Es ist einfach zu schreiben bred

weall, "bret-holz-wall" und *breðen* "von holz" cf. Bede i. 5: "supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis praefiguntur," A. Pogatscher, *Englische Studien*, xx. 148. The connexion had occurred to me independently since I printed the text and glossary; cf. *Ælfr. Hom.* i. 288; 'Him ne wiðstent nan ðing, naðer ne stænen weall ne bryden wah,' i. e. 'neither wall of stone, nor partition of wood.'

pp. 10-11. 283 a, 286 E] On St. Alban, see Bede, H. E. i. 7 and notes St. Alban. (not in Epit.). Bede does not give any date, but places the martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution; cf. his *Chron.* Opp. vi. 311, 312; Opp. *Min.* p. 180.

381 A, 380 E] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E, F from Bede, H. E. i. 9, 10. A is singular in writing Maximianus for Maximus. The AS. Oros. has Maximus. 'Maximus' on p. 278, where it ought to be 'Maximinianus,' and the converse mistake on p. 292. All the MSS. make the mistake of understanding Bede's 'imperator creatus' to mean 'born.' This mistake is shared by the AS. vers. of Bede and by Ethelwerd.

Galwalas, E] 'in Galliam,' Bede. Here the people are substituted 'Galwalas.' for the country; cf. 'eos quos nos Francos putamus, Galwalas antiquo uocabulo quasi Gallos nuncupant,' W. M. i. 70; who is of course wrong in identifying the Teutonic invaders of Gaul with the Celtic inhabitants.

Pelaies] Note the 'verhauchung' or reduction to a mere breath of *g* Reduction of *g*. between vowels. 'Pelagies,' F, a; cf. note on Bede, H. E. iii. 7.

409*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E, F from Bede, H. E. i. 11. The true Rome date is 410. 'Ab illo tempore cessauit imperium Romanorum a Britannia sacked by the Goths. insula, et ab aliis . . . multis terris,' Ethelw. *u. s.*

abraecon Rome burg, A] Cf. 'hu Galliē of Senno abraecon Romeburg,' Oros. p. 2; 'ða Gotan . . . iowre burg abraecon,' *ib.* 48. Cf. *ib.* 62, 92, 142.

418*. gold hord . . . ahyddon] 'In 1821 an urn was found near Roman hoards in Taunton containing silver coins ranging in date from A. D. 342 to A. D. 405, Somersetshire Archaeological Proceedings, 1878, Part ii, p. 105. The late Britain. Lord Selborne counted 29,773 Roman and Romano-British coins in a single hoard contained in two vases found in Selborne parish. See White's Selborne, ed. F. Buckland (1880), p. 452. Such finds along Roman roads may have given rise to the frequent name "Silver Street." Earle. For the statement in this annal I know no authority, nor (which is much more conclusive) does my friend Mr. Haverfield of Christ Church, who has made Roman Britain his special study. W. M. says of the *Britons*: 'sepultis thesauris quorum plerique in hac aetate defodiuntur,' i. 6. For the phrase, cf. Wulfstan: 'ne behyde ge eowerne goldhord on eorðan,' p. 286; so *Ælf. Hom.* ii. 104.

430*] On this annal, see the notes to Bede, H. E. i. 13. It is noteworthy that F reverts to the right reading 'Palladius.' For lives of St. Patrick, see Hardy, *Cat.* i. 62-84; cf. *ib.* 116, W. M. i. 26. Palladius and Patrick.

pp. 12, 13. 443 a, E] From Bede, H. E. i. 13, 14; see notes *a. l.* The last embassy of the Britons to the Romans was in 446; to which year British Embassy to Rome.

also belongs the humiliating treaty of Theodosius with Attila, Gibbon, iv. 205.

forþan ðe hi feordodan, 7c.] F's Latin (there is no Saxon) gives a different reason: 'quia eorum principes in Britannia occiderant.'

Legend of
St. John
Baptist.

448 F] This legend is given by Bede in his Chron. Opp. Min. p. 189; and in his St. Mark, Opp. x. 92, 95, where he refers to Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 453 A. D.; cf. Ælf. Hom. i. 486; Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii. 356, 357. For an Irish version of the tale, see Lebar Brecc, facs. p. 187^b, or Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 64; for a different story, cf. Isidore, Chron. p. 271. According to Ademar the head of John Baptist was discovered, c. 1010, 'in basilica Angeriacensi,' St. Jean d'Angely, Pertz iv. 141.

Coming of
the Saxons.

449*] On this annal, see notes on Bede, H. E. i. 15, whence E is taken: cf. AS. Oros. p. 19. A, B, C go beyond the Epit. in noting the invitation by Vortigern; while the mention of the place of landing is entirely independent of Bede.

on hiera dagum] For the right interpretation of this mark of time, see on Bede, u. s. Note the curiously conflated form of the pronoun in E: 'þeora.' v. Glossary, s. v. hé.

The three
Keels.

on þrim ceolum, E] 'ciula, nauis longa,' Gloss on Nennius, p. 11; cf. F: 'mid ðrim langon scipon;' 'cum tribus dromonibus,' Ethelw. p. 502; 'dromones, naues cursoriae,' Ducange. Cf. Instituta Londoniae: 'si adueniat ceol uel hulcus,' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 300; Schmid, Gesetze, p. 218.

Ebbsfleet.

Ypwines fleot, A, E] Ebbsfleet in Thanet; the landing-place of Augustine at a later time, Bright, Engl. Church Hist. p. 45. If the Saxons really landed there, then the origin alike of our nationality and of our Christianity is closely bound up with that little spot. The name occurs in the form 'Ipples fleot,' Hardy, Cat. i. 377.

The Saxons
and the
Picts.

Heo þa fuhton wið Pyhtas, E] 'Inierunt . . . certamen contra Pictos et Scottos, qui iam uenerunt usque ad Stanfordiam, quae sita est in Australi parte Lincolniae,' H. H. p. 38. This is probably a bit of local tradition. Henry at Huntingdon was less than twenty miles from Stamford.

pes landes cysta] So in Bede, H. E. i. 27, 'uncyst' translates 'utium,' AS. Bede, pp. 72, 78.

nu eardap] i. e. in Bede's time (Thorpe).

'Southum-
brian.'

ure cyne cynn 7 Suðan hymbra eac] For the significance of this opposition of *our* and *Southumbrian*, see Introduction, § 68. On the Southumbrians, see note on Bede, H. E. i. 15.

Battle of
Ægelesþrep.

455*. in þære stowe, 7c.] Bede, u. s., only says 'in orientalibus Cantiae partibus,' where, he says, Horsa's monument was still to be seen in his day. The reading of W. 'Ægelesford' points to Aylesford. 'þrep' in Icelandic means 'edge,' 'brink'; so that 'Ægelesþrep' (so Fl. Wig.; 'Egelesthrip,' Ethelw.) and 'Ægelesford' might easily belong to the same locality. H. H. has 'Aeilestreu,' i. e. Ægelestréo, p. 41; but Elstree,

Herts., is of course impossible. H. H. is followed by Wheloc in his translation of this annal. R. W. gives Ailestorp, i. e. Ægelesþorp, i. 14, and Nennius 'Episford,' § 44. In favour of Aylesford is the proximity of the flint heap of Horsted, which seems to preserve Horsa's name, and this is probably the monument mentioned by Bede; and not the Cromlech called Kit's Cotty House, which more probably marks the grave of Horsa's antagonist, called by Nennius Catigern son of Vortigern, § 44; cf. G. M. E. p. 37; Guest, *Orig. Celt.* ii. 171. For the prefix cf. Ægelesburh, Aylesbury.

Hengest . . . 7 Æsc his sunu] 'Ceric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominari,' Bede, H. E. ii. 5. It is possible that the names Hengest and Æsc are abstractions from 'yð-hengest' and 'æsc' in the sense of ship, see Glossary, *s. vv.*

feng to rice] In 443 Hengest and Horsa are called 'æðelingas,' in 449 'heretogan.'

457 A, 456 E. Crecgan ford] 'Nunc Creford non longe a Dartford. Crea fl. intrat Tamesim inter Dartforde et Erithe, sed propius Dartford, eius fons est ad Orpyngton, super eam sunt Seint Mary's Crey, Powle's Crey, North Crey, Beckesley and Creaforde,' R. Talbot in MS. C (see Introduction, § 21). Battle of Crayford.

465*. Wippedes fleote] 'id est Wippedi tranatorium,' Fl. Wig. Unidentified. M. H. B. and Thorpe say 'Ebbsfleet,' leaving 'Ypwines fleet,' 449, unidentified. But this can hardly be right, seeing that in the previous annal the Britons are represented as having been driven out of Kent. Wippeds-fleet.

pp. 14, 15. hiera þegn ân . . . Wipped] 'illic ruit miles Saxonum Uipped, et ob id ille locus uocabulum sumpsit, sicut a Theseo, Theseum mare; et ab Aegeo, Aegeum, qui in eo necatus fuerat,' Ethelw. p. 503. H. H. amplifies after his manner, and makes of Wipped 'quendam magnum principem,' p. 43. The tradition is merely aetiological.

473*] This marks the final conquest of Kent; on which, see Green, M. E. pp. 27-40. Guest places the battle in the S. E. corner of Kent, *Origines Celticae*, ii. 178. See however on 465. Conquest of Kent.

477*] The coming of the South Saxons. Note here again the three ships and the three sons. Though Sussex, hemmed in between Kent, Wessex, and the Andredsweald, ultimately proved one of the least influential of the kingdoms set up by the invaders, its founder Ælle evidently occupied a large space in the traditions of the conquest. Bede makes him the first of those eminent kings whom the Chronicle calls Bretwaldas, *infra*, 827. H. H. p. 47, followed by R. W. i. 60, places his death in 514. On the conquest of Sussex, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 40-46. For its subsequent decline, cf. H. H., 'in processu temporum ualde minorati sunt, donec in aliorum iura regum transierunt,' p. 47. Coming of the South Saxons.

Cymenes ora] The name occurs in a spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 992; Cymenes-Birch, No. 64, in the form Cumeneshora. Camden placed it at Keynor in Selsey, near West Wittering; cf. the above Charter: 'ab introitu portus . . . ora.'

Wyderinge, post retractum mare in Cumeneshora.' Ingram, approved by Earle, says Shoreham. H. H. paints an imaginary battle scene, *more suo*. Wlencing's name is found in Lancing, and Cissa's in Chichester.

Andred. **Andredes leage**] Also called Andredes weald, cf. Andredus wode, R. W. i. 38. In 893 A, 892 E, it is called both 'wudu' and 'weald'; also Andred simply, 755*.

St. Bened-
dict. **482, 509, F**] 482 would be about right for Benedict's birth; while the ASN. give 509 as the date of his 'claruit.' The compiler of F has placed his 'claruit' at his birth-date, and his death at his 'claruit.' He certainly did not die before 542. The Latin of 482 is nearly identical with Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 191. On Gregory's Dialogues, see Bede II. 70. On Benedict, cf. Milman, Bk. iii. ch. 6.

485*. neah Mearc rædes burnan] 'hoc est riuum Mearcreadi,' adds Fl. Wig., who gives the result of the battle, while H. H. knows all its details, p. 44.

.Esc. **488***] Fl. Wig. adds (by inference) the death of Hengest in this year. H. H. says: 'Esc . . . regnum suum regnis [Britannorum] ampliauit,' p. 44; while W. M. says: 'Eisc . . . magis tuendo quam ampliando regno intentus, paternos limites nunquam excessit,' i. 12. This illustrates the value of these later additions to the Chron. which are often cited as history. E's slip of 'xxxiii' is followed by H. H.

Destruction of
Anderida. **491*. Andredes cester**] The Roman Anderida. But the site is uncertain. A writer in the Archaeological Journal, iv. 203, argues for Pevensey, but the argument is to some extent vitiated by being based on H. H.'s imaginary description. It should be noted that the total destruction of the British defenders is evidently mentioned as an exceptional feature of the capture. Fl. Wig. adds that it was taken 'post longam obsessionem.' H. H. knows all the details of the siege, p. 45; as does Mr. Green, M. E. pp. 43, 44. H. H. adds: 'urbs . . . nunquam postea reaedificata est; locus tantum, quasi nobilissimae urbis, transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.' Holinshed speaks of Andredeschester as a place where Roman coins were found, 'but now decayed,' Description of England, p. 217.

ne wearð . . . ân . . . to lafe] So Ælfric, of the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, 'swa þæt ðær næs furðon án to lafe ealles þæs heres,' Hom. ii. 194; cf. Oros. p. 56.

Coming of
the West
Saxons. **495***] The coming of the West Saxons; the foundation, as it proved, of England. It is curious to find the traditional founder of the West-Saxon kingdom, the source to which all West-Saxon pedigrees are traced, bearing a name Cerdic, Certic, so like the Welsh Ceredig, Ceretic. (It is worth noting that in Nennius, § 37, Ceretic is the name of Hengest's *interpreter*.) It may be the reflexion of a later time when the West Saxons had been in contact with the West Welsh; or it may be an abstraction from place-names, cf. 495, 508, 514, 519, 527. And such names are not confined to Wessex. There is a Cerdicsand near Yarmouth, R. W. i. 50.

aldor men] 'duces,' Fl. Wig.

gefuhtun] 'et acceperunt victoriam,' ASN. An imaginary battle-piece in H. H. p. 45.

501*] Port is a mere abstraction from Portsmouth, which really means Aetiology. the mouth of the Port *or* harbour. Bieda may be a similar abstraction from Biedan heafod, 675*. Cf. on 544. Mægla has a very British look; cf. such names as Maglocunus (Maelgwn), and Conmægl, Farinmægl, 577 B. Imaginary details in H. H. p. 46. Lappenberg's identification of the noble young Briton with Geraint ap Erbin, the subject of Llywarch Hen's Elegy, is hazardous, i. 110; E. T. i. 108.

508*. Natan leod] Professor Rhÿs tells me that he can make nothing Natanleod. of this name. Perhaps we may compare Bede's Naiton, H. E. v. 21. The evidence of the place-names Netley, Nateley, is against E's forms, Nazaleod, Nazanleog. Cf. also Natangraf, Notgrove, Birch, No. 165.

Natan leaga] Commonly identified with Netley. There are also two Natan- Nateleys in Hants, near Basing. But this passage clearly gives Natanleag leaga. as the name of a *district*, 'þæt lond,' and therefore all three places may derive their name from it. Ethelwerd, *s. a.* 519, says that Cerdicesford Charford. was 'in fluuio Auene,' *i. e.* Charford below Salisbury on the Wilts and Hants Avon. H. H. tells that Cerdic invoked the help of Æsc and Ælle against Natanleod, with other details, p. 46.

514*] Stuf and Wihtgar in 534 are said to be nephews of Cerdic *and* Stuf and Cynric. See on them Asser, p. 469, who represents Osburg, Alfred's Wihtgar. mother, as descended from their stock. 'Wihtgar' occurs as a mistake for 'Wihtred' in 796 F. Details as usual in H. H. p. 47.

pp. 16, 17. 519*. rice on fengun] Cf. 455. On the change from alder- Beginnings men to kings, cf. F. N. C. i. 579 ff.; S. C. H. i. 66-68. It is possible of king- that the name Cynric is an abstraction from this establishment of the ship. 'cynerice.'

hie fuhton wip Brettas] Sunset stopped the slaughter! H. H. p. 48.

7 siððan rixadon, 7c., E] With the brief interruptions of the Danish and Norman dynasties 1017-1042, 1066-1154, this remains true to the present day. The reflexion is found in a, and therefore is probably due to the Canterbury compiler of ϵ . Cf. the chronicler's delight at the restoration of the ancient connexion by the marriage of Henry I with Edith-Maude in 1100. H. H. says of Wessex: 'Quod . . . regnum caetera omnia . . . subiugauit, et monarchiam totius Britanniae obtinuit,' p. 47; cf. Liber de Hyda: 'regnum . . . omnium regnorum durabilis,' p. 12.

527*] 'Certices ford' for 'Cerdices leag' is peculiar to E. It is Readings. followed by H. H. but not by Fl. Wig. It is due to the influence of the preceding annal 519, of which in truth this looks very like a doublet. At this point H. H. interpolates the wars of Arthur from Nennius.

530. fea men, A; feala manna, E] Ethelwerd and Florence follow B, C, and the original reading of A: 'paucos Brittannos,' 'paucos

homines'; H. H. follows E: 'innumerabilem stragem.' On 'Wihtgaræsburh' see below 544.

Death of
Cerdic.

534*. Cerdic forþferde] 'There was in the time of Edward the Elder a barrow at Stoke, near Hurstbourne (Hants), known as Ceardices beorg, the hill or (?) barrow of Cerdic, K. C. D. No. 1077, Birch, No. 594. See an article by Kemble in *Archaeological Journal*, xiv. 119 ff.' Earle.

hiera . . . nefum] 'Sobrinis eorum,' Ethelw. p. 503.

538*, 540*] These entries are taken from Bede, *Epit.* There is nothing corresponding to them in the text of Bede.

'undern,'

undern] Cf. 'from underntide þonne mon mæssan oftost singeð,' Bede, H. E. iv. 22 = 'a tertia hora'; 'ab hora matutina usque ad tertiam,' F, Lat.; cf. Vigf. Icel. Dict. s.v. undorn.

Carisbrook.

544. Wihtgara byrg, A; Wihtgaras byrig, E] Now corrupted into Carisbrook. This entry shows that Wihtgar is a mere abstraction to account for the place-name: 'quæ sic ab eo uocatur,' H. H. p. 50. And it is a wrong abstraction. The true form is evidently that preserved here by A, B, C, and in 530 by B, C, viz. 'Wihtgaraburh,' 'the burg of the Wight-dwellers,' 'Wihtgara' being a genitive plural = *Victuariorum*. The transformation into a genitive singular is complete in F's 'Wihtgaresbyri.' Cf. 530 A. This throws some light on the historical value of these traditions. Fl. Wig., while keeping the form 'Wihtgara-birig,' explains it: 'id est in ciuitate Wihtgari.'

Beginning
of Bernicia.

547*] This entry, including the record of the length of Ida's reign, is from Bede, *Epit.* There is nothing answering to it in the text of the H. E. It marks the beginning of the kingdom of *Bernicia*; the beginning of that of *Deira* is marked by Ælle's accession, 560; v. note a. l. Owing to the fact that both kingdoms were ultimately united in the line of Ida, he is often spoken of as founder and King of Northumbria. So even F. N. C. i. 25. (On this, and on the early relations of the two kingdoms, see notes to Bede, H. E. iii. 1.) Florence almost alone of the later authorities says quite correctly: 'in prouincia Berniciorum Ida regnum suscepit.' On the connexion of the royal houses of Bernicia and Wessex, see notes to the genealogical Preface, p. 6 *supra*. It may be noted that neither Bede nor the Chron. give even *traditions* with reference to the conquest of Northumbria; nor does either of them give any countenance to the later idea that Ida came from the continent, and was the first Teutonic coloniser of Northumbria. See a good note in S. C. S. i. 155. W. M., interpreting the Chron. 449 E as meaning not only that that year was the date of the coming of the Jutes to Kent, but also of the coming of the Angles to Northumbria, fills up the interval 449-547 with imaginary details based on the pedigrees: 'annis . . . uno minus centum, Northanhimbri duces communi habitu contenti, sub imperio Cantuaritarum priuatos agebant,' &c., i. 44. Nennius, § 38, followed by W. M. i. 10, has a legend that Northumbria was settled by the son and brother of

Hengest. Mr. Freeman, *u. s.*, is inclined to accept this. But it is surely against the plain statement of Bede, H. E. i. 15, that the Northumbrians were Angles. In that case they would be Jutes.

Bebban burh, E] On Bamborough and Bebbra, see Bede, H. E. iii. 6, Bam-
note. borough.

mid hegge betined] 'Hu Octavianus . . . betynde Ianes duru,' Oros. p. 6, *ib.* 248; AS. version of Matt. xxi. 33; cf. 'burh hegegian,' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 432; Schmid, p. 372. For the successive stages in the history of fortification, cf. F. N. C. i. 308, ii. Note S.

552*. æt Searo byrg] On this use of a preposition with place-names see Preposition
Bede, H. E. ii. 14, note. That the usage became strange is shown by the fact compounded-
that the interpolator of A has erased the 'æt.' E retains the oblique form ed with
while omitting the preposition. B, C have the name in the nominative place-
'Searoburh.' This difference of construction accounts for the two classes names.
of place-names ending in '-borough' and '-bury'; the former being derived
from the nominative form '-burh,' the latter from the oblique '-byrig';
F has the modern form 'Sælesberi.' *Bretwalas* for *Bryttas* is peculiar to
A. Contrast next entry.

553*. æt Beran byrg] 'Probably Barbury Camp between Swindon and Battle of
Marlborough,' Earle. The annotator of MS. C says 'Banbury,' which is Barbury.
less likely. Fl. Wig. adds: 'Et illos fugauerunt.' An imaginary battle-
piece in H. H. p. 51.

pp. 18, 19. 560*] A rhetorical sketch of Ceawlin in W. M. i. 20.

Ælle . . . Norþanhymbra rice] Strictly speaking Deira. So Fl. Wig. Beginnings
again quite correctly: 'in prouincia Deirorum regnum suscepit.' This is of Deira.
shown also by the great Gregory's famous series of puns, Bede, H. E. ii. 1.
The addition in E, 'Idan forðgefarenum' (an attempt to imitate the Latin
ablative absolute), is probably due to the wrong idea that Ida was King of
Northumbria, and that Ælle succeeded him. The mistake appears full-
blown in H. H.: 'obiit Ida rex Nordhumbrae, et Ella post eum regnauit;
. . . quamuis iste non fuisset filius Idae, sed filius Iffae,' p. 51. Fl. says of
Ælle: 'strænuissime rexit.' He puts his accession in 559 and Ceawlin's
in 560; making Ælle reign nearly thirty years, and Ceawlin thirty-three.

On the Northumbrian pedigree (restored in A from B, C), see notes to
the genealogical Preface, pp. 5, 6 *supra*. The name Sæfugl, *i. e.* sea-fowl,
occurs in one of the entries in the Leofric Missal, see Earle, Charters, p. 254.

565*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from Bede, H. E. iii. 4, where see
notes on Ninias, Columba, monastic episcopacy, the foundation of Iona, &c.

Her feng Æðelbriht, E] According to Bede, H. E. ii. 5, Ethelbert Ethelbert
came to the throne in 560 and died 616; so 616 E. This entry places his of Kent.
accession in 565 and would bring his death to 618; so ASN.; but below
his death is rightly entered under 616. See note on Bede, *l. c.* Fl. places
his accession in 561.

be norðum morum] Cf. the AS. version of Bede, H. E. v. 9: 'wæs se Columba,

Columba se æresta laruw . . . in þæm mórlandum ða ðe siondon to norðdæle Peohta rices,' p. 410 (= 'transmontanis Pictis'). So, pp. 358, 364, *mora*, *morum* = *montium*, *montibus*. In 'mór-fæsten,' 878, 'mór' has the meaning of 'swamp.' The phrase 'wærteres . . . morum' is evidently connected with a name in S. D. ii. 124: 'Ethelstanus . . . Scotiam usque Dunfoeder et Wertermorum terrestri exercitu uastauit'; Mr. Arnold, *ib.* xxxiii, says Wedderhill; Mr. Skene, Kirriemuir, S. C. S. i. 352.

erfe wærdes] See note on Bede, H. E. v. 11.

cyrice 7 . . . mynster] 'Church and monastery.'

ealle Scotta biscopes] This is an absurd exaggeration of Bede's words, H. E. iii. 4: 'ipsi etiam episcopi,' see note, *a. l.*

Strife
among the
invaders.

568*] This is the first record of strife among the invading tribes themselves; cf. H. H., p. 52: 'istud est primum bellum quod inter se reges Anglorum gesserunt'; cf. Ethelw. p. 504 B: 'ciuile bellum.' Imaginary details in W. M. i. 20; cf. my Bede II. 87. Wibbandun is supposed to be Wimbleton. In a British Synod held about this time there is a special penance ordained for those 'qui prebent ducatum barbaris,' H. & S. i. 118.

Cutha, &c.

571*] It will be noted that while in 568 all MSS. have Ceawlin and Cutha, and in 577 Cuthwine and Ceawlin, here A, B, C have Cuthwulf, while E has Cutha. According to the genealogical Preface to A, Cuthwulf was the son of Cuthwine, who was the son of Ceawlin. In some of the pedigrees given in the Chron. Cutha appears to be identical with Cuthwulf, in others he seems to be an amalgam of Cuthwine and Cuthwulf (see notes on genealogical Preface, above, p. 5, note). Cutha might of course be a shortened form for either of these names. See the references in my Bede II. xxxvi. Here E makes Cutha Ceawlin's brother; so 568 F. Fl. Wig., as I have said, p. 2, *supra*, has no less than three Cuthas, one a brother, one a son, and the third a grandson of Ceawlin, but this I take to be mere 'harmonistik.'

Capture of
Lenbury,
&c.

iiii. tunas] 'quatuor regias uillas,' Fl. Wig. Bedford, Lenbury, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham. An intermediate form of the second name, 'Lienberig,' occurs in H. H. p. 52. On the importance of Bensington, see F. N. C. i. 370, and *infra* 777. In K. C. D. No. 311, Birch, No. 547, Bensington is called a 'uilla regia,' and in K. C. D. No. 714, Eynsham is a 'locus celebris.'

geforpferde, a] On the form see footnote. It occurs, however, in F 901; which illustrates the connexion of F and a.

Battle of
Dyrham.

577*] 'Deorham is identified with Dyrham on the turnpike road between Bath and Gloucester,' Earle. This battle had important consequences. (1) It separated the North Welsh (our Wales) from the West or Corn Welsh; (2) it opened up the Severn Valley to the invaders. (In G. P. pp. 291, 292, there is an interesting description of the Vale of Gloucester, and the bore on the Severn: 'higram . . . Anglice uocant,' *i. e.* the Eagre, as on the Trent in Lincolnshire, see New Engl. Dict. *s. v.*) Accordingly

seven years later we find them at Faddiley in Cheshire. But the advance was too rapid; Ceawlin suffered a defeat and fell back 'in anger,' 584. It must have been on this northward campaign that Uriconium (Wroxeter) and Pengwern (Shrewsbury) fell into the hands of the Saxons, as lamented in the Elegy of Llywarch Hen; who represents Kynddylan (Condidan) as falling here in his own country, and not at Deorham, as the Chron.; cf. Guest, *u. s.*, ii. 282 ff., on the conquest of the Severn Valley; Green, *M. E.* pp. 128, 206; Rhŷs, *Celtic Britain*, p. 108; Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 448 ff., ii. 279 ff. Nothing seems to be known of the other two Welsh princes. Coinmail is probably for Commail, *i. e.* Conmail, Cynvael. Nennius, § 49, has a Fernmail (Ffernvael) 'qui modo regit in . . . Buelt (Builth) et Guorthigirniaun'; he makes him a descendant of Vortigern. Note that not only B, C, but also E, F, retain the original *g* in these names, which A has reduced.

Welsh
princes
slain.

pp. 20, 21. 584*. Fēpan leag] Faddiley, Cheshire. Frithenleia, R. W. i. 88; which is perhaps the ground of Mr. Thorpe's 'Fretherne, Gloucestershire,' here and in Fl. Wig.; cf. Guest, *Orig. Celt.* ii. 286. Mr. Kerslake says Hereford, on the strength of a passage in Brompton, c. 753, St. Ewen, &c., p. 21. But this is unlikely, especially considering how often Hereford is mentioned *eo nomine* in the Chronicle. The Rev. C. S. Taylor would place it in the Hwiccas, Cotswold in Saxon Times, pp. 3-6.

Battle of
Faddiley.

7 ierre . . . agnum, A] This characteristic touch in A, B, C, which shows that the ultimate result was, in spite of all his plunder, unfavourable to Ceawlin; is omitted by E and Fl. Wig. Accordingly Fl. Wig. and H. H. turn the event into a West-Saxon victory; and though H. H. generally follows MS. E, he here reads Cuthwine for Cutha. On the confusion between the names Cutha, Cuthwine, Cuthwulf, see on the Preface to A, p. 5, and on 571, *supra*.

588*] Fl. Wig. is here again precise and accurate: 'Ælle rex Deirorum . . . decessit, et Æthelric Idæ filius post illum super *ambas prouincias* Ælle. quinque annis regnauit.' See on Bede, H. E. iii. 1. Edwin, Ælle's son, was at this time three years old. W. M. has a purely imaginary sketch of Æthelric, i. 46; of whom S. D. at his death disposes summarily: 'is secreta inferni uisitans,' ii. 14.

591*. Ceol, A, B, C, Fl. Wig., ASN.; Ceolric, E, H. H., W. M.] Ceol or
The difference is due to the following word 'ric-sode'; but this might
cause either the addition or the omission of the syllable. 'Ceol' is the form
in all the MSS. of the pedigrees prefixed to A.

Ceol or
Ceolric.

592*] Mr. Thorpe (note to Fl. Wig. i. 9) thinks that the expulsion of Ceawlin was due to a combination of Ceolric, Ethelbert, and the Britons against him. Mr. Green (*M. E.* pp. 207, 208) traces it to a combination of the Britons with the Hwiccas, who had rebelled and elected Ceolric as their king. The one particle of evidence which I can discover for all this lies in W. M.'s words: 'conspirantibus tam Anglis quam Britonibus,' i. 21

Expulsion
of Ceawlin.

And Malmesbury wrote more than five hundred years after the event! H. H. represents the battle as one merely between Britons and Saxons, the Britons being drawn up 'more Romanorum,' p. 54.

Battle of
Wan-
borough.

æt Woddes beorge, A, B, C; Wodnes-, E; Wodnes beorlige, W.] 'Wodnes beorh, id est Mons Wodeni,' Fl. Wig.; Wanborough, near Swindon, Wilts; Guest, *u. s.*, pp. 243 ff.; Green, *u. s.*, p. 208. In W. M. *u. s.* there is an interesting variation: 'apud Wodnes dic.' This would be the Wansdyke, 'portions of which may still be traced . . . from Berkshire to the Bristol Channel,' Guest, p. 148. Cf. 715, *infra*, where H. H. gives the name as Wonebivih, p. 111.

St. Gregory.

592 E, a] On the date of Gregory's accession, see note on Bede, H. E. i. 23, ii. 1. It was probably 590. E has overlooked the fact that Gregory has been already mentioned as Pope in 591.

Cwichelm
and Crida.

593*] Cwichelm occurs later in the West-Saxon royal house as the name of the prince who tried to have Edwin of Northumbria assassinated in 626. Creoda occurs in the Mercian pedigree 626 as the name of Penda's grandfather. H. H. assumes that he is the Crida here mentioned, and that he was the first King of the Mercians, pp. 53, 54. Both inferences are precarious, though they have been accepted as facts by later writers. On Æthelfrith of Northumbria see Bede, H. E. i. 34, and notes. Ethelwerd makes Cwichelm, Tridda (*sic*), and Æthelfrith three joint successors of Ceawlin! p. 504.

595 a, 596 E] From Bede, Epit. See H. E. i. 23-25, and notes.

'Angelcyn'
and 'Engla-
land.'

597*. Angelcyn] 'Englaland, in its different forms, does not appear in the Chronicles till 1014. *Angelcyn*, which in 597 clearly means the people, must, in 975 and 986, be taken for the country. So still more plainly in 1002. In many places it may be taken either way,' F. N. C. i. 78. Here, however, it probably means the Angles as opposed to, not as including, the Saxons.

Picts and
Scots.

oppe wip Peohtas, oppe wip Scottas] It is difficult to see how a West-Saxon king at this time could be brought into contact with 'Picts and Scots'; cf. Green, *u. s.*, p. 210. Probably the compiler merely wished to give his entry an air of completeness.

Misunder-
standing.

601*] From Bede, Epit.; cf. H. E. i. 29, notes. The latter part is due to a misunderstanding. Bede simply says: 'misit . . . Gregorius . . . ministros, in quibus et Paulinum.' The conversion of Northumbria by Paulinus was not till 625-627. F has corrected the text so as to make it accord with facts. On the Pallium, see Bede II. 49-52.

Battle of
Dægsa-
stan.

603*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E (as far as 'þeoda') from Bede, H. E. i. 34, where see notes. E is guilty of an absurd mistake in making Aedan fight against the Dal Riada. He was of course their king. The form of the place-name in B, C, 'æt Egesan stane,' may be due to the absorption of the *d* by the *t* of *æt*; or it may lend countenance to a suggestion made by me on Bede, *u. s.*, that the place-name was due to this battle, and was originally 'æt Ægðanes stane.'

Hering . . . ðider, E] Peculiar to E. I do not know its source. Hering, son of Husa. There is a Husa among the kings of Bernicia in the ancient Northumbrian regnal table at the end of the Moore MS. of Bede's H. E., Pal. Soc. II. plate 140, M. H. B. p. 290; cf. Nennius, § 63; S. D. i. 339; ii. 14, 374; Ann. Lindisf. in Pertz, xix. 503, where he is made a son of Ida, succeeding in 569. In this case he would have been an elder brother of Æthelric, and his son Hering may have claimed the throne against his cousin Æthelfrith, and combined with his enemies against him.

604*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from Bede, H. E. ii. 3, where see notes. E's words, 'þone . . . cininga,' go beyond those of Bede: 'sub potestate positus eiusdem Ædilbercti.'

pp. 22, 23. 605 E, 606 A] The true date of Gregory's death is probably 604. Bede places it in 605, H. E. ii. 1, and see i. 23, notes. Death of St Gregory.

I do not know whence the addition in B, C, about Gregory's parents comes; possibly from the old life of Gregory by a monk of Whitby; on which see Bede, vol. ii. App. i. Bede gives the name of his father, but not that of his mother, H. E. ii. 1. The dates given for the battle of Chester, 605 E, 607 a, are both wrong; the true date is either 613 or 616. See on Bede, H. E. ii. 2, whence this account is taken. Battle of Chester. Scromail, Scrocmail, Scroemagil are miswritings of Bede's Brocmail; the last, however, preserves a more original form of the termination; see above on 577.

cc. preosta, E] 'uiros circiter mille ducentos,' Bede, *u. s.*; 'twelf hund monna,' AS. vers.

607*] Here we have the South Saxons involved in the strife of the conquerors. Details in H. H. p. 55.

611*. xxxi. wintra] This does not agree with the dates given below for Cenwalh's accession, 643 A (Fl. Wig.), 641 B, C, E, F. In Fl. Wig. the number is 32; probably a correction. On the different pedigrees of Cynegils see the notes to the Preface of A, p. 2 *supra*.

614*] According to W. M. i. 21, Cynegils and Cwihelm reigned together, 'aequa lance.' He gives a touching (and quite imaginary) picture of their fraternal concord. Moreover, according to the Chron. 648, they were not brothers, but father and son. Cwihelm is the would-be murderer of Edwin, *infra* 626 E.

Bean dune] Bampton in Oxfordshire; Green, *u. s.*, p. 239. Others place it in Devon or Dorset (Bindon Hill, Dorset, Kerslake). Details in H. H. p. 56.

616*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from H. E. ii. 5-8, where see notes.

p. 24. rixiendum Eadbaldum, E] Should be '-balde,' = 'Æodbaldo regnante,' Bede, H. E. ii. 7. See on 560.

617 E] On the Battle of the Idle and death of Æthelfrith, see Bede, Battle of the Idle.

H. E. ii. 12; on Edwin's power, *ib.* ii. 5; on the expulsion of Æthel-frith's sons, *ib.* iii. 1. Bede does not however give their names. See notes *ll. cc.*

p. 22. 619 F] See Bede, H. E. ii. 7.

p. 24. 624 E] *ib.*

625*] Bede, Epit. The date in E from H. E. ii. 9, where see notes.

The
Dionysian
Cycle

ciclus Dionisii, E] See the article on Dionysius Exiguus in D. C. B.; and for the Council of Nicaea in connexion with the Paschal Controversy see my Bede II. 349, 350. "Ennia kaið" is an attempt to represent the Greek ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίδα ('ennia kai decaderida,' Ann. Utic. The Saxon phrase is: 'þa nigontynlican hringas,' Bede, p. 470), and some word ('uocant,' Ann. Utic.) is required after it. So at the end something is missing: 'sine ulla falsitate reperiunt,' Ann. Utic.; cf. Bede's Chron. *sub annis* 224, 567.

Penda.

pp. 24, 25. 626*] A, B, C (as far as 'Pentecosten') from Bede, Epit. The date of the accession of Penda is not given by Bede. The account in E is from H. E. ii. 9, 14, where see notes. The detail of the slaughter of five West-Saxon 'kings' is however peculiar to this Chron.; see on H. E. iv. 12.

Iceling, Icel, B, C] Cf. the name of Ickling Street.

627*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from H. E. ii. 14, 16-19, where see notes.

mid ealre his duguðe, E] 'cum domo sua,' *ib.* ii. 16; 'duguð' here almost=comitatus; so in 626 E.

Mercia
under
Penda.

628*] Here we have Mercia under Penda joining in the strife of the conquerors. Details in H. H. pp. 57, 58. Freeman thinks that this means a cession by Ceawlin of his north-western conquests, and the confining of Wessex within the line of the Thames and Somersetshire Avon; Oxon. and Bucks, he thinks, must have been retained longer because of the position of Dorchester as originally a West-Saxon see, F. N. C. i. 36. This is possible, but it is all rather theoretical; cf. Kerslake, Mercia, p. 6; Taylor, Cotswold, pp. 14, 15.

Eorpwald.

632*. Eorpwald] King of the East Angles, Bede, H. E. ii. 15. Not in Epit. Hence the chronicler had to determine the date for himself, and he has done it wrong. The true date is 627 × 628. See notes on Bede, *l. c.*

633*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit., as far as 'Cantwarum'; E from H. E. ii. 20, where see notes.

ii. idus Octob., E] Oct. 14. Bede says Oct. 12.

vii. gear, E] A mistake for xvii: 'decem et septem,' Bede.

Birinus.

pp. 26, 27. 634*] For the mission of Birinus see Bede, H. E. iii. 7, and notes. Bede gives no date, and accordingly does not place the event in his Epit. Hence we cannot control the chronicler's statement. But considering how he has blundered over other dates it is not possible to feel much

confidence here. The same applies to several other West-Saxon dates : 635, 636, 639.

634, E] For the accession of Osric, Eanfrid, and Oswald see Bede, H. E. iii. 1, notes.

man ge tealde him, 7c.] The meaning of this rather obscure sentence may be seen from the passage in Bede which it represents : ' unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus, ut ablata de medio regum perfidorum (*i.e.* 'heathen') memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est, Osualdi . . . regno adsignaretur ' ; cf. Introduction, § 105. Regnal
annals.

635*] Bede, H. E. iii. 7. Not in the Epit.

on feng] As sponsor. See note on Bede, *u. s.* German : ' aus der Taufe heben.' French : ' lever des fonts de baptême.' So Mary of Burgundy to Louis XI : ' vous m'avez levée des saints fonts de baptesme,' De Lettenhove, Lettres et Négociations de Philippe de Commines, i. 153. Cf. the version of this incident in the AS. Bede : ' þa onfeng he him, 7 nom æt fulwihte bæðe 7 æt þæs biscopes honda þære godcundan þegnunge him to godsuna,' p. 168. Sponsors.

636*] The baptism and death of Cwichelm are not mentioned by Bede. W. M. says that Cwichelm refused baptism at first, but yielded owing to an attack of illness, i. 22. This is probably mere imagination based on the fact that he died so soon after baptism. For the mission of Felix, see H. E. ii. 15, iii. 18, and notes. The date given here is certainly wrong. The true date is 630 × 631. Fl. Wig. copies the date of the Chron., though he takes his matter direct from Bede. Baptism
and death
of Cwic-
helm.

639*] Not in Bede ; B, C, F give Cuthred the title of king.

on feng . . . suna] *i.e.* as godson : ' baptisticum filium,' Ethelw. p. 506 ; cf. on 635. So Pope Sergius both baptised and acted as sponsor to Ceadwalla, Bede, H. E. v. 7 ; cf. Ælf. Lives, i. 330 : ' Petrus was his godfæder . . . 7 he swa lange folgode his fulluht fædere.' Baptism of
Cuthred.

639 E, 640 A] (E's 639 is a mere slip, as is shown by the fact that the preceding annal is rightly dated 639.) A, B, C (as far as 'forþferde') from Bede, Epit. The rest of E is from H. E. ii. 8, where see notes. The length of Eadbald's reign is given more correctly by E, F, than by A, B, C.

He hæfde twegene sunu, a] This is a bit of Canterbury tradition peculiar to a. The legend is that Ermenred was Ercenberht's elder brother ; hence the existence of his two sons Ethelred and Ethelbert (' duo gemelli fratres,' Chron. Rames. pp. 55, 191) was considered a danger to Egbert, the son and successor of Ercenberht. Thunor (' quod Latina interpretatione sonat : tonitrus,' S. D. ii. 6), a counsellor of Egbert's, urged their destruction on the king, and being only weakly opposed murdered them in the king's absence, and buried them secretly at Eastry. A column of light revealed their sepulchre ; the king, in terror, granted as wergild to their sister, Eormenburga or Domneva, as much land in Thanet for a monastery Canterbury
Legend.

as her hind could compass in a day. Thunor, while objecting to the grant, was swallowed up by the earth ('uiuens et uidens in trauit infernum,' G. P. p. 319); a cairn was raised on the spot, which is still called 'Thunoreshleaw.' The martyrs were buried at first at Wakering in Essex; but in 991 their bodies were translated to Ramsey. See Hardy, *Cat.* i. 263, 264, 377, 378, 382; S. D. ii. 3 ff.; H. H. pp. xxvii, xlvi f.; Fl. Wig. i. 259; W. M. i. 16, II. xciv; G. P. pp. 318, 319; Elmham, pp. 191, 192, 206-214, 250; R. W. i. 137, 149 ff. The story is recited in K. C. D. No. 900. We see here the tendency to class as martyrs all who suffer a cruel and unmerited fate.

Erecen-berht's laws.

se to wearp . . . deofel gyld, E] Cf. the AS. Bede, H. E. iii. 8: 'he heht deofolgild to weorpan'; cf. ii. 6: 'he . . . to wearp al þa bigong þara deofolgelda,' pp. 172, 116.

he ge sette Eāstor feāsten, E] 'he behead . . . þæt feowertiglice feāsten healden beon ær Eastrum,' AS. Bede, *u. s.*; cf. *ib.* pp. 230, 244, &c., where 'feowertiglice feāsten' translates 'quadragesima.'

Death of Oswald.

642 A, 643 A, 641 E] In A, B, C the death of Oswald is from Bede, *Epit.* But A is the only MS. which gives the date correctly. E's account of the battle is from H. E. iii. 9, where see notes. For the translation to Bardney (which did not take place till some time after) and the fate of his relics, *r. ib.* iii. 11, 12, notes. The length of Oswy's reign is from *ib.* iii.

Accession of Cenwalh.

14. The date of Cenwalh's accession and the length of his reign given by A (E's xxi is a mere slip) do not agree with the date, 672, given by all MSS. for his death. The thirty-one years may be reckoned to Æscwine's accession, 674. Theopold, p. 29, suggests a mistake of xxxi for xxix; see however p. 3, *supra*. ASN., like E, put Cenwalh's accession and Oswald's death in the same year, but in 642. On Cenwalh cf. H. E. iii. 7, notes.

Founda-tion of Winches-ter Cathed-ral by Cenwalh.

se Cen walh het atimbran, 7c.] This is a description, not a date; for at this time Cenwalh was a heathen. The actual building and consecration are placed by F under 648, i. 28. On the significance of B, C's insertion, 'þa ealdan cyricean,' see Introduction, § 113, note (cf. W. M.'s 'ealdechirche' at Glastonbury, i. 24). From 642 to 647, E is one year behind A. Then by the omission of 647 in E harmony is restored; but they diverge again immediately.

644 A, 643 E] A, B, C from Bede, *Epit.*; E is from H. E. iii. 14, where see notes. 644 is the correct date both for Paulinus' death and for Oswine's accession.

Oswine . . . Osrices, E] See the pedigree in note to H. E. iii. 1.

Cenwalh's exile.

645, 646 A, 644, 645 E] The cause of Cenwalh's exile, the length of it (three years), and the place where he took refuge (East Anglia) are mentioned retrospectively, 658 *infra*. It was through Anna of East Anglia that he was converted and baptised, H. E. iii. 7. Three years from 645 would bring his restoration to 648, and so Fl. Wig.

p. 28. 648*] The reading 'Eadrede' is a mere slip of E, but is followed by H. H. p. 59.

iii. *pusendo londes*] That this means 3000 hides is proved by the insertion of the word 'hída' by B, C. But the elliptic use is quite frequent; cf. AS. Bede, H. E. iii. 24: 'Suðmerca rice, þa seondon . . . fif þusendo folces; . . . Norðmercum, þara londes is seofon þusendo.' So iv. 13: 'is [Suðseaxna] londes seofon þusendo,' pp. 240, 300; where the Latin has 'familiae,' Bede's constant word to represent the AS. *híd*. So Wulf and Eofor for slaying Ongenthéow received 'hund þusenda landes,' Beowulf, 2995; cf. Kemble, Saxons, i. 289 f. Ethelw. says: 'ex praediis suis tria millia'; 'multas mansiones,' R. W. i. 141, 142. W. M. i. 29 represents Cenwalh as granting 'pene tertiam regni partem.' And the grant was an enormous one; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 74; Maitland, Domesday, pp. 231 ff. H. H. says: 'dedit Cenwalh Ædrede cognato suo *et adiutori ter mille uillas*.' He therefore regarded the grant as a reward to Cuthred for help given to Cenwalh at his restoration. This is not unlikely. It may also be a buying out of Cuthred's claims. We have noted the reading 'Cupred king' in some MSS. at 639, which points to an association of Cuthred with Cynegils in the royal power after the death of Cwichelm. Or again, the object may have been, as Earle suggests, the protection of the frontier against Mercia; cf. Taylor, *u. s.*, p. 15.

Æscesdune] 'There are three other mentions of this same place, Ashdown. and all very significant. In 661 Wulfhere, King of Mercia, carries his ravages as far as this; in 871 Æðered and Ælfred fight with the whole Danish army on this down; and in 1006 we have the Danes passing from the neighbourhood of Wallingford "along Ashdown"; and we next find them at East Kennett, not far from Marlborough. Æscesdun is clearly that mass of chalk-hills between Wallingford and Marlborough, on which is the famous White Horse of Berkshire, and on which a private residence, Ashdown Park near Uffington, preserves the ancient name. Here it was that King Cenwalh gave a large tract of country to his cousin Cuthred; probably with a view to make the position secure against the Mercians. It is remarkable that 661, when Wulfhere advanced to Æscesdun, is the year of Cuthred's death. Perhaps he fell defending his territory. Cuthred's father Cwichelm was also famous in those parts, for "Cwichelm's-low" was near Ashdown (1006). Cf. K. C. D. No. 693.' Earle (*i. e.* 'Skutchamfly' Barrow, 8½ miles from the White Horse).

650 A, 649 E] On Ægelberht, and the history of the West-Saxon see, Ægelberht. v. Bede, H. E. iii. 7, notes. F 650 says: 'her forðferde Birinus se biscop, 7 Ægebertus se Frenciscawas gehadod.' The last statement is an error, as he was already 'pontifex' when he came to Wessex from Ireland; Bede, *u. s.* The date of Birinus' death is probably only an inference, though a very reasonable one, from the mention of Ægelberht's succession. Bede gives no dates, and therefore these events do not appear in his Epitome.

651 A, 650 E] A, B, C from Bede, Epit. with the right date; E is from H. E. iii. 14, where see notes.

Battle of
Bradford-
on-Avon.

652 A] (Not in E or Fl. Wig.) W. M. i. 23 mentions two great battles of Cenwalh against the Britons; the second at Penn (= 658, *infra*), the first 'in loco qui dicitur Wirtgernesburg.' No legend is known specially connecting Vortigern with Bradford-on-Avon. But unless 'Wirtgernesburg' is Bradford, W. M. must have had some special source of tradition or a different form of the Chron. See Dr. Stubbs' remarks, I. liii; II. xxv. Ethelwerd calls the battle of Bradford 'bellum ciuile'; *i.e.* he conceived of it as a battle not against the Britons, but against some other Saxon power, probably Mercia.

653 A, 652 E] This entry is from Bede, Epit.; cf. H. E. iii. 21, and notes. The date in A, B, C is correct. The mistake 'Middel-Seaxe' for 'Middel-Engle' is peculiar to A.

Death of
Anna.

654 A, 653 E] For the death of Anna, slain by Penda, *v.* H. E. iii. 18, *ad fin.* and note. Bede gives no date; and therefore the occurrence is not mentioned in his Epit.

St. Botulf.

Botulf] Botulf and his foundation are not mentioned by Bede; but they are mentioned in the Hist. Anon. Abbatum, § 4, where it is said of Ceolfrid, afterwards Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow: 'peruenit et ad Anglos Orientales, ut uideret instituta Botuulfi abbatis, quem singularis uitae et doctrinae uirum . . . fama circumquaque uulgauerat; instructusque abundanter . . . domum rediit.' From this it would appear that his foundation was famous as a school of monastic discipline and learning. His life by Folcard (eleventh century) says that he had founded it on the model of the monasteries in which he had resided in Gaul; Mabillon, AA. SS. iii. 1 ff. Fl. Wig., like MS. F (see footnote), calls him St. Botulf. Icanho has been identified with Boston, Lincs. (*quasi* 'Botulfestún'), or with the neighbouring village of St. Botulf; Bright, Engl. Ch. Hist. p. 179 [ed. 3, p. 206]. In spite of the existence of the life by Folcard W. M. says: 'iacent in ecclesia [Bury St. Edmund's] duo sancti, Germinus et Botulfus, quorum gesta nec ibi nec alibi haberi memini, nisi quod prius frater sanctae Etheldridae, secundus episcopus fuisse asseritur,' G. P. p. 156. For the last statement there seems no foundation; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 373-375; H. Y. I. lii. Bishop Æthelwold translated St. Botulf's relics to Thorney, Ord. Vit. iv. 280, 281.

p. 29. her forðferde Honorius, E] The year 653 is correct for this; Bede, H. E. iii. 20.

Battle of
the Win-
wæd.

pp. 28, 29. 655 A, 654 E] A, B, C (as far as 'Cristne') from Bede, Epit.; E from H. E. iii. 24, in the notes to which it is shown that 655 is the true date for the battle of the Winwæd; and that the Chron. is wrong in making Peada King of all Mercia. He only ruled by Oswy's grant the South Mercians, who are probably the same as the 'Middel-Engle' of 653 (652), *supra*. Mr. Cadwallader Bates sends me a paper on

the importance and site of the battle of the Winwæd, which he would place at Stow in Wedale. The paper is an interesting one, though some points in it seem to me doubtful; it is in Arch. Aeliana, xix. 182 ff.

On his time, 7c., E] The first of the Peterborough insertions in E, on which see Introduction, § 42. With them may be compared the Canterbury insertions in F, the Glastonbury insertions in the B and C recensions of W. M.'s *Gesta Regum* (see Dr. Stubbs' Preface, I. lviii-lxii), and the Abingdon insertions in the Lambeth MS. (No. 42) of Fl. Wig.; see i. 140, 145-148, 158, 182, 185, 199, 201, 203, 204, 207; ii. 9, 41, 46, 70, 75. With the present entry compare Hugo Candidus, in Sparke's *Scriptores*, pp. 4-8, which is taken from this. Bede, H. E. iv. 6, calls Sexwulf himself '*constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamsted*'; cf. 675 E, *ad fin.* He says nothing about Peada and Oswy. Possibly they may have joined in granting the land for the foundation, as Cynegils and Oswald granted Dorchester to Birinus, *ib.* iii. 7, and as Egfrid granted to Benedict Biscop the land for the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Bede, Hist. Abb. §§ 4, 7. The relation is probably truly enough expressed in the subscription of Sexwulf to the spurious Latin charter corresponding to the interpolation at 675 E: '*Ego . . . Saxulfus regali beneficio eiusdem monasterii fundator*,' K. C. D. No. 990; Birch, No. 48; H. & S. iii. 153-157.

Peterborough interpolations.

Sexwulf.

655 E] For the consecration of Deusededit, see Bede, H. E. iii. 20, *ad fin.* and notes. It is not in Bede's Epit. The date 655 is correct. This entry is only in E and F.

p. 29. 656 E, p. 32. 657 A] At the end of the annal 654, E, following Bede, has rightly placed the murder of Peada at the Easter immediately following the battle of the Winwæd, *i.e.* Easter 656, according to the true chronology. Here, following the other Chronicles, it repeats the entry at an interval of two years from that battle; a further mistake is that Wulfhere is made to succeed to Mercia immediately on the death of Peada. His accession was the result of a successful rebellion of Mercia against Oswy in 658; see H. E. iii. 24, *ad fin.* and notes.

Murder of Peada.

p. 29. On his time wæx, 7c., E] The second of the Peterborough insertions. The Latin charter on which this entry is based (a forgery probably of the time of Edgar, D. C. B. iv. 590) is in K. C. D. No. 984; Birch, No. 22.

Peterborough insertion.

his wed broðeres . . . Oswi] Brotherhood by compact is to actual brotherhood what adoption is to actual fatherhood, *i.e.* it is a primitive legal fiction; cf. Maine, *Ancient Law*, chap. 2. Sometimes an attempt is made to mingle the blood of the contracting parties artificially. 'In the simplest form of this rite, two men become brothers by opening their veins and sucking one another's blood. Thenceforth their lives are not two, but one,' Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 314 ff. So when Dr. Peters swore blood-brotherhood with Mwanga, King of Uganda, the ceremony is thus described: 'A slight incision is made with a razor above the fifth

Artificial brotherhood.

rib on the right side. Coffee-berries are then soaked in the blood, and are exchanged and eaten by the two persons between whom the covenant is made. It is binding for life. The persons between whom blood-brotherhood is sworn never desert one another in danger; and their mutual confidence is unbounded. It is stated that a case of breach of faith between those who have once made this strange compact in Central Africa has never been known.' The Icelandic plan was for the contracting parties to mingle their blood in the earth, with other ceremonies; the earth being regarded as the common mother of us all. See Orig. Island. i. 319; Dasent's Gisli the Outlaw, p. 23; Flack, in *Études Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, pp. 146 ff.

The phrase 'brothers by wed or pledge' exactly answers to 'fratres adiurati,' S. D. i. 219; so 'frater coniuratus' of Malcolm III and Tostig, *ib.* ii. 174, 175; cf. 'statuimus . . . ut omnes homines totius regni nostri . . . sint fratres coniurati,' Leges Will. I, Thorpe, i. 492; Schmid, p. 509; cf. Shakespeare's phrase:

'I am sworn brother, Sweet,
To grim Necessity, and he and I
Will keep a league till death.'

Rich. II. V. i. 20;

and the commentators, *ad loc.* We find both ideas, 'wed' and 'oath,' in 1016, i. 153: 'heora freondscipe . . . gefæstnodon gemid wedde, gemid aðe.' Madden, Layamon, iii. 354, explains the term 'wed-brothers' by 'brothers at baptism,' 'pledged at the font together'; and so some translators of the Chron. If the writer meant this, he was certainly wrong, for Oswy, like Oswald, must have been baptised while in exile among the 'Scotti'; cf. Bede, H. E. iii. 3; but the words of the Latin 'Christiana fide confrater et coregnator' make it probable that nothing more than Christian brotherhood is meant. I cannot agree with Professor Earle that 'his' here refers to Peada. It refers to Wulfhere; cf. a little lower: '*min leoue freond Oswi.*' No doubt the writer is in error in attributing these friendly relations to Oswy and Wulfhere, who had rebelled against him. But we need not be staggered at finding that the twelfth-century interpolator should have tripped in his history.

Ethelred
and Mer-
wala.

Æðelred 7 Merwala] Ethelred succeeded Wulfhere on his death in 675, *infra*. Merwala is not mentioned in Bede or in the authentic portions of the Chronicle. In the pedigrees, &c., appended to Florence (i. 264, 265) he is called St. Merewald, King of the West-Hecanas (= Herefordshire), husband of Eormenburga or Domneva (see on 640 a), and, by her, father of SS. Mildburg, Mildred, and Mildgith, and of a son St. Merefinn; cf. H. H. p. xxvii.; Hardy, Cat. i. 274, 275, 277, 376-384; W. M. i. 78; Fl. Wig. i. 33.

Cyneburg
and Cyne-
swith.

Kyneburges 7 Kyneswithes] Cyneburg was married to Alchfrid, son of Oswy of Northumbria, and under him sub-King of Deira, Bede, H. E. iii. 21. For the traditional accounts of her and her sister Cyneswith *v.* note, *l. c.*

p. 30. *æfter his eorles*] This word alone stamps this document as a 'Earl.' forgery. In the sense meant here (= ealdorman) it represents the Scandinavian 'iarl,' and only came in with the Danish conquests; cf. F. N. C. i. 582.

Deusdedit . . . Wilfrid preost] If any reliance could be placed on these names they would fix the consecration to 662 x 664. Jaruman became bishop in the former year, Wilfrid in the latter, and Tuda died in 664. Ithamar, though the exact date of his death is uncertain, was certainly dead before 664, while as late as 664 Wine was still Bishop of Wessex (not of London). Ceadda went to Wessex to be consecrated by him after Deusdedit's death on July 14, 664; cf. H. & S. iii. 10, where, however, there are more inaccuracies than one. The charter of donation, *infra*, is dated 664. Signatures.

p. 31. *geld na gaule*] 'tax or rent.' Probably at the supposed date they would hardly be distinguished; cf. Maitland, Domesday, p. 239.

Ancarig] Probably Thorney; the name 'Isle of Anchorites' was due to these settlers. We find 'the wood of Ancarig' in Croyland charters, K. C. D. Nos. 265, 520; Birch, Nos. 461, 1178. Mr. Skene's equation of the epithet 'godfrihte,' 'God-fearing,' with the Irish Celi Dé (Culdees) seems fanciful, S. C. S. ii. 244. Thorney.

delnimende . . . lif] So with a genitive: 'dælneomende . . . þæs ecan rices,' Bede, H. E. ii. 12, *ad fin.*; p. 132; cf. *ib.* 112.

p. 32. *Sighere . . . Sibbi*] Joint kings of Essex at this time, 664. See on Bede, H. E. iii. 22. They are not elsewhere mentioned in the Chron. Sighere and Sebbi.

Eoppa preost . . . Wiht] A misunderstanding of H. E. iv. 13. The passage about Eoppa refers not to the conversion of Wight, but to that of Sussex. Wight was not christianised until after its conquest by Ceadwalla. Bede expressly says: 'Vecta . . . eatenus erat tota idolatriæ dedita,' and the priests who were sent to convert it were Bernuini and Hiddila, iv. 16. The misstatement here is due to the forger of the Latin charter; but at 661 it occurs independently in all the Chronicles; *v.* note *a. l.* From them it is adopted by H. H. p. 61, who tries to reconcile it with Bede's narrative by adding: 'illa [Vecta] tamen necdum conuertit potuit.' It is omitted by the more critical Florence. Eoppa. Conversion of Wight.

p. 33. *peonest men*] 'þénest,' = Germ. 'dienst,' is the abstract of 'þegn.' By 'þénest men' the writer probably meant the king's thanes. The translation given in the Glossary, 'serving-man, retainer,' gives perhaps too low an idea of the kind of 'service' intended. The Phanehood.

undyde] = *irritum faceret*. The sense of 'opening' which occurs just below is the older and more frequent.

7 se ærcebiscop on Cantwarbyrig] In thus reserving the rights of Canterbury, the forger must have 'stood astounded at his own moderation' (Lord Clive, Macaulay's Essays, 1863, ii. 124).

Siddon com, 7c.] On the Synod of Hertford, see Bede, H. E. iv. 5, and Synod of Hertford.

notes; *infra*, 673. That Wynfrid cannot have been deposed at that time is shown in the notes to H. E. iii. 6, *q. v.*

pp. 32, 33. 658*] Here the chronology of the Chronicles harmonises once more.

Pen-
Selwood.

æt Peonnum] 'This is Pen-Selwood, or head of Selwood (locally pronounced *Zilw'd*), on the confines of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire. The place is famous for the "Pen Pits," which Mr. Kerslake thought to be the vestiges of an ancient British town. In the neighbourhood there is an earthen fortress of large area, known as "Keniwilkins's Castle," a name which bears a strong resemblance to that of Cenwalh.' Earle. Cf. 1016, i. 149: 'æt Peonnan wið Gillingahám'; of the latter Mr. Freeman says that it 'is undoubtedly Pen-Selwood. I am far from being so certain whether the spot . . . where Cenwealh defeated the Welsh is the same, or another of the Pens in the same county,' F. N. C. i. 382. Mr. Kerslake would place our 'æt Peonnum' at Poynington, north of Sherborne, and makes the Welsh fly down the valley of the Yeo to its junction with the Parrett at Langport. H. H. says of the Britons, the 'progenies Bruti': 'more niuis liquefacta est uis eorum,' p. 60. This might be a snatch of song or proverb such as H. H. sometimes preserves: 'swá swá snáw.' Cf. 'swá swá fýr,' 473 A. He also says that they were encouraged by Penda's victory over Cenwalh. If so, it is curious that they waited till thirteen years after Cenwalh's expulsion, and three years after Penda's death. Ethelwerd translates 'Cenwalh . . . æt Peonnum' by 'Cenuualh et Pionna reges' (!), p. 506.

The
Parrett.

op Pedridan] Not Petherton, as M. H. B. (perhaps misled by B's 'æt Pedredan,' and Ethelw. p. 506 B), but the Parrett; cf. 845, 894, p. 87 m. Note the absence of the article with river names.

pis wæs gefohten, 7c.] An explanatory notice looking back to 645 (644 E). See note *a. l.* A alone has preserved the strong form 'ádrifenne.' It occurs, however, elsewhere; *v.* Glossary.

'An for-
letan.'

an forlet] A, B, C. Only here in our Chronicles; *v.* Glossary. In the account of this incident in the AS. Bede, H. E. v. 7, the same verb is used ἐν τμήσει, 'forlet he an Pendan swustor' = 'repudiata sorore Pendan,' p. 168. The editor, Dr. Miller, has translated 'an' as if it were the numeral 'án,' 'one.' Here, as in many instances, the AS. language approximates to the rules of modern German for the use of separable verbs. E has the simpler form 'forlet,' which still survives in Lowland Scotch; cf. Chambers' Book of Days, i. 57.

660*] On this entry see Bede, H. E. iii. 7, notes.

Battle of
Pontes-
bury.

661*. on Posentes byrg] Pontesbury, south-west of Shrewsbury. Florence omits this battle. On Cuthred and Ashdown see on 648, *supra*. Ethelwerd, *u. s.*, makes Wulfhere the accusative after 'gehergeade,' and translates 'Cenuualh . . . captiuum duxit Uulfhere . . . in [=on, the reading of B, C] Escesdune'; but this, though grammatically possible, is clearly

wrong. Cenbernt is not mentioned elsewhere except in the pedigree 685, where he appears as the father of Ceadwalla. Fl. Wig. calls him 'Cenbryht subregulus.' On Wulfhere's grant of Wight to Æthelwold of Sussex (Bede's Ædilualch), see H. E. iv. 13, notes. On the alleged mission of Eoppa to Wight, see on 656 E, *supra*. Sussex itself was not evangelised till twenty years later than the present date, 681-686; H. E. v. 19, notes. Bede's statement, *ib.* iv. 13, that the grant of Wight to Æthelwold of Sussex was 'non multo ante' 681, rather points to a later date than 661 for that event also.

p. 34. be Wilferpes worde 7 Wulfhere cyning] This is a good instance of an antique construction by which, when two names depend on the same noun, the second name is put in the direct case. This is preserved in A, B, C. In E it is altered to the more modern construction; cf. Rhÿs, Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland, May 9, 1892, p. 301. Professor Earle remarks that the spread of Latin culture resuscitated, and perhaps somewhat extended the use of flexion. There is another instance, 1057 D, *alimit*.

pp. 34, 35. 664*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit., with the addition of the obit of Archbishop Deusdedit, who died of the plague on the same day as King Ercenberht of Kent. E has added some details from the text of H. E. iii. 26-28, iv. 1; where see notes. It should be noted that even E omits all mention of the Synod of Whitby, and merely gives the departure of Colman, which was the result of it. The same omission is made in the AS. vers. of Bede.

on Wagele, E] See note on H. E. iii. 27.

667 E] Peculiar to E. From H. E. iii. 29, iv. 1.

668*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from H. E. iv. 1.

669*] On Reculver, see H. E. v. 8, notes.

670*] In the notes to H. E. iv. 5, I have given reasons for believing that the true year of Oswy's death and Egfrid's succession is 671 and not 670. On Hlothhere and the West-Saxon bishopric, *v.* Bede, H. E. iii. 7, notes.

671*. pæt micle fugla wæl] Ethelw. adds: 'ita ut et in mare et in arida spurcissimus foetor uideretur tam de minutis auibus quam de maioribus,' p. 506. H. H. turns it into a battle of the birds: 'maxima pugna uolucrum'; adding that a similar battle of birds had taken place in his own time in Normandy, p. 61. He is followed by Wendover i. 162. For a similar phenomenon in the seventeenth century, see the 'Diary of Walter Yonge Esquire,' Camd. Soc. 1848, p. 45. Lappenberg suggests that this may be the origin of Milton's famous comparison about 'the wars of kites or crows,' which for long did so much harm to the study of early English history, I. lx.

672*] On the difficulties connected with the history of Wessex from the death of Cenwalh to the accession of Ceadwalla, see Bede, H. E. iv. 12, notes.

673*] A, B, C (as far as 'Heorot forda') from Bede, Epit. On the

Grant of
Wight to
Æthelwold.

Antique
construction.

Death of
Deusdedit.

Synod of
Whitby
omitted
from
Chronicle.

Date of
Oswy's
death, 671.

Murrain of
birds.

Obscurity
of Wessex
history.

death of Egbert and the Synod of Hertford, see H. E. iv. 5, and notes; on Æthelthryth (Audrey) and the foundation of Ely, *ib.* iv. 19, 20, and notes. Note the erroneous reading of B and C (Æþelbriht).

674*] See on H. E. iv. 12.

675*. *æt Biedan heafde*] This entry is not in B. Note the meaning of the name 'at Bieda's head' (Gaimar translates it 'al chef de Bede,' *v.* 1416; see above on 501), and cf. Ann. Camb. 665, and note *a. l.* Imaginary details and moral reflexions in H. H.

py ilcan geare] From Bede, Epit. See note *a. l.* The death of Wulfhere is not mentioned in the text of H. E.

On his time, 7c., E] The third of the Peterborough insertions in E; cf. Hugo Candidus, pp. 9-12. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the flagrant character of the forgery, and the extravagant nature of the privileges claimed. The writer connects the grant with the first Roman appeal of Wilfrid. He has got the date right, for Wilfrid was at Rome 679-680; *v.* H. E. v. 19, notes. He has stumbled (like many another) in making Wilfrid Archbishop of York. See Bede II. 117, 226. It is within the limits of possibility that Wilfrid might have attended the Council of Hatfield on his way back from Rome; but the whole tenor of Eddius' narrative implies that he returned direct to Northumbria, and was at once thrown into prison, *c.* 34. The spurious Latin charter on which this insertion is based is in K. C. D. No. 990; Birch, No. 48; H. & S. iii. 153-157; *v.* note, *ib.* 168. It differs somewhat from the present AS. version, but the differences are not on the side of greater modesty. 'The first *real* case of exemption of an English monastery from episcopal jurisdiction appears to have been that of Battle Abbey, Hallam's Middle Ages, ii. 165 note; Robertson, Church Hist. ii. 103, 203.' Earle.

p. 36. *haue nan onsting*] 'quicquam terreni oneris iniungat,' Lat.

ne gaffe ne geold ne feording] 'non census, non tributum, non militia,' Lat.

scýr biscop] 'episcopus dioceseos,' Lat.

abbot . . . *legat of Rome*] Thorn claims a similar privilege for St. Augustine's, Canterbury, *c.* 1779.

ge redd] 'read;' so 'rædon' a little lower down, p. 37. It is only in these late parts of E and F that 'rádan' and 'gerádan' have their modern sense of 'to read'; their proper meaning is 'to counsel, advise'; *v.* Glossary.

p. 37. *Kineburh 7 Kinesuith*] The Latin charter represents Cyneburg as dead at this time, and Cyneswith as still alive.

Bredune, Hrepingas, Ceden ac] See a paper by Dr. Stubbs, Arch. Journal of 1861, pp. 202 ff. He equates the first with Bredon in Leicestershire, and places the second in the Hundred of Repington, and the third in Charnwood Forest.

Peter-
borough
forgery.

Wilfrid.

Exempt
monas-
teries.

ic festnie mid min ge write] Cf. 'mid gewritum gefæstnod,' Oros. p. 244.

Ostriðe] See 697, *infra*.

Adrianus legat] This is Abbot Adrian, who was sent by Pope Vitalian to accompany Archbishop Theodore to Britain, Bede, H. E. iv. 1. Abbot Adrian.

Putta] He had ceased to be Bishop of Rochester in 676, *ib.* iv. 12. Putta. Another mark of forgery.

Waldhere] Erconwald, his predecessor, certainly did not die before 692. Waldhere. See *ib.* iv. 11, notes.

foces] For 'folces.' Note the phonetic spelling.

pp. 36, 37. 676*] On the civil and ecclesiastical history of Wessex at this time, see notes to H. E. iii. 7; iv. 12; v. 18. On Centwine and his daughter Bugge, *v.* Aldhelm, Opp. ed. Giles, p. 115. Wessex history.

p. 38. Cynegils Ceolwulfing, A] In the Preface to A Cynegils is made nephew (broþur sunu), not son of Ceolwulf, probably meaning that he was son of Ceolwulf's brother and predecessor Ceol. Fl. Wig. corrects the Chron. here, calling Cynegils 'filius Ceoli,' i. 34. The mistake might easily arise by overlooking the word 'broþur' before 'sunu.'

7 Æðe red . . . Cent lond] From Bede, Epit.; cf. H. E. iv. 12.

pp. 38, 39. 678*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; E from H. E. iv. 12, where see notes; cf. Ord. Vit. i. 436. Gaimar says that the comet followed Wilfrid wherever he went.

679*] The death of Ælfwine in A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; cf. H. E. iv. 21, whence E. Bede gives no date for the death of Æthelthryth, *ib.* iv. 19.

Coludes burh, E] Coldingham. See *ib.* iv. 25, and notes. The date given here is certainly too early. It is omitted by Fl. Wig. and H. H. Destruction of Coldingham.

mid godcundum fyre] So in Orosius 'heofonlic fyr' of the destruction of Sodom, p. 32; cf. *ib.* i. 94; Wulfstan, p. 297.

680*] From Bede, Epit.; *v.* H. E. iv. 17, 23, and notes.

681 E] Only in E and F. From H. E. iv. 12, *ad fin.*, where see notes.

forþan . . . hider] On the significance of this word *hider* (*þider*, F), see Introduction, § 68.

682*] Cf. G. P. p. 360: 'Norht Walæs . . . tunc rebellionem mediantes, Kentuinus rex tam anxia cede perdomuit ut nichil ulterius sperarent. Quare et ultima malorum accessit captiuis tributaria functio, ut qui antea uel solam umbram libertatis palpabant, nunc iugum subiectionis palam ingemiscent.' Whether this is more than a liberal inference from the Chron. I do not know. Probably not. Defeat of the British by Centwine.

684 E] Only in E. From H. E. iv. 26, where see notes.

hyndan, 7c.] Cf. 'hi hendon 7 hergodon,' Bede, H. E. i. 6, p. 32.

685 A, B, C] The obits of Egfrid and Hlothhere from Bede, Epit. On the rise of Ceadwalla, see notes to H. E. iv. 12, 15. The notice of

Mul (omitted in E) is an explanatory reference looking forward to 687, *infra*.

Death of Egfrid.

685 E] For Cuthbert's consecration see H. E. iv. 28, and notes; for the slaughter of Egfrid and succession of Aldfrid, *ib.* 26, and notes.

be norðan sæ] 'to the north of the sea,' *i.e.* of the Forth; not 'by or near the North Sea,' as generally construed, M. H. B.; Thorpe; Stevenson; Gibson; Gurney; Ingram. Gaimar is quite correct:

'Ultre la mer devers le Nort;'

he says that Egfrid was killed by 'li Orkenan,' *rr.* 1496 ff.

On John, Bishop of Hexham, see H. E. v. 2-6 and notes.

Second restoration of Wilfrid. 'Chester.'

oððe Wilfrip in com] This is the second restoration of Wilfrid, when he obtained the bishopric of Hexham only, H. E. v. 3, 19, notes.

Ceastre] York, as in 763 E, 779 E. 'Many places were locally called *Ceaster*; but with the progress of centralisation it became necessary to keep up their distinctive prefixes, as *Winchester*, *Manchester*, &c. Only one great place has come to be known by the simple name of *Chester*; with obscure places such as *Caistor*, *Castor*, &c., it was more easy, and probably there are several of them in existence.' Earle.

Wilfrid II.

Wilferð his preost] This is Wilfrid II, Bishop of York; cf. H. E. iv. 23; v. 6, *ad fin.*, 23; Cont. Baedae, 732, 745, and notes; 744, *infra*.

Portent.

685 F] Cf. Ann. Camb. 689: 'Pluuia sanguinea facta est in Britannia, et lac et butirum uersa sunt in sanguinem'; 'blodig regn æt áfen' is one of the signs of the approach of the Day of Judgement, Blickling Hom. pp. 91-93.

Kent ravaged by the West Saxons.

686*, 687*] It is these ravages of the West Saxons in Kent which makes Bede say of the period from the death of Hlothhere to the accession of Wihtried: 'regnum illud per aliquod temporis spatium reges dubii uel externi disperdiderunt,' H. E. iv. 26, *ad fin.*, where see notes. Details of these West-Saxon campaigns and a fancy portrait of Mul in H. H. pp. 105-107. Details also, inconsistent with the former, in W. M. i. 17.

686 E. Þæs Cædwala, 7c.] The fourth Peterborough insertion. Egbald did not become abbot before 709, Mon. Angl. i. 346, cited by Bright, p. 350 [ed. 3, p. 393].

Abdication of Cædwalla.

pp. 40, 41. 688*] E is from Bede, H. E. v. 7, where see notes. It is not clear whence A is taken. Bede, *Epit.*, mentions only the journey of Cædwalla to Rome. His baptism and death did not take place till the following year, 689, and so rightly Fl. Wig. On the chronology of Ine's reign *v.* Bede, *u. s.* The xxvii of E is of course a mere slip.

Ine and Glastonbury.

7 he getimbrade . . . Glæstinga byrig, A margin] This notice, probably by the original scribe (*v.* Introduction, § 14, and i. 294), is found in W. and in Fl. Wig. The spurious charter of Ine to Glastonbury is in K. C. D. No. 73; Birch, i. 207; W. M. i. 36-39. The early history of Glastonbury is a mass of legend (*v.* W. M. De Ant. Glast. in

Gale and Fulman, iii. 291 ff.). There was, however, a religious foundation there in British times: 'Glastonbury must have been British territory until between 652 and 658, and there seems no doubt that the West-Saxon Christians at the time of its conquest allowed the monastery which they found there to continue,' H. & S. iii. 164; cf. *ib.* i. 38. The Anglo-Saxon re-foundation must, however, be earlier than 680; *ib.* So that here, as elsewhere, Ine only completed what others had begun; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 41, note.

ymb .vii. niht] Note the primitive Germanic mode of reckoning by nights, not days; *v.* Glossary, *s. v.* niht. Nights, not days.

he him scop Petrum to name, E] Cf. Ælf. Hom. i. 94: 'hit wæs gewunelic þæt þa magas sceoldon þam cilde naman gescyppan on þam eahtoðan dæge'; cf. *ib.* 92.

under Cristes claðum] *v.* Bede, H. E. v. 7, notes.

690 A, 692 E] E and F are right as against A, B, C in placing an interval of two years between the death of Theodore and the election of Berhtwald; *v.* H. E. v. 8, and notes. Strictly speaking, Deusdedit was the first native archbishop. But the Chronicles (followed by Fl. Wig.) are right in making the continuous series of English primates begin here. Native archbishops.

þa wæron .ii. ciningas, 7c., E] On this see notes to Bede, H. E. iv. 26, *ad fin.*; *v.* 8. He calls the two kings Victred and Suæbhard. The false reading of E, Nihtred (not F, nor Gaimar), has misled H. H. pp. 108, 134, into making two persons out of one. He reckons 'Nithred' and 'Webhard' among the 'reges dubii uel externi,' see on 686, 687, *supra*; and makes 'Withred' restore the native line in 694, *q. v.* Kentish kings.

693 E] On this annal *v.* H. E. v. 8, notes. The death of Gebmund ('Gifemund') is certainly placed too early. It cannot have taken place before 696; *u. s.*

Brihthelm] Drythelm, D, rightly; which here resumes. The slip in E is due to the occurrence of the name Brihtwald just above. Dryth-helm's vision.

of lyfe ge læd] Not 'died,' as I have wrongly taken it in the Glossary; so many of my predecessors, including Gaimar; it refers to the 'leading' of Drythelm through the other world in the famous vision narrated by Bede, H. E. v. 12, where see notes. The phrase does, however, mean to die in Ælfric's Homilies, ii. 142.

694*. Her Cantware . . . for bærndon] We have here the application of the principle of the 'wergild' or blood-money, on which see S. C. H. i. 161, 162; Kemble, Saxons, i. ch. 10; Robertson, E. K. S. App. E; Bede, H. E. iv. 21. As to the amount the authorities vary. A, D, E simply say 30,000, leaving the denomination unexpressed; B, F, and practically C, say 30,000 pounds. Allen, Royal Prerogative, pp. 177, 178, would supply *sceatta*, remarking that this is exactly the wergild of a Mercian king: 'bið cynges anfeald wergild . . . xxx þusend sceatta, 7 þæt bið ealles cxx punda,' Thorpe, Laws, i. 190; Schmid, p. 398. Ethelwerd says 30,000 Wergild.

solidi, each consisting of 16 'nummi,' by which pence are probably meant. W. M., followed by Elmham, p. 264, says 30,000 gold mancusses, i. 34, which at eight to the pound would agree with Fl. Wig., who gives 3,750 pounds; Thorn, c. 1770, says 3,000 pounds; H. H. merely says 'multam pecuniae.' Wheloc has 'xxx manna' (see i. 294). There would be nothing impossible in the surrender of thirty men in satisfaction for the death of Mul. But in view of the other authorities this is probably only a wrong expansion, either by Wheloc or the scribe of his MS., of the abbreviation *m̄* (i. e. millia) which appears in A, and is actually so expanded in M. H. B. p. 323. The misunderstanding, if such it is, might be helped by the fact that the rune for M bears the name 'man,' and is used as an abbreviation for that vocable; see Bosworth-Toller, *sub littera M*. F makes Mul brother of *Ine*, wrongly.

Reign of
Wihtred.

7 Wihtred . . . rice] This probably marks his accession as sole king; cf. 692 E, and Bede, H. E. iv. 26; v. 8, 23, notes.

7 heold . . . wintra] All the MSS., following H. E. v. 23, rightly place the death of Wihtred at 725, though this is not consistent with any of the numbers of years assigned to his reign here and at 725. Thirty-three years, however, would be right if reckoned from his first accession in 692 E. On the continuation of this annal in F, see i. 283 and reff.

Murder of
Ostryth.

697 E] Ostryth was the daughter of Oswy and wife of Ethelred of Mercia, H. E. iv. 21. She translated the bones of her uncle Oswald to Bardney, *ib.* iii. 11. Her tragic death is mentioned in Bede, Epit.: 'a Merciorum primatibus interempta'; but no account of the tragedy is given in the text of his work; cf. S. D. i. 349. Lappenberg characterises it as 'a crime so rare in the history of Europe, that we have to look forward eleven hundred years to find a parallel,' i. 217 (omitted in E. T.).

'Southumbrians.'

Suðan hvmbre] 'Merci qui dicuntur etiam Sudhumbri,' H. H. p. 109; cf. 702 E and Bede II. 29, 30; and on this and the next entry cf. Introduction, § 59, note.

Death of
Berht.

699 E] Here again this event is only in Bede, Epit., where it is placed under 698, and 'Berht ealdorman' appears as 'Berctred dux regius.' The Chron. possibly intends to identify him with Bede's 'Berctus' (= Briht, 684 E), the general who commanded the expedition sent by Egfrid against Ireland in 684; and H. H., improving on the hint, makes his fate the consequence of the curses called down upon him by the Irish on that occasion, H. E. iv. 26; cf. R. W. i. 195, 196. But the difference of the names as given by Bede must make this identification very doubtful. The Irish annals mention this engagement; 698 Tigh., 697 Ann. Ult.: 'Bellum inter Saxones et Pictos, ubi cecidit filius Bernith qui dicebatur Brectrid' (Brechttraigh, Tigh.). The 'Berneth' father of 'Brectrid' is the 'Bernhæth' or 'Beornheth' of Eddius, c. 19; an 'audax subregulus' who at the beginning of Egfrid's reign joined the latter in a successful attack on the

Picts. (Mr. Skene, C. S. i. 260, 270, wrongly makes Bernhæth fight on the Pictish side.)

702 E] The resignation of Ethelred and accession of Cenred of Mercia are rightly placed by all the MSS., in agreement with Bede, Epit., at 704. This entry in D, E, F is therefore probably a doublet, taken from some source the chronology of which was two years out; though it is possible that Ethelred may have associated Cenred with himself in the kingship prior to his resignation.

Suðhvmbra rice] Gaimar thus defines the extent of the kingdom of the Southumbrians:

‘Kenret regna sur Suthhumbreis:
Co est Lindeseye e Holmedene,
Kestevene e Hoiland e Hestdene,
Del Humbre tresk'en Roteland
Durout cel regne, e plus avante.
Par plusurs faiz fu la devise:
Tels lieus i out dreit a Tamise.
Le clef del regne soleit estre
A la cité de Dorkecestre,
E Huntendone e le conté
Soleit estre de cest regné:
Neis la meité de Grantcestre
I fut jadis e devereit estre.’

Accession of Cenred.

Extent of the Southumbrian kingdom.

vv. 1594, ff.

703*] The length assigned to Hædde's episcopate by A, D, E, F (the xxxvii of B, C is an obvious blunder) agrees with the date given above, 676, for his accession. From Bede, H. E. v. 18, however, it appears that he survived Aldfrid of Northumbria, and therefore he cannot have died before 705; v. notes and reff. *a. l.* Here again the chronology is two years out.

704*] See above on 702. Bede, Epit., gives Ethelred a reign of thirty-one years, but in this he is inconsistent with himself, as he, like the Chron., places his accession in 675, *ib.* On Ethelred see H. E. iii. 11; iv. 12; v. 19, and notes. That his body lay at Bardney is mentioned below at 716; but this does not necessarily fix his death to that year; though Fl. Wig. so understands it.

705*] On the date of, and the circumstances attending the death of Aldfrid and the accession of Osred, see notes to H. E. v. 18. Here A, B, C stand clearly over against D, E; the latter alone giving the day and place of Aldfrid's death, and the accession of Osred, the former alone giving the obit of Sexwulf. This last is wrong. He must have died before 692. See notes, *ib.* iv. 6; v. 19; H. & S. iii. 129. Florence, who generally is nearest to D, has adopted this error of A, B, C, i. 46. The ASN. say: ‘obiit Aldfridus *monachus, olim* Rex Nordanhymbrorum.’ I know of no other authority for the italicised words. They may be due to a confusion with Ceolwulf; or they may be an inference from 718*, *infra*.

Length of Hædde's episcopate.

Abdication of Ethelred of Mercia.

Death of Aldfrid, and Sexwulf.

Division of the West-Saxon diocese. 709*] On the division of the West-Saxon diocese, on Aldhelm, Daniel, and Forthlihere, see notes to H. E. v. 18; on the pilgrimage of Cenred and Offa to Rome, and the accession of Ceolred of Mercia, *ib.* v. 19, notes; on the death and burial of Wilfrid (added by D, E, F), *ib.*

be westan wuda] 'be westan Selewuda,' 'to the west of Selwood,' B. Ethelwerd calls Aldhelm's diocese 'prouincia quae uulgo Sealuudseire dicitur.'

in fore weardum . . . dagum] Cf. 'on foreweardre þisse bec,' = principio libelli, Oros. p. 252; 'was foreward niht,' = prima hora noctis, Bede, H. E. ii. 12, p. 126.

Acca. pp. 42, 43. 710*] On Acca (D, E, F), the successor of Wilfrid at Hexham, and the friend of Bede, see notes to H. E. v. 20.

Berhtfrith defeats the Picts. The battle of Berhtfrith against the Picts is placed by Bede, Epit., in 711: 'Berctfrid praefectus cum Pictis pugnavit.' It is mentioned in the Irish annals, Tigh. agreeing as to the date with Bede, and Ann. Ult. with the Chron.: 'Strages Pictorum in Campo Manonn apud Saxones ubi Finguine filius Deileroith inmatura morte iacuit.' This shows that Fl. is justified in saying of Berhtfrith: 'et uictor extitit.' Berhtfrith is the 'secundus a rege princeps' of Eddius, c. 60, to whom Osred so largely owed his throne. See notes on H. E. v. 18. The occurrence of these related names, Berct, H. E. iv. 26; Chron. 699; Beornheth, father of Berctred, *v. s.* p. 34; Berctred, Bede, Epit.; Ann. Ult.; Berctfrid, Bede, Epit.; Chron.; all as names of persons holding high military office in Northumbria, suggests that the holders were members of the same family, in which the office had become more or less hereditary.

Avon and Carron. **be twix Hæfe 7 Cære, E]** 'The rivers Avon and Carron are probably meant, the plain of Manann being situated between those two rivers,' S. C. S. i. 270; P. & S. p. lxxxi; Skene, Four Books, i. 91; and this, if Tigh.'s authority may be accepted, who locates the battle 'in campo Manand,' *v. s.*, seems decisive in favour of this as against other identifications which have been proposed.

Nun or Nunna, King of the South Saxons. **Ine 7 Nun . . . cyninge*]** 'uictumque in fugam uertere,' Fl. Wig. Nun (Nunna, B, C) is probably the 'Nunna rex Suðsaxonum' of whom charters dated 714 and 725 are in K. C. D. Nos. 999, 1000; Birch, Nos. 132, 144. If so, the fact that he is described as Ine's relative seems to show that Sussex had become by this time a sort of appanage to Wessex; possibly in consequence of the victories of Ceadwalla, Bede, H. E. iv. 15, 16, notes. The annals 722, 725 seem to mark an unsuccessful attempt of the South Saxons to assert their independence under Ealdberht, a West-Saxon exile. The building of Taunton as a border fortress (mentioned under 722) is connected with this advance of Wessex. See G. M. E. pp. 387-389; and for Taunton Castle cf. a paper by Rev. F. Warre in Somersetshire Archaeological Proceedings, iv. 18 ff., 1853.

Geraint **Gerente]** or Geraint is the Gerontius or Geruntius, King of the West

Welsh, 'occidentalis regni scepra gubernans,' to whom Aldhelm addressed his famous letter on the Paschal question; on which see Bede, H. E. v. 18, notes. Ethelwerd mistakes the preposition 'wið' for part of the proper name, writing: 'contra Uuthgirete regem,' p. 507. of Corn-wall.

Hygebald, E; Sigbald, D] His death is connected by H. H. with Sigbald the same battle: 'cuius pugnae principio occisus est Dux Higebald,' p. 111; but this is mere inference. Gaimar's 'Sibald,' v. 1633, is decisive in favour of D's reading. On Sigbald I have found nothing. On the omission of this annal by the original scribe of A, see Introduction, § 14; and on Gaimar's reading, *ib.* § 57, note.

714*] Guthlac is not mentioned by Bede. See on him Bright, Early Engl. Church Hist. pp. 386-390 [ed. 3, pp. 431-435]; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 404-410; H. H. p. xxvii. The principal authority for Guthlac is his life by Felix, printed by Mabillon and the Bollandists under April 11, and re-edited by Mr. W. de Gray Birch in his *Memorials of St. Guthlac*. There is an Anglo-Saxon version of this life which has been edited by Goodwin (cf. Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 491-493), and an Anglo-Saxon poem on him in *Codex Exoniensis*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 104 ff. (cf. Wülker, pp. 179-183). Felix's life was written during the life of Æthelbald †757, AA. SS. Apr. ii. 49; and during the life of Guthlac's successor Cissa, Goodwin, p. 76; AA. SS. *u. s.* pp. 38, 41. In Bede, II. xxxvi. 342, I have shown that Felix was probably a monk of Croyland, and that his work was dedicated to Æthelbald of Mercia. It is true that in one MS. the writer is made to call himself 'Congregationis Sancti Bedan uernaculus,' whence some (*e. g.* Bright, *u. s.*, and Mabillon) have made him a monk of Jarrow. But this all arises from an error of a scribe, who finding in the MS. which he was copying that Felix was a monk 'Monasterii Gyruensis,' *i. e.* 'of the Gyrras,' a perfectly true description of Croyland (cf. 'þæt mynster is on middan Gyrran fenne,' Hyde Register, p. 88), wrongly interpreted the phrase as referring to Jarrow. Modern editors have not avoided this confusion; *v.* Bede II. 174. Felix places the death of Guthlac in 715, but this, according to the Bollandists, is due to his using the era of the Incarnation, which, dating from the Annunciation, precedes the era of the Nativity by nine months; see Appendix to Introduction. His day is April 11. Orderic inserts an epitome of Felix's life of Guthlac in his H. E. ii. 268 ff., characterising it as 'prolixo et aliquantum obscuro dictatu.' He made the epitome during a five weeks' sojourn at Croyland. For a list of churches dedicated to Guthlac, see Birch, *u. s.* p. xxxii. Guthlac's cross still exists at Brotherhouse, near Croyland, and is also figured in Birch. Cf. also the life of him in D. C. B. ii. 823-826. Abingdon claimed to possess relics of his, and observed his festival, Chron. Ab. ii. 158, 315. A fourteenth-century French Calendar, formerly belonging to Ludlow, makes him a bishop, Hampson, i. 464.

714, 715 F] Here we have fragments of a Frankish Chronicle embodied

in F. The dates are correct for the deaths of Pippin of Héristal and Dagobert III.

Battle of
Wan-
borough.

715*] For the place cf. 592, and *infra* on 823. W. M. seems to imply that Ceolred was victorious, for he calls him 'uirtute contra Inam mirabilis,' i. 79. H. H. says: 'adeo horribiliter pugnatum est utrinque, ut nesciatur cui clades detestabilior contigerit,' p. 111. Mr. Green, *u. s.*, thinks that 'the absence of all account of its issue shows that Ceolred's attack failed'; but the results of battles are sometimes omitted in the Chron. because they were supposed to be well known, see on 752, *infra*.

Osred, &c.

716*] On Osred's character and death, see notes to H. E. v. 18, 22. As he succeeded in 705 he really reigned eleven years, and so H. E. v. 18. On Cenred, *ib.* v. 22, note; on Osric, *ib.* 23, notes; on Ceolred's death and character, *ib.* 19, notes; on Æthelbald, *ib.* 23, notes; on Egbert's conversion of the monks of Iona to the Roman Easter, *ib.* 22, notes.

be suðan gemære, E] Gaimar again quite correctly: 'en la marche devers midi,' v. 1645.

beforan awriten, A] Viz. at 626.

Íé hiwan, E] Cf. AS. Bede, p. 182: 'þa hiwan . . . þe in þam mynstre wæron.'

Ingild.

718*] Of Ingild (Ingils, Fl. Wig.) nothing seems to be known. Egbert, the uniter of Britain, was descended from him; see the West-Saxon pedigree given above, p. 4; cf. S. D. ii. 371. On the sisters cf. W. M. i. 35: 'habuit . . . Ina sorores Cuthburgam et Quenburgam; Cuthburga Alfrido [H. H. p. 112, says wrongly Egfrido] Northanimbrorum regi nuptum tradita, sed, non post multum coniugio diducto, primo apud Berkingum sub abbatissa Hildilida [Bede, H. E. iv. 10], mox ipsa magistra regulæ

Ine's
sisters.

Wimborne.

Wimburnae Deo placitam uitam transegit. Uicus est modo ignobilis, tunc temporis insignis, in quo frequens uirginum chorus . . . superos suspirabat amores.' Cf. Bede II. 264. On the discipline of Wimborne, see a passage from the life of St. Lioba given in notes to Bede II. 150. A spurious charter of Aldhelm's professes to be drawn up at Wimborne, G. P. p. 379; K. C. D. No. 54; Birch, No. 114. There is a letter of confraternity from two abbesses, Cuenburga and Coenburga, in Mon. Mog. p. 126; H. & S. iii. 342, 343, of whom the former is probably to be identified with Cwenburg here (whom H. H. p. 112, also calls Cneburh, a very possible error, Cneburg for Cuenburg). Curiously enough, the letter is addressed to an Abbot Ingeld; but this cannot be our Ingild, if the Chron. is right in dating his death 718, for the letter must be as late as 729. Another sister of Ine's, Tetta, was also Abbess of Wimborne, H. & S. *u. s.* An Abbess 'Cuneburga regalis prosapiae' is addressed in a letter of 733 x 742, Mon. Mog. p. 109. This again may be for 'Cuenburg.' The Cuthburga mentioned among the lost souls seen in a vision described Mon. Mog. p. 275, is probably not this Cuthburg, and therefore Lappenberg's inference that Cuthburg

acted as regent for Osred after Aldfrid's death falls to the ground, i. 206; E. T. i. 211. It is, however, curious that Bede, who makes so much of Æthelthryth's voluntary separation from Egfrid, and her foundation of Ely (H. E. iv. 19, 20), should have nothing to say of Cuthburg's voluntary separation from Aldfrid and her foundation of Wimborne.

721*] On Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, see H. E. v. 18, notes. The slaying of the Etheling Cynewulf, 'clitonem Cynewulfum,' Fl. Wig., marks the renewal of that discord in the royal family which so long delayed the advance of Wessex. The events of 722, 725, and 728 connected with other Ethelings, Ealdberht and Oswald, illustrate the same point.

me of sloh, E] Probably a mistake for 'ine ofsloh' (D), but it can be construed, as 'me' is occasionally found in E and F for 'man'

se halga biscop Iohs.] Bishop of Hexham, and afterwards of York, who ordained Bede both deacon and priest; see H. E. v. 2-6, and notes; cf. *supra*, 685 E. St. John of Beverley.

722*] From this it would seem that the fortress which Ine had built to bridle his British foes had been seized as a vantage ground by his domestic rivals; cf. H. H. p. 112. On Ine's queen Æthelburg, 'foemina regii generis et animi,' and the curious legend of the way in which she induced Ine to resign his crown, see W. M. i. 35, 36, 39. She appears with Ine in a spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 74; Birch, No. 143. Jacob Grimm suggested that the Andreas may have been written for them, Andreas und Elene, pp. xii, li (1840); Wülker, Grundriss, p. 149. Destruction of Taunton. Æthelburg.

7 Ine . . . Sup Seaxum, A] The DE recension omits this clause here, probably taking it to be a doublet of the similar entry 725. B, C retain it here and omit it there; and so Ethelwerd, who dates this engagement 'post sex menses,' p. 507. Fl. Wig. agrees with A. Ine's wars with Sussex.

725*] On Wiltred see above, notes to 690-692, 694, and the reff. there given. On the question of his successors, see Bede, H. E. v. 23, notes.

728 A, 726 E] On Ine's resignation and death, see H. E. v. 7, *ad fin.* and notes. As to the date of the former, C, D, E are nearer the truth (726) than A, B (728). The date of the latter is not known. F's placing of it here is due to a confusion of 'fór' and 'gefór,' 'férde' and 'forðférde,' or of 'abiit' and 'obiit.' (For the latter cf. the case of Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, cited H. E. iii. 26, note.) The insertion in a, '7 þær his feorh gesealde,' is probably taken from 855 A, *infra*. Ine's abdication and death.

Æpelheard] 'de prosapia Cerdici regis oriundo,' Fl. Wig. = 'þæs cyn gæð to Ceardice,' A, Pref. W. M. says of him: 'surgentes eius primitias frequenter interpolaret Oswaldus regii sanguinis adolescens,' i. 39. Oswald's death is mentioned at 730, *infra*. H. H. says that he had been forced to fly from Wessex, p. 114. Whether he had any authority for this is doubtful. Ethelwerd, *u. s.*, calls him 'Osueuo.' An alleged grant by him is recited in a spurious charter of Athelstan, K. C. D. No. 374; Birch, No. 727. Æthelheard.

727 E] On Tobias and Aldwulf, see Bede, H. E. v. 8, 23, notes.

pp. 44, 45. 729*] A, B, C from Bede, Epit.; D, E, F from H. E. v. 22, 23, where see notes. Gainar says that Egbert 'enterrez fu a Mirmartin,' v. 1664; possibly a confusion with St. Martin's at Whitern.

Osrice's death, Osric, E] 729 is the right date for his death, as here given by D, E, F, and Fl. Wig. It is repeated again under 731 by all the MSS. except E and F.

Ceolwulf and Bede.

Ceolwulf] The king to whom Bede dedicated his Ecclesiastical History; see H. E. Preface, and notes to v. 23; a fact to which both Fl. Wig. and H. H. here allude; cf. S. D. i. 40, 360. ASN. add: 'qui post . . . monachus factus, *Lindisfarnensium extitit episcopus.*' There is no authority for the words italicised, which are due to a confusion with Ceolwulf, Bishop of Lindsey, mentioned below, 794*, 796 E.

730*. Oswald se æpeling] 'uir strenuissimus,' Fl. Wig.

Double source in D.

731*] The use of a double source in D is here very clearly seen. Not only is the death of Osric repeated (*v. s.*), but the obit of Berhtwald or Brihtwold of Canterbury is entered twice within this same annal. (On his death, and on the consecration of his successor Tatwine, *v. Bede, H. E. v. 23, and notes.*) E has avoided both these errors.

Æthelbald of Mercia.

733*. Æpelbald . . . Sumur tūn] A somewhat fancy description in H. H. pp. 114, 115, but he rightly emphasises the great position held by Æthelbald at this time. 'In the anarchy that broke out on Ine's withdrawal . . . he overran the whole of the West-Saxon country, till his siege and capture of the royal town of Somerton in 733 seemed to end the war,' G. M. E. p. 394. Cf. notes to Bede, H. E. v. 23.

Eclipse.

sunne apestrode] Aug. 14, and so Bede, Cont. F's Latin description of the eclipse is from Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 256; cf. Fl. Wig. and S. D. *ad ann.*

Acca . . . adrifen, E] The true date is probably 731; see Bede, H. E. v. 20, notes. His death is mentioned *infra*, 737 E.

734*. se mona] This lunar eclipse was on Jan. 24.

Tatwine] *v. H. E. v. 23, and notes.*

Bieda] The true date of Bede's death is probably 735; see my Bede I. lxxi. ff.

Egbert of York.

Ecgbriht, E] On Egbert of York, whose consecration is recorded here, and his reception of the pallium under 735 by D, E, F, see the notes on Bede's letter addressed to him.

Nothelm.

736*] Nothelm is the ecclesiastic who supplied Bede with materials for his Eccl. Hist., especially documents from the Roman archives. See Bede's Preface, and notes *a. l.* F, Lat., in adding 'et tenuit v. ann,' is inconsistent with itself, for it places the death of Nothelm in 740; *v. i.* 294.

737*. Forphere] See Bede, H. E. v. 18, notes.

Frithogith.

Fripogip] Queen of Wessex, wife of Æthelheard, Fl. Wig. She is mentioned in two charters, one spurious and one genuine, K. C. D. Nos. 374, 1157; Birch, Nos. 727, 831.

Ceolwulf, E] See above on 729 E.

Edberhte] D, E rightly give the accession of Eadberht under 737; Eadberht of Northumbria. it is repeated by all the MSS. under 738. The length of his reign, twenty-one years, added to 737 gives 758 for the date of his resignation, which is right, though the Chron. gives it under 757, where see note. He ruled well and prosperously. He was at war with the Picts at the time of Æthelbald's invasion of Northumbria, mentioned here by E [= 740, Cont. Baed.], and seems to have reduced them to submission, for in 756 he successfully allied himself with Oengus or Unust, King of the Picts, against the Britons of Strathclyde, though he lost the greater part of his army on his return, S. D. ii. 40; and either then or earlier he annexed a considerable part of what is now Ayrshire to his dominions, Bede, Cont. s. a. 750, and notes. Angles, Picts, Scots (of Dalriada), and Britons alike looked up to him. He was also in alliance with Pippin the Short, King of the Franks, S. D. i. 48, 49; cf. S. C. S. i. 331, and the notes to Bede's letter to Egbert, his brother. Alcuin says of him:

'Qui dilatauit proprii confinia regni,

Sæpius hostiles subigens terrore phalangas,' *vv.* 1274 f.

The remaining entries are placed by S. D. ii. 32 or Bede, Cont., or both under 740.

his federan sunu] According to the pedigrees in 731 A, 738*, Eadberht was first cousin of Ceolwulf's father, Cutha; cf. p. 5, *supra*.

Æðelwold biscop] Viz. of Lindisfarne; v. H. E. v. 12, notes. His Eadberht's relations with the Church. successor Cynewulf was thrown into prison by Eadberht for harbouring Offa, a son of Aldfrid, at the tomb of St. Cuthbert (St. Cuthbert himself had foretold that troubles of this kind would arise, *Baedae Vita Cudb. c. 37 sub fin.*). Offa was drawn from his sanctuary and slain. This was in 750, S. D. i. 47, 48; ii. 39 f. (For Cynewulf's resignation see below on 779 E.) From all these facts it is clear that Eadberht, like Egfrid and Aldfrid, acted with very considerable independence towards the ecclesiastical power. There is a letter of Pope Paul I to him urging the restoration of three monasteries which he had forcibly seized, one of which seems to have been Jarrow, H. & S. iii. 394-396.

Æðelwold hergode] *lege* Æðelbald; v. critical note, and on this harrying cf. H. E. v. 23, notes.

738*. on anum portice] The 'ánunn' is emphatic, = the same; 'sub unius porticus tectum,' *Ethelw. p.* 507 D. For the meaning of porticus see Bede II. 80, 330, 369.

741 A, 740 E] The death of Æthelheard is placed in 739 by Cont. Death of Æthelheard. *Baed.*; S. D. ii. 32: in 740 by C, D, E, F; *Ann. Lindisf.* (which is confirmed by adding the length of his reign, fourteen years, to the probable date of Ine's resignation, 726; see on 726 E): in 741 by A, B; *Fl. Wig.* (?). As to the relationship existing between him and his successor Cuthred, A, B, C say nothing; D, E call them vaguely 'relations,' 'his

mæg,' 'propinquus,' Fl. Wig. 'cognatus,' H. H. p. 119; W. M. i. 40; while S. D. and Ann. Lind. *u. s.* say that they were brothers, 'frater eius.' All the MSS. place Cuthred's death in 754, *infra*, which is inconsistent with the length here assigned to his reign (the xxvi of B, C is a mere slip).

Eadberht, E] *lege* Cu⁵berht; due to the occurrence of Eadbriht Eating just above. The error is copied by H. H. p. 119.

Archbishop
Cuthbert.

Cupbryht . . . gehalgod, A] So Cont. Baed. 740: 'Cudberctus . . . consecratus est.' He was, however, translated from Hereford, Fl. Wig. i. 54; G. P. pp. 8, 298, 299, having been consecrated in 736, S. D. ii. 32. (Fl. Wig., followed by S. D. ii. 38, says of his accession to Canterbury, 'archiepiscopatum suscepit,' which is indefinite.) He had previously been Abbot of Lyming, K. C. D. No. 86; Birch, i. 231. This is the prelate to whom St. Boniface addressed his famous letter on the state of the English Church, which was either the cause or more probably the consequence of the Council of Clovesho in 747, H. & S. iii. 376-383; Mon. Mog. pp. 200 ff., where Jaffé dates the letter 748. There is a long and interesting letter of Cuthbert to Lullus of Mainz on the martyrdom of his predecessor, St. Boniface, H. & S. iii. 390-394; Mon. Mog. pp. 261 ff.; also some verses by him in G. P. pp. 298, 299; cf. *ib.* 8-11, 15. That he, like other people, borrowed books, and forgot to return them, is shown by Mon. Mog. p. 268. For his death see on 758, *infra*.

Dun.

Dún] He attended the Council of Clovesho in 747 (H. & S. iii. 362), and seems to have died the same year; *r. D. C. B.* iv. 911.

Burning of
York.

741 E] Cf. S. D. 741 (ii. 38) 'Monasterium in Eboraca ciuitate succensum est ix. Kal. Maii, feria i'; *i. e.* Apr. 23, which was a Sunday in 741. The Cont. Baed. notes 'siccitas magna' under 741, which would help to account for the fire.

Synod of
Clovesho.

742 F] On this Synod of Clovesho (which must not be confused with the famous council of 747, not mentioned in the Chronicle), see H. & S. iii. 340-342; K. C. D. No. 87; Birch, i. 233-237. It is of very doubtful genuineness; and the charter said to have been granted at it is a later insertion even here. See critical note.

pp. 46, 47. 743*] Note the combination of Wessex and Mercia against the common foe.

Resigna-
tion of
Bishop
Daniel.

744*. Her Danihel gesæt] The meaning must be that Daniel resigned. Exactly the same phrase is used of the resignation of Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in 779, D, E. Yet it is hard to see how 'gesæt' can mean anything but 'resided.' I suspect that the compiler had a Latin source before him and confused between 'resedit' and 'recedit.' The latter is the word actually used by Florence here; but in 932, a passage independent of the Chron., he has 'resedit' in the sense of 'resigned,' i. 130. For 'resideo' of a bishop's occupation of his see, cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 226. On Daniel see notes to Bede, H. E. v. 18. Cyneheard, Hunferth's suc-

cessor (754-780), speaks of the latter in a letter to Lullus, 755 × 766, as 'Hunfrithus episcoporum mitissimus,' H. & S. iii. 432; Mon. Mog. p. 269.

steorran foran, E] The shooting stars are placed by S. D. ii. 38, under Shooting stars. 745: 'uisi sunt in aere ictus ignei, quales nunquam ante mortales illius aevi uiderunt; et ipsi paene per totam noctem uisi sunt, Kal. scilicet Ianuarii.'

Wilferð seo iunga] See H. E. v. 6, and notes.

746*] Selred was King of the East Saxons, Fl. Wig. i. 55. He had succeeded on the resignation of Offa. This was in 709, H. E. v. 19, notes; cf. *ib.* iii. 22; iv. 6, notes. He was succeeded by Swithred or Swithed, the date of whose death is unknown (though W. M. makes him reign till 823!). After his death the line of Essex sinks into obscurity, till the kingdom was reduced by Egbert of Wessex; v. 823, *infra*; Fl. Wig. i. 263; W. M. i. 99. It is curious that none of the Chrons. mention the famous Synod of Clovesho in 747; v. H. & S. iii. 360 ff.

748*] H. H. p. 120, makes Cynric the son of Cuthred, and gives fancy details of his being slain in a 'militaris seditio,' which Lappenberg, i. 263; E. T. i. 269, accepts as history. On the Kentish succession, see notes to Bede, H. E. v. 23; cf. Elmham, p. 321. Kings of Kent.

750*] Here again H. H. *u. s.* gives imaginary details; cf. Lappenberg, i. 264; E. T. i. 269. Ethelwerd says that the dissension was 'pro aliqua inuidia reipublicae,' p. 507.

752*] H. H. pp. 121, 122, outdoes himself in his description of the battle of Burford. It would be rash to accept it as history, as Lappenberg, *u. s.*, and, to some extent, Green, M. E. p. 396, do; though it is just possible that some of the details may be derived from some old ballad. A, B, C do not mention the result of the battle, regarding it as too well known. The battle of Burford (Oxon.), 'satis durum proelium,' Fl. Wig., is an important landmark. Mr. Green, *u. s.*, says: 'the supremacy of Mid-Britain passed for ever away.' Considering the subsequent position of Offa this is perhaps a little strong. Mr. Freeman says more temperately and more truly: 'it finally secured the independence of Wessex,' F. N. C. i. 37; cf. H. H. p. 122: 'Regnum . . . Westsexe ex hoc tempore ualde roboratum crescere usque in perfectum non destitit.' Cf. Bede, Cont. and S. D. s. a. 750. Battle of Burford.

753*] 'Post annum, ut solitus erat suae ferocitatis implere conamen arma contra Brittanos aptauit,' Ethelw. *u. s.* 'Denuo cum Britonibus pugnans, ex eis quam plurimos interfecit,' Fl. Wig.

754*] 'Cudredus, rex magnus et excelsus . . . uitam finiuit,' H. H. p. 122. The annal would be more compact if the clause '7 Sigebryht . . . gear' followed immediately after 'Cupred forþferde;' cf. Ang. Sac. i. 194, 195. Death of Cuthred.

Cyneheard] Two letters from him to Lullus are extant. In the former of these he calls himself 'indignus, ut uereor, Episcopus Wentanae ciuitatis,' and begs Lullus to send him any books either of spiritual or secular science, especially medicine, H. & S. iii. 431-433; Mon. Mog. pp. 268-270. Cyneheard. Bishop of Winchester.

In the other he thanks him for his gifts and sympathises with his troubles. The letters give a very pleasing idea of the writer, *ib.* p. 287. He signs charters, K. C. D. Nos. 103, 104 (again calling himself 'indignus episcopus'), 115; Birch, Nos. 185, 186, 200.

his mæg, D, E] 'suus propinquus Sigberctus, filius Sigerici,' Fl. Wig. i. 56.

With this year begins the chronological dislocation in the Chronicle, on which see Introduction, § 100; Theopold, p. 17. For if we add the length of Cuthred's reign, sixteen years (741 A, 740 E), to the true date of his accession, 740, we get 756 as the date of his death. The other events should probably also be transferred; nor is the mention of Cyneheard opposed to this, for, as against Dr. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 7 [p. 11, ed. 2], I believe there is no signature of Cyneheard's earlier than 757.

755*] This is the most elaborate annal which we have yet had; it is one of the most elaborate in the whole Chronicle; see Introduction, § 7, note. Its structure should be carefully noted. It first gives the accession of Cynewulf on the deposition of Sigberht. It then follows the fortunes of the latter to his slaying. It next gives the general characteristic of Cynewulf's reign, his warfare against the Britons. Then it inserts a detailed and most dramatic account of the circumstances of his death, the bare fact of which is inserted in proper chronological order, 784 below; whither Fl. Wig. and H. H. p. 127, transfer these details, which they rhetorically amplify. After this with the words '7 þy ilcan gear' the events of 755 are resumed, and Offa's pedigree appended.

Her Cynewulf benam, 7c.] In A 'beniman' is construed with the acc. of the person and gen. of the thing; so Bede, H. E. iii. 7: 'Penda . . . hine his rices benom,' p. 168; 'Persa cyning benom þone ealdormon his scire,' Oros. p. 96; in E, F it is construed with dat. of the person and acc. of the thing; in B, C, D with dat. of the person and gen. of the thing (which seems less intelligible, and to which no parallels are cited either by Bosworth or Grein). It is also found with a double accusative; cf. Bede, H. E. ii. 9: 'þæt he scolde Eadwine þone cyning . . . ge rice ge lif beneoman,' p. 122; and with acc. of person and dat. of thing, *v.* Grein, *s. v.*

Her Cynewulf . . . dædum] On the deposition of Sigberht and the general question of the right of the Witan to depose the king, see Kemble, ii. 219 ff.; F. N. C. i. 593 ff.; S. C. H. i. 136 ff.; and the passage from Ælfric given below on 946 A. This is the first time that we have had mention of the action of the witenagemót. Freeman, following Kemble, thinks that Ethelwerd shows royalist leanings here. Fl. Wig. simply says: 'auxilium [Cynewulfo] ferentibus Westsaxonice primatibus.'

op he ofslog þone aldor mon, 7c.] This alderman, as the sequel shows, was Cumbra, and was probably the master of the herd who avenged him (called Ansian, R. W. i. 234). H. H. pp. 122, 123, makes Cumbra slain by Sigberht because he remonstrated with him in the name of the people

Chrono-
logical dis-
location.

Structure
of the
annal.

Construc-
tion of
'beniman.'

Deposition
of kings
by the
Witan.

Slaying of
Cumbra.

for his misgovernment; *i.e.* he makes the murder of Cumbra precede the deposition of Sigberht. This will enable us to estimate the value of those details in H. H.'s narrative in which, says Mr. Freeman, *u. s.*, 'the legal action of the nation stands out most clearly.'

ymb . . . wiht] Note the progressive corruption of the numeral: xxxi A, B, C; xxi D; xvi E.

he wolde adræfan . . . broþur] 'seu gloria rerum elatus, . . . seu posteritati suae metuens,' W. M. i. 41. The latter is more probable. The claims of Cyneheard were no doubt dangerous. S. D. ii. 51 calls him 'perfidus tyrannus.' Cynewulf
tries to
expel Cyn-
heard.

7 þa geascode, 7c.] 'In this circumstantial narrative the reader should bear in mind the arrangements of a Saxon residence. The chief building was the *hall*, around which were grouped the other apartments, each entered from the court; the whole surrounded by a *wall* or rampart of earth, and therefore named a *burh*. The common external entrance was the *gate* (*geat*), which was an opening in the *wall*; but the entrance to any of the enclosed buildings was a door (*duru*). The description in this annal seems to imply that the residence at Merton covered a considerable area. Arrange-
ments of
a Saxon
house.

'The king was in the lady's chamber (*bur*—the "*bower*" of mediæval romance), and Cyneheard surprised him there (*hine þær berad*) by riding in unexpectedly through the outer *gate* into the court, before the king's attendants, who had retired to the hall, were aware (*ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam cyninge wærun*). Then the fight between the king and his foe takes place at the door (*duru*) of the lady's bower, and there the king was slain. And now the lady's screams had, for the first time, alarmed the king's guard in the hall. They hastened to the rescue, scorned Cyneheard's proposals, and fought till all but one were slain. Next morning the rest of the king's party came up, and found Cyneheard in occupation, and in a posture of defence (*þone æðeling on þære byrig metton*). His party had closed the outer gates (*þa gatū*), and meant to defend them. After a fruitless parley, they fought about the gates (*ymb þa gatū*) till the party inside was obliged to yield. See Mr. Wright's very interesting work, *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, p. 13.' Earle.

on wif cypþe] 'cum quadam meretrice morando,' Ethelw. p. 508.

þone bur] The note just given shows clearly that this reading of A, D, E is correct against that of B, C, 'þa burh.' Cf. Bede, H. E. iv. 31, 'cumena bur' = 'hospitale,' p. 378.

pp. 48, 49. ut rædde on hine] Cf. Bede, H. E. ii. 9: 'he rædde on þone cyning,' 'impetum fecit in regem,' p. 122, of the attempted assassination of Edwin by Eumer.

on þæs wifes gebærum] 'gebære' is 'bearing,' 'carriage'; Bede, H. E. 'gebære,' iv. 22: 'of his ondwlitan 7 on gebærum' = 'ex uultu et habitu,' p. 328; more vaguely = manners, mode of life: 'he swiðor lufade wifa gebæro þonne wæpned monna,' Oros. p. 52. Here it probably includes both gestures and

cries; and so almost exactly Oros. p. 194: 'to ðæm mæstan ege, swa hit mon on þara wæpned monna gebærum ongitan mehte.' In Layamon 'ibere' constantly means 'cries'; cf. Madden's Glossary.

swa hwelc . . . 7 radost] D and E simply omit the 7; B and C omit both the last words. The text of A is probably the most original, and was altered because a difficulty was felt; the sense is: 'they ran' thither as each was ready, and [could get there] quickest.

op hie alle lægon, A] 'till they all lay dead.' E, alone of all the MSS., has altered this impressive phrase into the conventional 'were slain.'

Disgraceful for comites to survive their lord.

That it was he'd disgraceful for members of a comitatus to survive the lord is shown by the implied excuses made for the one survivor: (a) he was only a Welshman; (b) a mere hostage; and (c) severely wounded. So of the one survivor on the Etheling's side below: (a) he was godson of the victorious commander; (b) wounded in many places; cf. Bede, H. E. iii. 14, notes.

his aldormon Osric*] 'Osred,' S. D. ii. 51.

'Self-doom.'

hiera agenne dóm] Cf. Battle of Maldon, l. 38: 'hyra sylfra dom.' This is what is called in Icelandic law 'self-doom,' 'sjálf-dæmi.' See Vigf. Dict. s. v. It was for the party to whom it was granted the most honourable termination of a feud or suit, he being allowed to fix his own damages, compensation, &c. It is found also in Irish sources, where it is probably due to Scandinavian influences; cf. LL. 111^b, 35 ff.; Customs of Hy Many, p. 12; MS. Laud Misc. 610, f. 10^a; O'Curry, Manners and Customs, iii. 37, 38; Todd, Gaedhil and Gaill, p. 118.

Want of demonstrative pronouns in English.

7 þa gebead . . . ofslogon] The poverty of the English language in demonstrative pronouns as compared with the Latin *hic, ille, is, iste, ipse* appears very strongly in this passage, and makes it very difficult to follow. I give a translation, using E to indicate the Etheling's party, who were inside the 'burh,' and K for the king's party, who were outside: 'then he (the Etheling) offered them (K) their own terms in fee and land if they would grant him the kingdom; and they [or he] (E) told them (K) that their (K) kinsmen were with them [or him] (E), and would not leave them [or him]. And then they (K) said that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord, and that they would never follow his slayer. And then they (K) offered their kinsmen that they might depart unscathed. And they (E) said that the same offer had been made to their (K) comrades, who had been with the king before. Then said they (E) that they (E) regarded it [the offer] not a whit the more than did your [or their (K)] comrades who were slain with the king. And they (K) were then fighting about the gate until they made their way in and slew the Etheling.'

The comitatus an

þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære, 7c.] The tie of the comitatus supersedes that of the kin; the comitatus forms as it were an artificial family

with its leader as 'father and lord.' So the monastery is an artificial family, and the terms 'familia' in Latin and 'híwan,' 'híred,' in AS. are constantly applied to it; cf. Ducange and Bosworth-Toller, *s. vv.* It is noteworthy that in Irish the word 'muintir,' which is used both of the monastic family and of the secular comitatus, though *more frequently of the latter*, is simply the Latin word 'monasterium.'

his banan] 'bana,' 'slayer,' is a perfectly neutral word, and must not be translated by 'murderer' or any word connoting criminality. A man who slays another in self-defence, or in righteous execution of the law, is still his 'bane.' Ethelwerd translates: 'nec praesenti uultu exequias eius sectari ualemus'; *i.e.* he confused between 'bana,' slayer, and 'bán,' bone (the two words occur in juxtaposition 979 D, E). This may give some measure of Ethelwerd's qualifications as a translator.

eowre geferan, A] This sudden return to the 'oratio directa,' so characteristic of antique narration, and especially frequent in the Icelandic sagas, is preserved in A and C alone. So they and D have preserved the unusual word 'fulgon' below, for which B has substituted 'wurdon' and E the singularly unhappy 'flugon'; unless this is a mere slip; cf. Oros. p. 38: 'þæt hi him fram fulgen.'

Return to oratio directa.

god sunu*] 'filius de baptismo,' Ethelw. p. 508; 'filiolus,' H. H. p. 128. The alderman is of course Osric; though H. H. wrongly makes the survivor Cyneheard's godson.

ricsode .xxxi. wiñt] This would bring his death to 786, and so S. D. ii. 51. Below it is entered under 784; 786 is correct, but as the true date of Cynewulf's accession is 757, the length of his reign was xxix (so ASN. rightly), not xxxi years, Theopold, pp. 28-30.

Length of Cynewulf's reign.

py ilcan geare] *i.e.* 755 (757), not the year of Cynewulf's death. The murder of Æthelbald (see H. E. v. 23, notes), 'a suis tutoribus [gnards] noctu fraudulenter preemptus,' and the accessions of Beornred and Offa are all placed by Cont. Baed. and S. D. ii. 41, in 757. Offa's accession has been assigned to 758, for the Synod of Cealchythe in 789 is dated 'anno xxxi regni Offan,' H. & S. iii. 465; K. C. D. No. 156; Birch, No. 256. But if Offa succeeded late in 757, and was only crowned in 758, 789 might still be his thirty-first year, dating from his coronation. S. D. ii. 41, 58, is in favour of 757, but the matter is uncertain, Theopold, pp. 50, 51.

Murder of Æthelbald.

Hreopa dune] 'quod erat tunc coenobium nobile, nunc ut audiui pauco uel nullo incolitur habitatore,' W. M. i. 43; 'tunc temporis famosum monasterio; nunc est uilla comitis Cestrensis, cuius gloria pro situ uetustatis exoleta,' *ib.* 264; cf. G. P. p. 298. F, wrongly, makes him slain at Repton.

Monastery of Repton.

he rixade .xli. wintra, E] He came to the throne in 716, *v. s.* So this again brings his death to 757.

Length of Æthelbald's reign.

Beornræd feng to rice, A] 'heres Adelbaldi,' says F, Lat. But Fl. Wig. distinctly speaks of him as a usurper: 'regnum Beornredus tyrannus inuasit, . . . quo mortuo successit . . . Offa,' i. 56; cf. R. W. i. 234.

Beornred.

D, E, F only say that he was banished; A, B, C are silent as to his fate. As a matter of fact he survived his deposition twelve years, S. D. ii. 44: '769. Ceterecte [Catterick, Bede, H. E. ii. 14, 20; iii. 14, and notes] succensa est a Bearnredo [the editors wrongly print 'ab Earnredo'] tyranno, et ipse infelix eodem anno incendio periiit, Dei iudicio'; cf. R. W. i. 239. Mr. Freeman points out the curious little fact that when Matthew Paris wants a tyrant with whom to compare Harold, he chooses Beornred, the rival of his own monastic founder, Offa, F. N. C. iii. 631. On the so-called life of Offa, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 498, 499; Theopold, pp. 112 ff.

p. 50. his sunu Egferp] See below on 784.

Eanwulf Osmoding] He is mentioned by Offa as the founder of Bredon Monastery, in a genuine charter, K. C. D. No. 138; Birch, No. 234; cf. Bede II. 341. Offa himself, before his accession, was connected with the Hwiccas, Birch, No. 183.

Abdication
of Ead-
berht.

p. 51. 757 E] The Cont. Baed. and S. D. ii. 41, place Eadberht's resignation in 758 (which is right, see on 737 above), and the murder of Oswulf in 759. S. D. says that the other English kings implored Eadberht not to resign, and offered him concessions of territory to induce him to alter his resolution, i. 49. W. M. quotes Alcuin's letters to show 'quam cito post mortem Egberti [*lege* Edberti] regnum Northanhimbrorum propter pernicitiam malorum morum pessum ierit,' i. 72. H. H. praises him as the eighth English king 'qui regna sua pro Christo sponte dimisit,' p. 124.

Murder of
Oswulf.

hine ofslogon his hiwan] 'a suis ministris facinorose occisus est,' Cont. Baed.; 'occisus est nequiter a sua familia iuxta Mechil [*better*, Methel, as S. D. ii. 376] Wongtune ix Kal. Augusti,' S. D. ii. 41; cf. i. 49. The same place-name occurs in the Vita Anon. Cudb. § 35 (Baedae Opp. Min. p. 278), in a corrupted form. It is probably Market Weighton. It means the 'town of the field of discussion'; cf. the Frankish Mallus.

Burial of
Archbishop
Cuthbert.

pp. 50, 51. 758*] For Cuthbert see above on 741. Fl. Wig. gives the day of his death, Oct. 26; the true year is 760, Theopold, p. 34. He was the first archbishop to be buried in Christ Church, and not at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The monks of the former concealed his illness and death until the interment was over. The same trick was played when Bregwine died. The Augustinian view may be read in Thorn, cc. 1772 ff.; Elmham, pp. 317, 318; cf. Ang. Sac. i. 3, 83, 85; ii. 186; Hardy, Cat. i. 483, 484; Liebermann, p. 61; *infra*, 763, 790, notes.

Bregwine.

759*] The true date of Bregwine's consecration is 761. He died August, 764. His successor, Iaenberht, was consecrated Feb. 2, 765 = Chron. 763 A, B, C, 762 D, E, F; v. Theopold, pp. 32-34. From a letter of Bregwine to Lullus it appears that they had previously been in Rome together. He excuses his delay in writing because of 'plurimae ac diuersae inquietudines apud nos,' H. & S. iii. 398, 399; Mon. Mog. pp. 277-279. A life of him by Eadmer is in Ang. Sac. ii. 184 ff. It

contains nothing of value; cf. Hardy, *Cat.* i. 483, 484; Theopold, pp. 32, 33.

Moll **Æðelwold**, E] S. D. ii. 41 dates his accession August 5, 759. Note that the dates in D, E, which are taken from northern sources, do not require correction. The *Cont. Baed.* under 759 says: 'Edilualdus a sua plebe electus,' which suggests that he was not the next in succession. If he was the 'quidam patricius . . . Moll nomine' to whom Eadberht gave the confiscated monasteries mentioned above, note to 737, it would seem that he was Eadberht's brother, H. & S. iii. 395, 396. In his second year there was a great plague, *Baed. Cont.* He married in 762 Æthelthryth, S. D. ii. 42, who afterwards became an abbess, and received one of Alcuin's usual hortatory epistles, *Mon. Alc.* pp. 274-277. She was the mother of Ethelred, King of Northumbria, 774-779, 790-796, on whose death Alcuin wrote her another epistle, *ib.* 297-299.

7 hit þa forlet] See below on 765 E.

760*. **Æpelbryht** . . . forþferde] See Bede, H. E. v. 23, notes. The true date is 762, Theopold, p. 36.

Ceolwulf . . . forðferde, E] 'non hic obiit, sed hinc abiit,' says H. H. very beautifully, p. 125. S. D. places his death in 764, ii. 43. The Welsh annals place in 760 a battle between the Saxons and Britons at Hereford; cf. Taylor, *Cotswold*, p. 20.

761*] 'The mickle winter' lasted from December, 763, to March, 764. Accordingly some foreign Chronicles give it under 763, Pertz, i. 144, 145; others under 764, *ib.* i. 10, 11; iii. 116*; as does S. D. *u. s.*, adding: 'cuius ui arbores oleraque magna ex parte aruerunt, ac marina animalia multa inuenta sunt mortua,' ii. 42; cf. *Ann. Ult.* 763, which in the following year note 'defectio panis.' Then, as now, a hard winter caused many disastrous fires, S. D. *u. s.*

Moll . . . of sloh **Oswine**, E] As to the date S. D. *u. s.* agrees with the *Chron.* August 6, 761. The place was 'iuxta Eldunum,' and a rather later hand has added 'secus Melrose'; *i. e.* the Eildon Hills; cf. Robertson, E. K. S., i. 26. 'Eadwines clif' may be a 'volks etymologie' for 'Eldunes clif'; in which case the last part of the name would, as often, translate the first part; 'aildun' in Gaelic meaning 'rock-fort.' The name Oswine suggests a member of the Northumbrian royal family (cf. Bede's beautiful sketch of an earlier Oswine, equally a victim of dynastic feuds, H. E. iii. 14). Fl. Wig. calls him 'clito nobilissimus'; H. H. 'fortissimus ducum suorum.' He says that he fought 'iure gentium spreto,' and fell 'iure Dei,' p. 125; cf. R. W. i. 237. But there are no means of knowing the rights of the case. Gaimar misunderstands the passage, v. 1969.

763 A, B, C, 762 D, E, F] If Bregwin died in the autumn of 764, *Iaenberht v. s.*, the fortieth day after mid-winter (Candlemas Day, as the annotator of C rightly says) must be February 2, 765, which was not a Sunday

in 765, though it was in 766, a fact which has been thought to favour that year. The festival, however, 'Maria purificante,' may have been considered sufficient; cf. H. & S. iii. 403. The mistake 'Eadbriht' in B, C, repeated by C in 764, is probably due to the recent mention of Eadberht of Northumbria. It is less likely to be due to a confusion with Eadberht, who succeeded Totta as Bishop of the Mercians in 764, S. D. ii. 42. Iænberht had been Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Fl. Wig.; G. P. p. 15. Thorn says that the Christ Church monks elected Iænberht to prevent him from appealing to Rome on the burials question, c. 1773.

Bishops of
Whitern.

æt Witerne, E] On Whitern or Candida Casa see Bede, H. E. iii. 4, notes. According to the data here given Frithewald's consecration at York would be fixed to Aug. 15, 734 (not Aug. 14, 735, as H. & S. iii. 335. Osric died May 9, 729, H. E. v. 23. The sixth year of Ceowulf is therefore from May, 734, to May, 735. August of that year is August, 734. xviii Kal. Sept. is Aug. 15, and that was a Sunday in 734). If he sat full twenty-nine years this would bring his death to May 7, 764. But probably May, 763, in his twenty-ninth year, is meant, for July 17, the day on which Pehtwine was consecrated, was a Sunday in 763 and not in 764. S. D. places this succession under 764, but only vaguely, 'his temporibus.' There is, however, one serious objection to the above scheme, viz. that the Cont. Baed. connects the consecration both of Frithewald and Fritheberht with the reception of the pallium by Egbert, and all authorities seem agreed that this was not till 735. The matter, therefore, must be left uncertain. See on 766.

Ælfet ee] This does not seem to be known; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 280 suggests Elmet, but the form is against this. It may be Elvet, which now forms part of Durham, and occurs in the Lib. Vit. Dun. as Æluet, Eluet, pp. 75, 120.

764 A. onfeng pallium] 'a papa Paulo Stephani papae sui praedecessoris germano,' Fl. Wig. The true date is probably 766, Theopold, p. 42.

Abdication
of Moll
Æthelwold,
succession
of Alhred.

765 E. Her feng Alhred] Viz. on the cession of Moll Æthelwold, above, 759 E; cf. S. D. 765: 'Ethelwald regnum Northanhymbrorum amisit in Wincanheale, iii Kal. Nov.' (ii. 43, i. e. at Finchale, Oct. 30); cf. *ib.* 376. Tigh. 764, says: 'Moll ri Saxon, [rex Saxonum] clericus efficitur.' This was probably involuntary, to judge from the language of the Chron. and S. D.; cf. 'ins'diis Alcredi occubuit,' W. M. i. 74. Finchale was a common place of meeting for Northumbrian gemóts, *infra*, 788; S. D. ii. 59; H. & S. iii. 444; so that there may have been some form of deposition. Fl. Wig. says: 'Moll regnum . . . dimisit et Alhredus filius Eanwini successit qui fuit Byrnhom, qui fuit Bofa, qui fuit Bleacman, qui fuit Ealric, qui fuit Idae.' This might at first suggest that Florence used some form of Chronicle different from any of ours, but he probably incorporated the pedigree from his own genealogies, i. 254, 255. S. D. seems rather to distrust it: 'Alcred prosapia Idae regis exortus, ut quidam

dicunt, ii. 43; *sed vide*, i. 49. Alchred is the king to whom St. Willehad applied for leave to go and evangelise the Saxons and Frisians, which leave was granted in a Northumbrian Council, H. & S. iii. 433; Pertz, ii. 380. There is a letter from him and his wife, Osgeofu, to Lullus of Mainz, Mon. Mog. pp. 284, 285, which shows that he had sent an embassy to Charlemagne on the latter's accession in 768. Alchred married in 768, S. D. ii. 44, where his wife is called Osgearn. The two names might be easily confused. There is an Osgeofu at the end of the list of 'Reginae et Abbatissae' in the Lib. Vit. Eccl. Dun. f. 14^b.

eahta winter] D reads viiii. If Moll was deposed Oct. 765, and Alchred was expelled Easter 774, his reign would be about eight and a half years. Length of his reign.

766 E. Ecgberht ærceþ. See above, 734 E, and references there given. Egbert of York. The length of his tenure, thirty-six years, is clearly wrong; D is yet wider of the mark, giving thirty-seven years. This may warn us not to rely too much on these numbers.

Friþeberht in Hagustaldes éé] He died Dec. 23, 766, according to S. D. ii. 43, in the thirty-second year of his episcopate. In this S. D. is inconsistent with himself, for he places his accession on Sept. 8, 734, ii. 31. (So Ric. Hex. p. 37.) D and E give him thirty-four years (the xxxiii of my E text is an unfortunate misprint); cf. H. H. p. 125; Mem. Hex. I. xxxv, 37, 199, 200. The connexion of this consecration also with the reception of the pallium by Egbert (*v. s.* on 763) is in favour of 735. Here no help is to be got from the days of the week, for Sept. 8 was not a Sunday in 734 or 735, though it was in 737. That it is the Nativity of the Virgin may have been considered sufficient. On the relics of Fritheberht and his successor Alchmund, see Mem. Hex. i. 195-200. Fritheberht of Hexham.

man ge halgode] Ethelbert of York, Egbert's successor, and Alchmund were both consecrated on April 24, 767, S. D. ii. 43; Ric. Hex. p. 37; which was not a Sunday in that year, though it was in 768. Ethelbert of York.

Æþelberht] The chief authority for the life of Archbishop Ethelbert is Alcuin's poem De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1393-1595. He gives him the highest character. While quite young he was placed in the monastic school of York under Archbishop Egbert, who was his relative. He must therefore have been connected with the royal family of Northumbria. Egbert made him 'defensor cleri'¹ and master of the monastic school, where he taught grammar, rhetoric, (canon) law, versification, astronomy, natural history, the paschal rules, but especially the Scriptures. Like Benedict Biscop he made many voyages abroad (including one, at least, to Rome), collecting

¹ I find this term nowhere explained. My friend, Mr. R. L. Poole, thinks that it means a trustee and guardian of the property of the church, like the 'defensor ciuitatis,'

who was a sort of public guardian and official trustee. Analogous ecclesiastical officers were established by the Council of Carthage in 405.

books and learning. Alcuin himself was one of his pupils (*v.* 1394, 'proprii magistri'; cf. the passage cited below from Alcuin's letter to Eanbald II).

His resignation.

In 766 he was made archbishop, 'compulsus . . . populo rogitante,' *vv.* 1466 f. He received the pallium from Adrian I in 773, *S. D.* ii. 45; *Reg. Pont.* p. 205. He rebuilt the cathedral after its destruction in 741 (*Chron. D, E*; *Sim. Dun. ad ann.*), Alcuin and Eanbald superintending the work. On his retirement, two years and two months before his death, *vv.* 1520 ff., the latter succeeded him as archbishop, the former as master of the school (which Ethelbert seems to have superintended even after his elevation to the see, *vv.* 1479-1482) and as librarian of the library, which he had largely increased, if not founded, and of which a list, the earliest existing catalogue of an English library, is given, *vv.* 1535-1561; cf. Alcuin to his pupil Eanbald II, congratulating him on having been called 'laborare . . . in ecclesia ubi ego nutritus et eruditus fueram, et praeesse thesauris sapientiae [*i. e.* the library] in quibus me magister meus dilectus Aelbertus archiepiscopus haeredem reliquit,' *H. & S.* iii. 501; *Mon. Alc.* p. 331. The fact of his resignation is seen in *S. D. s. a.* 780: 'Alberht . . . migrauit . . . Eanbaldo, *se adhuc uiuente* . . . ordinato,' ii. 47; cf. *H. Y.* ii. 336; also in *Chron. D, s. a.* 779: 'Æpelberht forðferde . . . in þæs steal Eanbald wæs ær gehalgod.' E, by omitting the little word 'ær,' has obliterated this important fact. *Fl. Wig.* ignores it also, and places Ethelbert's death in 781. *S. D.*'s date, 780, is right; so *Ann. Lind.* Alcuin (*vv.* 1582 ff.) says that he died at noon on Nov. 8, in the fourteenth year from his consecration, *i. e.* from April 24, 767. His retirement, therefore, would fall in 778. (I do not share Canon Raine's view, *ut infra*, that the Chroniclers have mistaken the date of his retirement for that of his death, though it receives some support from *H. Y.* ii. 336. Of course, if his consecration be dated 768, his retirement would fall in 779, and his death in 781.) Alcuin's lament over his death is genuine and sincere; cf. especially *vv.* 1589-1591:

'Te sine nos ferimur turbata per aequora mundi,
Te duce deserti uariis inuoluimur undis,
Incerti qualem mereamur tangere portum.'

Cf. also the Life of Alcuin, cc. 1-5, in *Pertz*, xv. 186 ff; *Mon. Alc.* pp. 1 ff. There is a letter of Lullus of Mainz to him, with his answer, in *H. & S.* iii. 435-437; *Mon. Mog.* pp. 288, 290, 291. From these it appears that he had another name, Coena, which is also the name under which he occurs in Florence's lists, i. 245. See Raine's article on him in *D. C. B.* ii. 217, 218. A late writer says that he was buried 'in Burgh,' *i. e.* Peterborough, *H. Y.* ii. 473, but I know no good authority for this. It is, perhaps, a confusion of Coena with Cynsige; see 1060 D.

Death of Eadberht.

768 E] *S. D.* agrees with D against E as to the day of Eadberht's death: 'Eadberht . . . decimo anno amissionis regni sui in clericatu . . .

apud Eboracum feliciter spiritum emisit ad superos, xiii Kal. Sept.' [Aug. 20]. So Fl. Wig.

769 E] On these Latin Carolingian annals in E, see Introduction, §§ 43, 44. The true date is 768.

772*. **Milred bisċ]** Of Worcester. The date is wrong, as he certainly signs charters as late as 774, Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* pp. 6, 170 [pp. 11, 232, 2nd ed.]. Fl. Wig. places his death in 775, and this, as possibly embodying local knowledge, is entitled to weight, so the matter must be left uncertain; Theopold argues for 774, pp. 36, 94. He succeeded Wilfrid in 743, Fl. Wig., possibly in the lifetime of the latter. Other authorities give 744, 745. There is a letter (cited on 741) from him to Lullus of Mainz, on the death of St. Boniface, dated 755. It shows that in the previous year he had been with Boniface and Lullus, *Mon. Mog.* pp. 267, 268. He was present at the Council of Clovesho in 747, *H. & S.* iii. 360; and his name occurs in various charters, both genuine and spurious, which are of considerable interest; *v. D. C. B.* iii. 915, 916.

773 A, 774 E] Fl. Wig. and S. D. place these events in 774.

Alhred, E] 'Alcredus rex consilio et consensu suorum omnium regiae familiae ac principum destitutus societate, exilio imp̄rii mutavit maiestatem. Primo in urbem Bebban postea ad regem Pictorum nomine Cynoht [Kenneth] cum paucis fugae comitibus secessit,' *S. D.* ii. 45; cf. i. 49 f.; *S. C. S.* i. 301. The phrase 'consilio et consensu suorum' suggests a formal deposition by the Witan. So *F. N. C.* i. 593, 594. In i. 49, *S. D.* speaks of Alhred as exiled 'fraude suorum primatum'; the two statements are not incompatible. Besides the son Osred, who succeeded in 788 or 789 (*infra*), Alhred had another son, Alchmund, who was put to death by Eardwulf in 800, *ib.* ii. 63. Alhred's successor is called Ethelbert by Fl. Wig. i. 58, 59; while *W. M.* combines the two names: 'Ethelbertus qui et Adelredus,' i. 74; so the pedigree in Fl. Wig. i. 255. On his expulsion, restoration, marriage, and death, *v. infra*, 778, 790, 792, 794.

æt Ottan forda*] According to *H. H.* p. 126, the battle of Otford was a brilliant victory for the Mercians under Offa; *v. note*. Otford is in Holmesdale, near Sevenoaks. There is a description and history of the place in *Cassell's Family Magazine*, vii. 587 ff. Many skeletons with weapons lying near them have been discovered in the neighbourhood.

wunderleca nædran] Gaimar gives marvellous details as to these, *v.* 1993 ff.

776 E] *S. D.* and Fl. Wig. place the death of Pehtwine in 777, *R. W.* in 778, i. 242. We have seen that his consecration was most likely in 763, and both the *Chron.* and *S. D.* give him an episcopate of fourteen years. On the other hand, both the *Chron.* and Fl. Wig. place the consecration of his successor on June 15. This was a Sunday in 777, but not in 778; and this is in favour of 776 as the date of Pehtwine's death.

777*] Fl. Wig. places all these events in 778. *R. W.* places the battle

Milred,
Bishop of
Worcester.

Alchred
exiled.

Succession
of Ethelred
or Ethel-
bert.

Battle of
Otford.

Death of
Pehtwine.

of Benson in 779, which agrees with the usual dislocation of the chronology, i. 243. The battle is not mentioned in ASN.; cf. Chron. Ab. i. 8, 14.

Capture of Benson by Offa. Benesing tūn] See on 571. It now becomes permanently Mercian, H. & S. iii. 130. On this occasion Offa, 'infestus praedo,' took away certain townships from the monastery of Malmesbury, G. P. p. 388.

Ethelbert of Whitern and Hexham. man gehalgode Æðelberht, E] See note on 776. Ethelbert became Bishop of Hexham in 789, S. D. ii. 53; assisted at the consecration of Bishop Baldwulf 791, *infra* (790 S. D.); at the coronation of Eardwulf in 795, *infra* (796 S. D. ii. 58); and at the consecration of Eanbald II, 796, *infra*, and S. D. u. s. He died in 797, *infra*; cf. Mem. Hex. i. 40, 41. There is a letter of Alcuin to him when Bishop of Hexham, urging him and his monks to study and teach, Mon. Alc. pp. 374, 375.

Monastic lease. p. 52. On pas kinges dæi Offa, E] Another of the Peterborough insertions. We reach the lowest point when we have a lease of monastic lands embodied in a national chronicle.

Abbot Beonna. an abbot . . . Beonne] Beonna was at the Council of Clovesho, 803, K. C. D. No. 1024; Birch, No. 312. He may be the Beonna who became Bishop of Hereford in 823, Stubbs in Archaeological Journal, 1861, p. 206. anes nihtes feorme] On this, see Maitland, Domesday, pp. 318 ff.

Ceolwulf] Bishop of Lindsey.

p. 53. Inwona] or Unwona, Bishop of Leicester.

Brorda. Brordan] Brorda, alderman of Mercia. He was present at the legatine synod of 787, H. & S. iii. 461; D. C. B. i. 339; and signs many charters. According to S. D. he was also called Hildegils, and died in 799, ii. 62. A papal privilege to Woking, also from a Peterborough source, is in H. & S. iii. 276, 277.

Slaughter of three High Reeves. 778 E] S. D. gives Sept. 29 as the date of the slaughter of these 'tres duces.' His words are: 'rege praecipiente fraude necati,' and he connects with this event the expulsion of Ethelred, which he places in 779. H. H. represents them as defeated in two great battles, p. 126. The preposition 'æt' (see the Glossary, s. v.) need not mean that the slaughters were done at those places, but only that the slaughtered reeves belonged to them. Gaimar calls them 'treis vescontes,' v. 2012. The word 'héahgeréfa' occurs 779 E, 1001 A, 1002 E. It is only found once in the laws, Thorpe, i. 186; Schmid, p. 396; a passage which merely gives his wergild, and throws no light on his functions. Kemble (Saxons, ii. 156, 157) thinks that he was an occasional officer specially commissioned, and not part of the regular machinery of government.

Ælfwold or Æthelwold. Alfwold . . . Æðelred] Ælfwold, who superseded Ethelred, was a son of Oswulf (cf. *supra*, 757), S. D. i. 50; ii. 47. He calls him 'rex pius et iustus'; cf. 'eximius rex,' ii. 52; 'amicus Dei,' H. H. p. 129. He summoned a Northumbrian synod to confer with the papal legates sent by Adrian I; see 785, *infra*, note; H. & S. iii. 448, 459, 461. He is men-

tioned in a letter of Alcuin's, *ib.* 493; Mon. Alc. p. 181. He is sometimes called Æthelwold; S. D. uses both names indiscriminately, i. 50; ii. 391. For 'on lande' we should read 'of.' The error is also in D.

x. winter] This would bring his death to 788; and so S. D. Below it is given under 789 E.

pp. 52, 53. 780 A, 779 E] The battle between the Franks and Saxons was in 782, Pertz, i. 162-165; Theopold, p. 20.

on .ix. ð Iaŋr., E] S. D. agrees with E against D as to the day of the burning of Beorn, 'patricius regis,' *viz.* Dec. 24; as to the year he agrees with A, *viz.* 780. H. H. imagines a reason for the slaughter: 'quia rigidior aequo extiterat,' p. 127. Burning of Beorn.

Æðelberht erceb] On his death and previous resignation, see on 766, *supra*.

Eanbald] Eanbald I; see on him 766, *supra*; D. C. B. ii. 11. He was present at the northern legatine synod, H. & S. iii. 459; and at the crowning of Eardwulf, 795, *infra*; 796, S. D. Eanbald I.

Cynebald b] A mistake for Cynewulf (D), caused by the preceding *Eanbald*; followed by F and H. H. On Cynewulf of Lindisfarne, see above, 737, note. To this Cynewulf some have assigned the poems which bear that enigmatic name, Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 149 ff. Cynewulf of Lindisfarne.

ge sæt] 'resigned,' see on 744: 'Higbaldo gubernacula ecclesiae cum electione totius familiae commisit,' S. D. ii. 47; i. 50; Ann. Lindisf. Both these authorities place his resignation in 780. The phrase has misled H. H., who translates it 'factus est episcopus.' For Cynewulf's death, see *infra*, 782 E; S. D. *u. s.* His resignation.

780 E. Alchmund] For his consecration, *v. s.* on 766. Fl. Wig. places his death in 779, S. D. in 782, and inserts a legend about his relics, ii. 47-50. So Ric. Hex. i. 37. Alchmund.

Tilberht] He was consecrated at a place called Wolfswell, S. D. ii. 50; assisted (with Higbald) at the consecration of Aldwulf, Bishop of Mayo, at Corbridge, 786, *ib.* 51; and died in 789, *ib.* 53; cf. Mem. Hex. I. xxxvi, xxxviii, 37, 40. He is not mentioned again in the Chron. Tilberht.

Higbald] His consecration is placed by Fl. Wig. and S. D. in 779 and 781 respectively. On his relations with Alcuin, see on 793, *infra*. Higbald.

Ælfwold . . . sende man . . . to Rome] In order to obtain the sense required we must take 'man' as an accusative. This, though unusual, does occur; cf. 'gif hund mon toslite,' Thorpe, Laws, i. 78; Schmid, p. 84. This 'man' so indefinitely mentioned, who was sent to Rome for Eanbald's pallium, was no other than the famous Alcuin. And the mission proved of European importance; for it was on his return from this mission that he met Charlemagne at Parma (Spring 781), and received from him the invitation which he accepted in 782; thus becoming the organiser of Frankish education, Mon. Alc. p. 17. This was not his first meeting with Charles: 'nouerat enim eum, qui olim a magistro suo [Archbp. Ethelbert] Alcuin sent to Rome.

ad ipsum directus fuerat,' Vita Alc. c. 6. He had also as a youth been at Rome with Ethelbert, and this journey is alluded to in his letters: 'dum ego adolescens Romam perrexi,' Mon. Alc. p. 458; cf. *ib.* 399, 835; Dümmler, Poetae Aevi Carol. i. 160, 161, 201.

Werburg. 782 E] Werburg 'quondam regina Merciorum, tunc vero abbatissa,' S. D. ii. 50. She was the daughter of Wulfhere and Eormengild, and married her first cousin Ceolred, Fl. Wig. i. 252, 265; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 421-423. But, as Wulfhere died in 675, this would make her over a hundred. Even the statement of the Chron. makes her survive her husband sixty-six years.

Aclea. Aclea] Raine would identify this with Aycliffe, near Darlington, Mem. Hex. i. 38-40; while H. & S. would place it in the South; this seems to be right; see the passage cited on 851, *infra*.

Death of Cynewulf of Wessex. 784*] Here, in chronological order, comes the mention of the death of Cynewulf, the story of which has been given in 755; *v.* note *a. l.* By S. D. this event is placed in 786 (so Liebermann, p. 62), and that is the correct date; cf. Hoveden, I. xcii. One of the last acts of Cynewulf was to hold a conference with Offa and the papal legates sent by Adrian I, whose coming is mentioned in the next annal, H. & S. iii. 443, 447, 454, 461. There is a letter of Cynewulf to Lullus of Mainz, *ib.* 439 f.; Mon. Mog. pp. 306, 307.

Accession of Berht-ric. to Cerdice] According to Chron. Ab. i. 15, he was brother to Cynewulf. Yet he and all the kings since Ine 'non parum a linea regiae stirpis exorbitauerant,' W. M. i. 43. For the phrase, see notes on A's genealogical Preface, p. 1, *supra*.

To pysan timan, a] Note the Kentish addition of a and F; and for the significance of it, see p. 71, *infra*.

Botwine, Abbot of Ripon. 785 E. Botwine . . . Hripum] His death is placed in 786, by S. D.; he was succeeded by Aldberht, who died the following year, and was succeeded by Sigred, ii. 50, 51; 788, *infra*. There is a letter from Botwine to Lullus of Mainz in Mon. Mog. p. 295. On the significance of these Ripon entries, see Introduction, § 67.

Cealchythe. æt Ceal hype*] 'There seems no reasonable doubt that Cealchythe is Chelsea,' H. & S. iii. 445; see, however, another theory cited on 822, *infra*.

Division of the province of Canterbury. Iænbryht . . . forlet sumne dæl, 7c.] Gaimar states the fact from the other side: 'Donc fu . . . a Hibald [*lege* Hibert] croce done,' *v.* 2056; *i. e.* the archiepiscopal cross, instead of the episcopal crozier. Fl. Wig. understates the loss of Canterbury by translating 'sumne dæl' by 'modicam portionem.' According to W. M., Canterbury only retained four suffragans, London, Winchester, Rochester, Selsey, i. 85, 86. But this seems to be an error on the opposite side.

This invasion of the rights of Canterbury naturally caused much 'geffit.' In G. P. p. 16, Malmesbury asserts that the Pope was bribed; and the promise of a yearly tribute of 365 mancusses made by Offa to the papal legates,

H. & S. iii. 445, may have had much to do with the result. The new province only lasted a short time; Leo III in 802 restored the rights of Canterbury, and this was confirmed in the Council of Clovesho, 803; *ib.* 536-544, 446.

The aim of Offa in setting up the archbishopric of Lichfield was to make Mercia independent, ecclesiastically as well as politically. At this time it looked as if the union of the English was to come from Mercia. Egbert of Wessex, who ultimately achieved it, was at this time an exile at the court of Offa, whence he was expelled two years later, in consequence of the marriage of his rival Berhtric to Offa's daughter Eadburg, *infra*, 787; and took refuge at the Frankish court, W. M. i. 105. Offa is styled 'Rex Anglorum,' K. C. D. Nos. 121-123, 134; Birch, Nos. 213, 214, 216, 226; 'Offa rex et decus Britanniae,' *ib.* No. 293; K. C. D. No. 1020. So Alcuin writes to Offa: 'uos estis decus Britanniae, tuba praedicationis, gladius contra hostes, scutum contra inimicos,' Mon. Alc. p. 265; cf. H. H. p. 124.

pp. 54, 55. from Offan . . . gecoren] On ecclesiastical appointments, cf. F. N. C. ii. 571 ff. He seems to me, however, to lay too exclusive stress on the action of the royal power.

Egferþ to cyninge gehalgod] This coronation of Egferth in the lifetime of Offa is an interesting fact. H. H. makes him under-king of Kent, p. 128; Lappenberg, of the Hwiccas, i. 244; E. T. i. 237. But in charters he distinctly signs as 'Rex Merciorum,' K. C. D. Nos. 152, 165; Birch, Nos. 253, 257; cf. H. & S. iii. 446; Theopold, p. 98. Elsewhere he signs as 'clito,' Birch, No. 272; or 'filius regis,' *ib.* Nos. 269, 274; K. C. D. Nos. 164, 167. He was evidently a prince of high promise, a sort of young Marcellus. Alcuin writes to Offa: 'saluta . . . nobilissimum iuuenem, et diligenter eum in Dei erudi timore, et non pereat spes multorum in eo,' Mon. Alc. p. 292. He exhorts Egferth himself to virtue, and says: 'Disce . . . a patre auctoritatem, a matre [Cynethryth] pietatem,' *ib.* 266, 267; cf. W. M. i. 93, 94. Professor Earle has a very interesting theory that the Beowulf in its present form was composed as a sort of 'De Regimine Principum' for Egferth. See his Translation, Introd. part iii.

in ðas tid, 7c., E] The coming of the papal legates is mentioned only by D, E, F; it is rightly placed in 786 by S. D.; cf. Hoveden, I. xciv. The legates were George, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi. Their report to the Pope is in H. & S. iii. 447-461. From this we can trace their movements. They went first to Iaenberht, Archbishop of Canterbury; then to Offa. They next held a preliminary conference with Cynewulf and Offa; and as Cynewulf died in 786 this further fixes their coming to that year, Theopold, pp. 37 ff. After this, Theophylact went to Mercia and Wales, while George went to Northumbria. By agreement with King Ælfwold and Archbishop Eanbald, a synod of the northern province was held, at which certain decrees were passed and signed. The legates then proceeded to Mercia, where a synod of the southern province was held, and the same decrees were passed and signed after being read 'tam Latine

Position of
Mercia
under Offa.

Coronation
of Egferth.

Coming of
the Papal
Legates.

Legatine
Synods.

quam *Teutonice*.' Two questions are raised: (a) is the northern legatine synod to be identified with the Synod of Finchale, entered below at 788 (Sept.), and by S. D., more correctly, at 787? (b) is the southern legatine synod to be identified with the 'contentious synod' of Cealchythe earlier in this annal? H. & S. would answer both these questions in the affirmative, iii. 445, 446. At first sight it seems difficult to believe that the Chron. would place the southern legatine synod three years before the northern, when it was really subsequent to it. We must remember, however, (1) that only the later Chronicles D, E, F mention the Synod of Finchale; (2) that they have placed it a year too late (*v. s.*); (3) that for the Synod of Cealchythe the usual correction of two years has to be made. These corrections would bring both the synods of Cealchythe and Finchale within the year 787, and, therefore, the view of H. & S. that they are respectively the southern and northern legatine synods cannot be pronounced impossible. Theopold, however, argues that the northern legatine synod took place before the end of 786, and is not identical with that of Finchale, pp. 37-40, and I am inclined to agree with him. H. H. clearly identifies the Synod of Cealchythe with the southern legatine synod, p. 128; he says nothing about the northern synod. I cannot attach much weight to Grubitz' argument for putting the southern legatine synod in 788 on the strength of K. C. D. No. 153; Birch, No. 254. This only proves that a synod was held at Cealchythe in 788, not that it was the legatine synod. Another synod was held there in 789; see below.

Berhtic, the new King of Wessex, does not seem to have been present at the southern synod; anyhow he does not sign the decrees. Perhaps, though too weak to oppose, he was unwilling to agree to the spoliation of Canterbury. Two years later his marriage with Offa's daughter sealed for a time the dependence of Wessex on Mercia. Higberht signs the southern legatine synod merely as bishop. He could not assume the archiepiscopal style till he received the pallium from Rome. This he seems to have done in 788, as he signs one charter of that year as bishop, and another as archbishop, H. & S. *u. s.*; while in 789 a synod was held at Cealchythe 'praesidentibus duobus archiepiscopis Iamberhto . . . et Hygeberhto,' K. C. D. No. 156; Birch, No. 256.

Marriage
of Berht-
ric and
Eadburg.

787*] On the significance of the marriage of Berhtic and Eadburg, *v. s.* The true date is probably 789, H. & S. iii. 463. According to Asser, copied by S. D. ii. 66, 67, Eadburg was a very Jezebel, and in poisoning a favourite of her husband poisoned him also, M. H. B. p. 471. But all this sounds very mythical.

Beginning
of the Scan-
dinavian
invasions.

on his dagum] As to the Scandinavian invasions, note that the Chron. does not fix their beginning to 787 (as is commonly assumed, e. g. F. N. C. i. 42; Green goes further, and misquotes the Chronicle, C. E. p. 50); but merely says that they began 'in Berhtic's days.' (For the similar error as to the coming of the Saxons, *v. Bede*, H. E. i. 15, notes.)

iii. *scipu* (Norðmanna)] A is the only MS. which omits 'Norðmanna,' Note that the Chron. uses 'Northmen' and 'Danes' as convertible terms; cf. Adam of Bremen: 'Dani, et ceteri qui trans Daniam sunt populi, ab historicis Francorum omnes Nordmanni uocantur,' Pertz, vii. 291; whereas in Alfred's additions to Orosius the Danes (divided into northern and southern) are clearly distinguished from the Northmen, p. 16; cf. *ib.* 268, where 'Danish' apparently translates 'Marcomanni.' Their ravages are described by Ermoldus Nigellus, Poetae Aevi Carol. ii. 59, in a passage which recalls Sidonius Apollinaris' famous descriptions of the Saxons, Epp. viii. 6, 9; Carm. vii. 369-371. On the analogy of the Saxon and Danish invasions, cf. F. N. C. i. 43 ff. Odo of Clugny ascribes to the Danes a regular institution like the Latin 'uer sacrum': 'quoniam Danorum tellus sibi insufficiens est, moris est apud illos, ut per singula lustra multitudo non minima dictante sortis euentu a terra sua exulet, et in alienis terris mansionem sibi quoquo modo, ad propria non reuersura, uindictet,' Bouquet, vi. 318. Their coming is constantly regarded as a divine judge- A divine judgement. ment on the sins of the English, cf. *e.g.* Alcuin's Letters, ed. Jaffé, Nos. 22-28, 65, 86, 87, and at a later stage, Wulfstan, pp. 91, 129, 156-167, 180, 181, 207; cf. *ib.* 14, 45, 47, 295; especially of the Northumbrians, thinks H. H. p. 139; certainly Northumbria suffered severely, S. D. i. 7, 8, 113, 121. It is noteworthy that in early ninth-century charters the national obligation of the 'fyrd,' 'expeditio,' is specially referred to service against the heathen, K. C. D. Nos. 196, 216; Birch, Nos. 332, 335, 348, 370.

of Hereða lande, E] Strictly Hörðaland on the Hardanger-fjord in Heretha- Norway, the country of the Hörðar or Haurds (Charudes, Harudes). It land. appears in Irish as 'Irruaith,' which comes to be a general term for Norway; cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. i. 205, 232. Munch, however, equates it with Hardeland or Hardsyssell in Jutland, on the ground that no descents had yet been made on England from Hörðaland in Norway. Gaimar calls the place whence the ships came 'Guenelinge,' *v.* 2091.

se gerefa þæerto rad*] Ethelwerd gives additional details: 'Regnante The Reeve and the invaders. Byrthrico rege piissimo super partes Anglorum occidentales . . . aduecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, drouones numero tres; ipsa et aduectio erat prima. Audito etiam, exactor regis, iam morans in oppido quod Dorceastre nuncupatur, equo insiliuit, cum paucis praecurrit ad portum, putans eos magis negotiatores esse quam hostes; et praecipiens eos imperio, ad regiam uillam pelli iussit; a quibus ibidem occiditur ipse, et qui cum eo erant; nomen quippe exactoris erat Beaduheard,' M. H. B. p. 509 C. Evidently the reeve, as the king's financial officer (S. C. H. i. 113 ff.; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 162 ff.), was trying to enforce payment of the royal customs. Whence Ethelwerd got these details I do not know; they sound perfectly genuine, as does the statement of ASN. that the Danish ships 'applicuerunt in insula . . . Portland,' which fits in well with Ethel-

werd's Dorchester; though it may be an inference from his 'praecurrit ad portum.'

The first ships.'

[*pa ærestan scipu*] This, like 'ærest' above, shows that this was written at a time when such visitations had become only too common; cf. H. H. p. 129: 'Hic primus fuit Anglorum caesus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium ab iisdem caesa sunt.' A complete specimen of a war-galley 72 feet long was found in Nydam Moss, at East Sottrup, in South Jutland, during the excavations which began in 1859; see the Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1863, p. 686. There is a model in the Pitt-Rivers collection in the New Museum, Oxford.

Synod of Finchale.

788 E] On the Synod of Finchale and death of Abbot Aldberht, see above, pp. 56, 58. As to the form of the name 'Pincanheale' E, 'Wincanheale' D, Fl. Wig., who is generally nearer D, has 'P,' and H. H., who is generally nearer E, has 'W'; S. D. has 'W,' ii. 43, 376, and 'P,' *ib.* 59; but the two letters are inextricably confused; R. W. distinctly says Finchale, i. 248; cf. *ib.* 265.

Death of Ælfwold.

789 E] The date of Ælfwold's death is given by S. D. as 788; the place as 'Scythlescester iuxta murum,' which has been identified with Chesters, near Chollerton, on the line of the Roman Wall. As to the light he speaks doubtfully, 'dicitur uideri a plurimis.' A church was reared on the spot dedicated to SS. Oswald and Cuthbert, ii. 52; cf. i. 50. On the church of St. Andrew at Hexham, cf. notes to Bede II. 318, 330, 360, and reff. A later cross of great beauty is said to mark Ælfwold's tomb; see Mem. Hex. I. xxxvi. f., 38, 40. His sons Ælf and Ælfwine were treacherously murdered by Ethelred three years later, S. D. ii. 53. Sicga, Ælfwold's murderer, is perhaps the signatory of the northern legatine synod, H. & S. iii. 460. He died 793, *infra*. According to S. D. he committed suicide, and was buried at Lindisfarne, ii. 53; 'digne deperiit,' H. H. p. 130. On the synod at Aclea, cf. H. & S. iii. 464, 465; Mem. Hex. I. xxxviii. 38, 39.

Death of Iænberht and election of Æthelheard.

790*. Iænbryht . . . Æþelheard] The death of Iænberht and the election of Æthelheard belong to 792, S. D. *s. a.*; H. & S. iii. 467, 468; Theopold, p. 34. Iænberht had been Abbot of St. Augustine's when the monks of Christ Church deluded their rivals as to the deaths of archbishops Cuthbert and Bregwine; see above on 758. To prevent anything of the kind in his own case Iænberht had himself removed to his old monastery, and there died and was buried, Gervase, ii. 346; G. P. pp. 15-17; R. W. i. 251. This did not avail to restore the old custom. His epitaph is in Elnham, p. 355. He is the first archbishop of whom any coins have been preserved. For his relations with Kent and Mercia, see his life by Dr. Stubbs in D. C. B. iii. 336-338.

Æthelheard was not consecrated till July, 793, H. & S. *u. s.*; F, a Canterbury book, calls him 'abbas Hludensis monasterii'; so S. D. ii. 53; perhaps Louth, H. & S. *u. s.* On his position in Kent and his relations

with the dominant power of Mercia, and with Alcuin, cf. *ib.* 468, 495, 496, 506, 507, 509-511, 518-521, 552, 553; Mon. Alc. pp. 372, 373, 719-722; and Stubbs' life of him in D. C. B. ii. 223-225. His correspondence with Alcuin is cited by W. M. i. 74, 82, 86; G. P. pp. 17-19. His coins bear the name of Offa, or Cenwulf, on the reverse, which illustrates his dependence on Mercia.

Osred . . . Æðelred, E] 790 is correct for the return of Ethelred, son of Æthelwold Moll (see on 774, 778), and the expulsion of Osred. The latter was forcibly tonsured at York and driven into exile in the Isle of Man. In 792 he was induced to return 'sacramentis et fide quorundam principum,' but was deserted, and put to death by Ethelred at Aynburg, S. D. ii. 52, 54; i. 50. Alcuin was in England at the time of this revolution: 'Æðelredus filius Æðelwaldi de carcere processit in solium, et de miseria in maiestatem. Cuius regni nouitate detenti sumus,' Mon. Alc. p. 170; cf. *ib.* 174, 175; and again: 'cognoscas . . . turbatas res me offendisse in patria, nec inuenisse animum noui regis qualem uel speraui uel uolui. Tamen aliquid fecimus ammonitionis illi et aliis, et hodie laboramus contra iniustitiam prout possumus cum quibusdam potentibus,' *ib.* 172, 173. Later he wrote to Ethelred himself: 'non decet te in solio sedentem regni, rusticis uiuere moribus,' *ib.* 264; cf. *ib.* 180-190; H. & S. iii. 488-494. S. D. calls him 'rex impiissimus,' i. 50.

791 E] Baldwulf, or Badulf, was the last Anglian Bishop of Whithern: 'nec praeterea plures alicubi reperio, quod cito defecerit episcopatus, quia extrema . . . Anglorum ora est, et Scottorum uel Pictorum depopulationi opportuna,' G. P. p. 257. S. D. gives the date of Baldwulf's consecration as 790, and the place as 'Hearrahalh, quod interpretari potest, locus Dominorum,' ii. 53. This has been identified with Harraton. In 796 Baldwulf joined in the coronation of Eardwulf, and in the consecration of Eanbald II, *infra*, 795, 796; S. D. ii. 58. In 803 he helped to consecrate Egbert of Lindisfarne, *ib.* i. 52; and this (not 795 as S. C. S. i. 311; G. P. *u. s.* note) is the last mention of him. For Bishop Ethelbert, see on 777.

792*] Probably 794; so ASN.; 793, Fl. Wig.

Offa . . . Æpelbryhte] Of the circumstances under which Ethelbert of East Anglia was put to death by Offa nothing is really known. The later accounts become more and more legendary; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 62, 63; W. M. i. 84, 97, 98, 262; II. xciv. f.; G. P. p. 305; R. W. i. 249 ff.; on which cf. Theopold, pp. 110, 111; Hardy, Cat. i. 494-496; H. & S. iii. 469. The least legendary is in Fl. Wig. i. 262: 'innocenter sub pacis foedere occisus est ab Offa'; so ASN. This unmerited fate gave to him, as to others, the character of a martyr; his relics were translated to Hereford, and he became the patron saint of that see, hence called 'sæc Æðelbryhtes mynster,' *infra*, 1055 E, i. 187. No kings of East Anglia are named between Ethelbert and Edmund, martyred by the Danes 870, *infra*; Fl. Wig. i. 262; W. M. i. 98; though Abbo's passion of Edmund makes him

Expulsion
of Osred
and return
of Ethel-
red.

Baldwulf,
last
Anglian
Bishop of
Whithern.

Beheading
of Ethel-
bert of
East
Anglia.

The patron
saint of
Hereford.

the son of a certain King Alchmund, who is not otherwise known, Hardy, Cat. i. 527. An unnamed king of the East Angles submitted to Egbert in 825, *infra*, 823.

Osred, E] On the return and death of Osred, *v. s.* 790. After this, in June, 793, Alcuin left England, and never returned, Poetae Aevi Carolini, i. 160, 161. Ælfled, Ethelred's 'new wife,' was a daughter of Offa. The marriage took place at Catterick, S. D. ii. 54. According to H. H. 'Edelred, . . . *sua relicta*, nouam duxit uxorem,' p. 130. There is no hint of this in the Chron. or S. D. On the death of Ethelred, Alcuin exhorted her to enter a monastery: 'in coenobio militet Christo, quae thalamo priuata est uiri,' Mon. Alc. p. 294.

Portents.

793 E. forebecna] In Blickl. Hom. p. 117, this word is used of the signs ('þa tacno 7 þa forebeacno') which precede the day of doom.

lig ræscas] Cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, p. 297: 'unasegendlice punras 7 byrnende ligræscas.'

p. 57. on .vi. idus Iaſſr] 'vi id. Iun.,' Ann. Lind.; 'vii id. Iun.,' S. D. i. 51, 361; ii. 54-56. June is certainly right. The vikings would not cross the sea at midwinter, Steenstrup, Vikinger, p. 9. See a similar mistake, 802, *infra*.

Ravaging
of Lindis-
farne.

Both the ravaging of Lindisfarne by the heathen, and the portents which preceded it, are alluded to in Alcuin's letter to Ethelred, H. & S. iii. 493; Mon. Alc. pp. 180-184. This ravaging of St. Cuthbert's Holy Isle produced an immense impression, to which Alcuin gave voice. He addressed to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, an elegiac poem 'De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii,' containing some really fine lines, Poetae Aevi Carol. i. 229 ff. He also sent to him and his monks letters of sympathy and exhortation, H. & S. iii. 472, 473; Mon. Alc. pp. 190-195. (For an earlier letter of Alcuin to Higbald, *v.* Mon. Alc. pp. 146, 147.) He also alludes to the visitation in other letters, H. & S. iii. 476, 492, 499; Mon. Alc. pp. 184-190, 196-209, 290-293; cf. W. M. i. 73; G. P. pp. 267, 268.

793 F, Lat. p. 56, note 1] This note should run 'uastauit terram . . . homicidiis. Translatio Sci. Albani,' M. H. B. p. 388, note 24. On this translation, cf. H. & S. iii. 469 f.

Deaths of
Pope
Adrian

pp. 56, 57. 794*. Adrianus papa] Adrian died Dec. 25, 795; *i. e.* 796 according to the system which begins the year at Christmas, Theopold, pp. 20, 21. There is a letter of Alcuin to the bishops of Britain asking them, in the name of Charles the Great, to pray for the soul of Adrian, 'quia fides amicitiae erga defunctum maxime probatur amicum,' Mon. Alc. p. 296.

and of Offa.

Offa cyning] Offa died July 29, 796, Hoveden, I. xcii. f. His death is entered again at 796 by D, E., and so originally F, as there is an erasure of two lines. Offa's sword became an heirloom in the Wessex royal house: 'ic geann Eadmunde minen bréðer ðæs swurdes ðe Offa cyng ahte,' Will of the Etheling Athelstan, K. C. D. iii. 362. It is curious that the Chron.

says nothing of Offa's relations to Charlemagne, on which W. M. rightly lays stress, i. 91, 92; R. W. i. 240-242; cf. Pertz, ii. 291; Mon. Alc. pp. 167-169; H. & S. iii. 486-488, 496-499.

Æpelred . . . of slægen . . . peode] This event also belongs to 796. It took place at Corbridge on 'xiiii Kal. Mai' (Apr. 18), S. D. ii. 57, 576 (not xiii Kal. as the Chron.). It was regarded as a judgement for his share in the death of Osred, W. M. i. 75. It roused the intense indignation of Charlemagne. Alcuin writes to Offa: 'Karolus . . . in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait . . . homicidam dominorum suorum,' &c., H. & S. iii. 498, 499; Mon. Alc. p. 290. His slayer was a certain 'Aldred dux,' who, in revenge, was slain three years later by 'Thorlthmund dux,' S. D. ii. 62; who is recommended by Alcuin to Charlemagne as 'Hedilredi regis fidelem famulum, uirum in fide probatum, strenuum in armis; qui fortiter sanguinem domini sui uindicauit,' H. & S. iii. 534; Mon. Alc. p. 619. He was succeeded for twenty-seven days by 'Osbald patricius,' who was expelled and took refuge first at Lindisfarne and then at the Pictish court, S. D. ii. 57. Though the Chron. ignores Osbald, the struggle was evidently a bloody one. Alcuin writes to Osbald himself, urging him to enter a monastery, as he had previously promised to do: 'ne pereas cum impiis, si innocens es de sanguine domini tui. Si uero nocens in consensu uel consilio, confitere peccatum tuum et reconciliare Deo. . . Cogita quantus sanguis per te uel per propinquos tuos regum, principum, et populi effusus est,' Mon. Alc. pp. 305, 306. From this it appears (1) that Osbald had not given up his pretensions; (2) that Alcuin regarded him as an accomplice in Ethelred's death. He is, perhaps, the 'Osbaldus patricius' to whom Alcuin addressed a letter jointly with Ethelred, H. & S. iii. 488-492; Mon. Alc. p. 184. Ultimately he took Alcuin's advice, and became not only monk but abbot; he died in 799, and was buried at York, S. D. ii. 62.

Slaying of Ethelred of Northumbria.

Northumbrian revolutions.

Ceolwulf . . . Eadbald] Bishops of Lindsey (not Lindisfarne, as Fl. Wig.) and London. Theopold, p. 40, thinks that this entry, to be corrected like the rest to 796, really refers to their death. The words 'of þæm londe aforon' might easily originate in the common confusion of 'obire' and 'abire,' cf. p. 39, *supra*. If so, Ceowulf's death is entered again under 796.

Ecgferþ . . . forþferde] On him, see above, 785, and note. He reigned 141 days, 755 A, *ad fin*. His early death was regarded as a judgement for his father's cruelties. Alcuin, writing to his successor Cenwulf, urges him to avoid these, and says: 'non . . . sine causa nobilissimus filius illius tam paruo tempore uixit. . . Saepe merita patris uindicantur in filios,' Mon. Alc. p. 353. So in a letter to a Mercian 'patrician': 'paterni sanguinis ultio in filium usque redundauit. . . Scis . . . quam multum sanguinis effudit pater eius, ut filio regnum confirmaret,' *ib.* 350.

Death of Egferth.

Eadbryht . . . Præn] His accession also belongs to 796. He was a renegade priest, 'clericus apostata,' and represents an attempt of Kent to

Eadberht Præn.

free itself from the domination of Mercia, H. & S. iii. 496, 524. On Kentish chronology at this time, cf. W. M. II. xxii. f. ; i. 18 ; and Bede, II. 338.

Death of
Æthel-
heard.

7 **Æthelheard ealdorman, E]** From this point the events noted really belong to 794. S. D. describes Æthelheard as 'quondam dux, tunc autem clericus.' He died at York, ii. 56.

Jarrow
ravaged by
the Danes.

Ecgferðes mynster æt Done muþe] The monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, on the foundation of which see Bede, Hist. Abb. § 7, and notes. Jarrow is called 'Donemuð,' as being at the junction of the Done with the Tyne. Most of the editors and translators understand it to mean Wearmouth (Dr. Stubbs says Tynemouth, Hoveden, I. xxxvii. 27, margin); and several of them read 'æt ðone muðe,' which is impossible, as *æt* cannot govern an accusative. Mr. Stevenson is quite correct, and so is Gaimar: 'en la buche de Don,' v. 2187; though his editors first misunderstand the Chron., and then charge Gaimar with 'error' on the strength of their misunderstanding. The disaster which overtook the Danes was regarded as a judgement on them for the sack of Lindisfarne, S. D. ii. 56 ; i. 51, 52 ; H. H. p. 138 ; cf. H. & S. iii. 395. Alcuin, writing to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, after the latter event, had warned them that their turn might come next: 'uos maritima habitatis, unde pestis primo ingruit,' Mon. Alc. p. 199.

795 E] Both the eclipse and the accession of Eardwulf belong to 796, Theopold, p. 72.

hancred] Ælfric, following Bede, divides the time from sunset to sunrise into seven parts, of which cockcrow is the fifth; cited, Hampson, ii. 51, 66.

v. **kt. Apr.]** March 28, 796, is correct for the date of the eclipse.

Accession
of Eard-
wulf.

Eardwulf] Under 790 S. D. has the following strange story: 'Eardulf dux captus est, et ad Ripun perductus, ibique occidi iussus extra portam monasterii a rege [Ethelredo]. Cuius corpus fratres cum Gregorianis concentibus ad ecclesiam portantes, et in tentorio foris ponentes, post mediam noctem uiuus est in ecclesia inuentus,' ii. 52. It is lawful to suspect some jugglery here. He went into exile, whence he was recalled to the throne in 796. The twenty-seven days of Osbald's reign (v. s. on 794) reckoned inclusively from April 18, the date of Ethelred's death, bring us to 'ii id. Maii,' May 14, the date given here as the date of Eardwulf's accession. His coronation at York was 'in Ecclesia S. Petri, ad altare beati . . . Pauli,' S. D. ii. 57, 58, 376, 377 ; i. 52.

796 E] On the deaths of Offa and Ceolwulf, v. s. 794.

Death of
Eanbald I.

7 **Eanbald]** Alcuin writes to Arno, Bishop of Salzburg: 'obsecro ut pro anima Eanbaldi archiepiscopi intercedere diligenter iubeas; quia mihi et pater et frater et amicus fidelissimus fuit, etiam et condiscipulus. . . . Ecce ego solus relictus,' Mon. Alc. pp. 323-325. He died 'in monasterio quod dicitur Æt læte,' S. D. ii. 58 ; H. Y. ii. 336.

Eanbald II.

operne Eanbald] Eanbald II had been with Alcuin in 795, Mon. Alc.

p. 252. Alcuin wrote to the clergy of York with reference to this election, warning them against simony. He also wrote several hortatory letters to Eanbald himself after his election, H. & S. iii. 500-505; Mon. Alc. pp. 331-339. ('xix. k† Sept.' = Aug. 14 is right for the consecration of Eanbald II. It was a Sunday in 796.) Alcuin urged Leo III to send him the pallium: 'quia ualde illis in partibus sacri pallii auctoritas necessaria est, ad opprimendam improborum peruersitatem, et sanctae ecclesiae auctoritatem conseruandam,' *ib.* 358, 359. (The reception of the pallium is mentioned under 797.) These troubles of Eanbald are alluded to in later letters, *ib.* 564, 623. They were due partly at least to the fact that Eanbald had supported the opponents of Eardwulf, *ib.* 620-622; H. & S. iii. 535, 536. He seems to have had an understanding with Mercia, *ib.* 536, 563-566. See an interesting life of Eanbald II in D. C. B. ii. 11-14.

Her Ceolwulf, 7c.*] So A, D, E, F. In B, C it has been corrected to Cynulf. Ethelwerd has Ceolf. Fl. Wig. is right; so is H. H., though his editor is wrong, p. 131. The mistake is due to the fact that the next King of Mercia was Ceolwulf, 819, *infra*.

The overrunning of Kent and capture of Eadberht Præn belong to 798. Kent subdued by Mercia.
Cenwulf crowned himself King of Kent, 'imponens sibi coronam in capite, sceptrumque in manu,' S. D. ii. 59; who also confirms the account given in F of the atrocities perpetrated on Eadberht. Ultimately Cuthred, Cenwulf's brother, was set up as under-king in Kent, Fl. Wig. i. 260; H. & S. iii. 559. His death is mentioned *infra*, 805 (=807). W. M. has a story that at the dedication of Winchcombe Abbey, Cenwulf, with the consent of Cuthred, released Eadberht. But it all sounds rather mythical, W. M. i. 94, 95; G. P. p. 294; cf. H. & S. iii. 574.

op Mersc, A] This reading is peculiar to A.

Aðelard . . . sette synoð, F] On this alleged synod, v. H. & S. iii. 516-518, 547.

Wiht gares] A mistake for 'Wihtredes.'

797*. Her Romane . . . astungon] The true date is 799. For the phrase, cf. Oros. p. 168: 'þa sticode him mon þa eagan út'; cf. *ib.* 256; on Leo III. Ælfric, Lives, p. 458: 'dydon him ut þa eagan, 7 his earan forcurfon.' For Leo III and his relations with Charlemagne, v. D. C. B. In a letter to Charles, May, 799, Alcuin says: 'nonne Romana in sede . . . extrema impietatis exempla emeruerunt? Ipsi cordibus suis excaecati excaecauerunt caput proprium,' Mon. Alc. p. 464. In August he writes: 'de apostolici pastoris mirabili sanitate . . . decet omnem populum Christianum gaudere,' *ib.* 485.

Heardred, E] Bishop of Hexham, died in 800, and was succeeded by Eanberht, S. D. ii. 63, whose death is mentioned below, 806. He had been one of the consecrators of Egbert of Lindisfarne, S. D. i. 52; *infra*, 803 E. He was succeeded by Tidfrith, the last Bishop of Hexham, G. P. pp. 255, 256; Mem. Hex. I. xxxix, 41, 42.

798 (?) F] The former part of this annal is identical with 797 E; then it goes off to the bishops of Dunwich. It is curious that both at Hexham and Dunwich there should have been bishops named Heardred and Tidfrith about the same time, Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* pp. 168, 181 [2nd ed. pp. 230, 244]. The profession of the Dunwich Tidfrith is given, H. & S. iii. 511; a letter of Alcuin to him, *ib.* 551; *Mon. Alc.* p. 739.

Siric, King
of the East
Saxons.

Siric East *sexana cing*] Theopold, p. 89, identifies Siric with the 'Sigricus Dux' who signs K. C. D. No. 172; Birch, No. 280; which Kemble marks as spurious. He was succeeded by a son Sigred, in whom the East-Saxon line comes to an end, *Fl. Wig.* i. 250. His signature is found in three charters, two genuine, one spurious, K. C. D. Nos. 196-198; Birch, Nos. 335, 338, 339.

Wihthburge lichama] The translation of St. Wihthburg is mentioned also by *Fl. Wig.*; cf. *W. M.* i. 260; *Hardy, Cat.* i. 469 f.

Conspiracy
against
Eardwulf.

798 E] Heardberht, the father of Alric, may be the Heardberht mentioned 778 E. S. D.'s entry is as follows: 'coniuratione facta ab interfectoribus Ethelredi regis, Wada dux . . . cum eis bellum inierunt (*sic*) contra Eardwulfum regem in loco, qui appellatur ab Anglis Billingahoth, iuxta Walalege, et ex utraque parte plurimis interfectis Wada dux cum suis in fugam uersus est, et Eardwulfus rex uictoriam regaliter sumpsit ex inimicis,' ii. 59. Wada is mentioned in conjunction with Eanbald and Cenwulf in a later letter of Leo III, H. & S. iii. 563, 564. So perhaps this revolt also had been encouraged by Eanbald and Mercia. There is a Wada among the 'reges uel duces' in *Lib. Vit. Dun.*

Æthelheard's
journey to
Rome.

pp. 58, 59. 799*] The true date of Æthelheard's journey to Rome is 801, Theopold, pp. 40, 41. He was accompanied not only by Cyneberht, but also by Torhtmund, the avenger of Ethelred of Northumbria (*v. s.* on 794), and by Ceolmund of Mercia. Alcuin wrote advising them with reference to their journey, and also recommended them to Charlemagne, H. & S. iii. 532-534; *Mon. Alc.* pp. 616-622. The object of Æthelheard's journey was to obtain from the Pope the restoration of the rights of Canterbury. In this he succeeded, H. & S. iii. 536-544. Alcuin asked that Higberht might retain the pallium for his life, *Mon. Alc.* p. 269; but apparently he resigned not only the pallium but the see, if H. & S. are right in thinking that he is the Higberht who signs an act of the Council of Clovesho, 803, as a simple abbot, H. & S. iii. 545-547; K. C. D. No. 1024; Birch, No. 312.

Cyneberht.

Cynebryht] He is not heard of again. Possibly he never returned. There is a letter of Alcuin to him, H. & S. iii. 482, 483; *Mon. Alc.* p. 517.

Wesseaxna bisċ] 'Note how this title continues, in spite of the division of the diocese,' Earle. See on 812, *infra*.

Lunar
eclipse.

800 E. Her . . . se mona, 7c.] 800 is correct for this lunar eclipse, which took place on Jan. 15, at 8.30 p.m.; *i. e.*, as the Chronicle rightly says, 'at the second hour of the eve of Jan. 16.'

Death of
Berhtric.

Beorhtric . . . rice*] The true date of the death of Berhtric

('gloriosus rex,' 'nobilissime praefuit,' S. D. ii. 66, 68; 'rex piissimus,' Ethelw. p. 509), and of the accession of Egbert, is 802, S. D. *u. s.*; H. & S. iii. 557; Hoveden, I. xciii.; Theopold, pp. 43-49. On the significance of Egbert's accession and reign, *v. F. N. C. i.* 38-42. Accession of Egbert.

rad Æpelmund . . . of Hwiccium] The only mention of the Hwiccas in the Chron. See on them, Taylor, Cotswold, pp. 4 ff., 15 ff. The words 'of Hwiccium' are to be taken with 'rad,' not with 'aldorman'; 'of' meaning *from*, not *of*; see Glossary, *s. vv.* 'of,' 'on.' H. H. has construed it rightly, in spite of Mr. Arnold. This victory of the men of Wilts was an omen of the ultimate triumph of Wessex over Mercia. In the previous year (801) Eardwulf of Northumbria had invaded Mercia on account of Cenwulf's reception of his opponents. Peace was, however, made by the advice of the chief men, clerical and lay, on both sides, S. D. ii. 65. From this point there is a lacuna of about half a century in S. D. And when he resumes he draws almost wholly from southern sources, Asser and the Chron. itself, so that we lose his invaluable help as a northern corrective and supplement to the southern chroniclers. Decline of Mercia.

802 E. Her . . . se mona . . . Iañr.] The year 802 is correct. But Ian. must be a mistake for Iun. There was no lunar eclipse in December in any year at the beginning of the ninth century. But there was one on May 21 (xii Kal. Iun.), 802, at 4 a.m., which is no doubt the one intended. Lunar eclipse.

Beorn mod*] The true date is 804. His predecessor, Wermund, signs an act of the Council of Clovesho in 803, which Beornmod signs as 'presbyter,' H. & S. iii. 546, 547. His profession of obedience is given, *ib.* 550, 551. Beornmod.

803 E. Egberht] Egbert was consecrated at Bywell by Eanbald, Eanberht, and Baldwulf (iii id. = June 11, was a Sunday in 803), S. D. i. 52. It was to Egbert that Æthelwulf dedicated his poem 'de Abbatibus,' S. D. i. 265 ff.; Dümmler, *Poetae Aevi Carol. i.* 582 ff. See Addenda. Egbert of Lindisfarne.

Æpelheard . . . Wulfred*] The true date is 805. Wulfred's consecration was probably on August 3. On him and the chronology of his archiepiscopate, see H. & S. iii. 557, 559-561, 563, 564, 586-588, 596-604; Theopold, pp. 34, 35; and Stubbs in *D. C. B. iv.* 1195 ff. Wulfred.

Forpred . . . forpferde, A] Not in D, E, F. Probably it also belongs to 805. Grubitz makes him Abbot of St. Augustine's, and builds theories on the supposition, p. 14. There is no room for him among the abbots of St. Augustine's, and that he was a Mercian abbot is shown by the fact that he signs the Synod of Clovesho among the clergy of the see of Leicester as 'presbyter abbas,' H. & S. iii. 546, 547. He signs charters from 790 to 803, *D. C. B. ii.* 549. Abbot Forthred.

804*. Wulfred . . . pallium] Really 806. On this occasion the English bishops protested against the papal attempts to force archbishops to go to Rome for the pallium, H. & S. iii. 559-561; see notes to Bede, H. E. i. 27. The pallium.

805*] Really 807.

Cupred cyning] On him, see 796, note.

Ceolburg.

Ceolburg abbudesse] viz. of Berkeley, Fl. Wig. She is mentioned in a charter of 804, H. & S. iii. 548, 549; K. C. D. No. 186; Birch, No. 313; and was the widow of Alderman Æthelmund, whose death was recorded under 800. See a paper by the Rev. C. S. Taylor on Berkeley Minster, Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Trans. xix. 70 ff.

806 E. Her se mona . . . kŕ Seþt.] There was a total eclipse of the moon on September 1, 806.

Expulsion
of Eard-
wulf.

Eardwulf . . . adrifen] The expulsion of Eardwulf is probably to be referred to the end of 807 or beginning of 808. He was succeeded by Ælfwold, S. D. i. 52. Eardwulf appealed in person to the Emperor and Pope, and was by them restored in 808 or 809. The appeal and restoration are not mentioned in any native chronicle, but are found in Einhard's Annals and in Einhardi Fuldensis Ann.; Pertz, i. 195, 196, 354. Ademar, in embodying these notices, makes Northumbria a part of Ireland, *ib.* iv. 118; cf. F. N. C. i. 559-561; H. & S. iii. 561. For the correspondence between Charles and Leo III about Eardwulf, see *ib.* 562-567. Leo evidently suspected Eanbald and Cenwulf of causing Eardwulf's expulsion. He seems not to have survived his restoration long, as we find his son Eanred succeeding shortly afterwards, *v. infra*, p. 84. The Ann. Lindisf., Pertz, xix. 506, say that Eardwulf had married a daughter of Charles. If so, Charles' interference is explained; but I know no other authority for the statement. Of the later native kings of Northumbria the Chronicle only mentions the two rivals Osberht and Ælle, 867, *infra*. Hence H. H. says: 'Ardulf a suis fugatus . . . Postea Nordhumbri, ut apparet, insania nequitiae praeoccupati, aliquantisper sine rege fuerunt,' p. 136.

Eanberht . . . forðferde] See above on 797.

806 F, Lat. p. 58, note 5] Identical with entries in Pertz, iv. 6; xv. 1294; Liebermann, p. 63.

809 F. Her seo sunne . . . xvii. kŕ Aug.] July 16, 809, is correct for the solar eclipse.

812*] Really 814.

Wulfred] See above on 803.

Bishop of
the West
Saxons.

Wigbryht Wesseaxna bisċ] Note that the title 'bishop of the West Saxons,' which at 799 is given to Cyneberht of Winchester, is here given to Wigberht of Sherborne, the second of the two dioceses into which Wessex was divided at the death of Hædde, Bede, II. 307. On Wigberht, see D. C. B. iv. 1176. He and Wulfred went to Rome 'pro negotiis Anglicanae ecclesiae,' R. W. i. 272, who has the right date. On the extraordinary corruption of the Latin entry of E, see Introduction, § 43, note.

813*] Probably to be corrected to 815.

Egbert
ravages
Cornwall.

gehergade Ecgbryht. 7c.] There is a possible allusion to this expedition in a letter of Dunstan to Ethelred, 980 x 988: 'hit gelamp þæt West

Wealas onhofon hi ongean Egbriht cyng, þa ferde se cyng þyder 7 gewylde hi,' Crawford Charters, p. 18, and note. Ravages of the Saxons in Wales proper are entered, Ann. Camb. 816, 822; Brut y Tywys., 817, 823.

814*] Really 816.

pp. 60, 61. 816 A, 815 E. Stephanu spapa] He died January 24, 817. forborn Ongolcynnes scolu] On this, cf. Anastasius de uitis Pontificum (under Paschal I): 'eodem tempore [817] . . . per quorundam gentis Anglorum desidiam, ita est omnis illorum habitatio quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur . . . combusta, ut nec uestigia pristinae habitationis inueniri potuissent. . . . Unde . . . ter beatissimus pastor, considerans illorum peregrinorum inopiam, . . . necessaria . . . omnia . . . subministrabat,' Muratori, SS. Rer. Ital. III. i. 214 B. There was another great fire under Leo IV., *ib.* p. 233 B. These 'schools' were hostelrys for the reception of pilgrims, and other nations had their 'schools' as well as the English. One tradition attributed the foundation of the English school to Offa, W. M. i. 109; another carries it back to Ine, R. W. i. 215, 216; Bede, II. 281. It was near the basilica of St. Peter.

Burning of the English school at Rome.

819*] Really 821; v. Hoveden, I. xcvi; Theopold, p. 49; H. & S. iii. 590; K. C. D. No. 214; Birch, No. 366.

Cenwulf . . . Ceolwulf] According to Gaimar, Cenwulf died 'el liu de Basewerc,' *v.* 2240 (Basingwerk, Flintshire). Fl. Wig. calls him Sanctus Kenulphus, i. 65. Between the reigns of Cenwulf and his brother Ceolwulf, is said to come the brief reign of his son Kenelm, aged seven years [Kenelm, cynebearn, Hyde Reg. p. 92], murdered by contrivance of his sister Cwenthryth, Abbess of Winchcombe, Fl. Wig. i. 65; H. II. p. xxvi; W. M. i. 262, 263; G. P. pp. 294, 295; R. W. i. 273-275; Hardy, Cat. i. 508, 509; D. C. B. iii. 601. But the whole story sounds most mythical, and cannot be traced back earlier than the eleventh century; cf. Hampson, ii. 231. Archbishop Wulfred had a long suit with Cwenthryth as 'filia Coenwulfi heresque illius,' for injuries done to him by her father. This was terminated in the Council of Clovesho, 825. Cwenthryth was present and signed the agreement there come to, H. & S. iii. 596 ff. Is it likely she would have done so, had she been known to be a fratricide? And is it likely that a child of seven would ever have been elected to the crown?

Death of Cenwulf.

Legend of St. Kenelm.

821*. Ceolwulf . . . besciered] Really in 823. He was succeeded by Beornwulf, Fl. Wig.; H. H.; W. M. i. 95; R. W. i. 275, who is not mentioned in the Chron. till two years later.

Deposition of Ceolwulf.

822*] Really 824, Theopold, p. 42; Hoveden, I. xcvi. Ethelwerd reverses the order of the two events entered here, making Burghelm and Muca slain at Clovesho, 'ibidem,' p. 510 B.

senop . . . æt Clafeshoo] On this, see H. & S. iii. 592-595. The only previous mention of Clovesho is at 742 F. The identification of Clovesho has always been a great crux. Talbot, in a note in MS. C, says

Locality of Clovesho.

'doctor Hethe's benyffyce.' This is Dr. Nicolas Heath, successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Archbishop of York, 1540, 1543, 1555. The benefice in question is Cliffe-at-Hoo, in Kent, near the estuary of the Thames. This was the prevailing view of the antiquaries of the sixteenth century. Later, Abingdon came into favour. Mr. Kerslake contends that Cliffe is right. Moreover, he would locate other meeting-places of councils in the same district. Cealchythe he would place, not at Chelsea, but at Chalk or Challock, between Higham and Gravesend; Aclea, at Oakley, also near Higham. Even Theodore's Haethfeld he would identify with 'Hatfield or Cliffe near Rochester,' and 'Herutford' he would place in the same district, which, if Clovesho is Cliffe-at-Hoo, would hang well together with the resolution of the latter council to meet annually in future at Clovesho. Mr. Kerslake supports his theory by a reference to the political supremacy which Mercia exercised over Kent at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, D. C. P. iii. 603. The ecclesiastical supremacy of Canterbury might also be used as an argument. And the nearness of these places to the broad estuary of the Thames would make them accessible from many quarters. See the interesting monograph of Mr. T. Kerslake, 'Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia'; cf. Grubitz, p. 15.

823*] Really 825.

Battle of
Gatulford.

Wala gefeoht] Two charters, dated August 19, 825, are said to have been drawn up: 'quando Egbertus rex exercitum Gewissorum mouit contra Brettones ubi dicitur Cridiantreow,' K. C. D. Nos. 1033, 1035; Birch, Nos. 389, 390. (It may be noted how in these charters Egbert's 'ducatu' or Bretwaldadom is dated ten years later than his 'regnum.') The Welsh meant are the 'West Welsh' or Corn Welsh; and this represents the final reduction of Cornwall under Wessex; cf. F. N. C. i. 41.

Battle of
Ellendun.

gefeahrt . . . on Ellendune] On this H. H. has preserved one of his proverbs: 'Ellendune riuus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, faetore tabuit.' Ethelwerd gives the name of one of those slain in the 'micel wæl': 'Hun ibi occiditur, dux prouinciae Sumorsæton, requiescitque nunc in urbe Uuintana,' p. 510 (yet Hun signs not only the two charters cited above, but also charters of 826, K. C. D. No. 1031, 1035-1037, 1039; Birch, Nos. 377, 390-392, 398). Ethelwerd calls the contest 'ciuilia bella,' and shows the importance of it by dating other events from it, p. 514; cf. R. W. i. 275, who calls Egbert 'uictor funestus.' The sudden collapse of Mercia after its predominance under Offa and Cenwulf is striking. 'Mercia owed its greatness wholly to the character of its individual kings,' Green, C. E. p. 45; cf. F. N. C. i. 40. By W. M. this battle is placed in 826. In the small edition of the Chron. I identified Ellendun with Allington near Amesbury; but the Rev. C. S. Taylor writes to me: 'It seems unlikely that Beornwulf would be allowed to

Locality of
battle is
Ellendun.

penetrate so far into Wessex. Wroughton is also called Ellingdon, and lies just at the point where the Ridgeway crosses the Ermine Street; the natural point for a West-Saxon king to resist an invasion from the north. Close by is Wanborough, where Ine and Ceolred fought in 715, and where the battle took place which led to Ceawlin's expulsion in 592. A large part of the modern parish of Wroughton is included in the Domesday manor of Eleudune.'

þa sende he . . . to Cent, 7c.] The reduction of Kent is placed by R. W. in 827; cf. H. & S. iii. 557.

Ealhstan his bisċ] Bishop of Sherborne, where he succeeded Wigberht in 824, *v. s.* on 812; K. C. D. No. 1031; Birch, No. 375. He is our first instance of the fighting prelate, of whom we shall have other specimens. 'Alchstan and Swithhun were the two props, military and civil, of Ethelwulf's reign,' Earle's *Swiðhun*, p. 27; cf. *Lib. de Hyda*, pp. 22, 23. (On fighting clerics, cf. Ælfric's *Pastoral Epistle*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*. ii. 386.) Ealhstan had evidently been on the expedition against the West Welsh, as he signs the two charters cited above. We find him defeating the Danes at the mouth of the Parret at 845. His death is given at 867, where an episcopate of fifty years is attributed to him. But this, though repeated by other authorities, is too long by seven years. See H. & S. iii. 595; *Episc. Succ.* pp. 10, 165 [2nd ed. pp. 19, 227]. By W. M. i. 108, 109; G. P. pp. 175, 176, a highly coloured sketch is given of his activity under Egbert and Æthelwulf. But he condemns him to Tartarus for his aggressions on Malmesbury.

Ealhstan.
Bishop of
Sherborne.

him to cirdon] 'Submitted to him,' cf. 878, *ad init.*

þy hie . . . anidde wærun] 'Because they had formerly been wrongly forced away from his kin.' There is nothing in the grammar to show whether these words apply to all the kingdoms named, or only to one or some of them. The same uncertainty runs through the Latin chroniclers: 'ex cuius propinquorum manibus prius extorti, extraneorum regum ditioni per aliquot annorum curricula inuiti sunt subacti,' *Fl. Wig.* i. 66; cf. W. M. i. 107. By H. H. the reference is explained of the expulsion of Eadberht Præn (above, 796): 'quos prius cognatus suus Pren iniuste amiserat,' p. 132; 'sed de cognatione eius cum Egberto adhuc quaerendum,' M. H. B. *ad loc.* But in the reference to Kent I believe he is right. That is the main subject of the preceding sentence, Surrey, &c., being thrown in parenthetically. This assertion of a hereditary claim on the part of Wessex has caused much difficulty. The key is apparently to be found in a little-noticed entry in F and a at 784: 'Then Ealhmund was king in Kent. He was Egbert's father, who was Æthelwulf's father.' What authority this rests on I do not know. There is a grant of 'Ealmundus rex Canciae' to Reculver, K. C. D. No. 1013; Birch, No. 243. The date is 784, so that the entry in F under that year may be made up from the charter. If the establishment of

Relations
of Kent and
Wessex.

Ingild's line of the West-Saxon house in Kent is a fact, it cannot have lasted long; as it must be placed between the death of Ethelbert II, 760 (= 762), and the accession of Eadberht Præn, who was dethroned in 796 (= 798). On the state of Kent at this time, see W. M. II. xxiii.

Sup Seaxe] The last ruler of Sussex who signs as king is Ethelbert, c. 774, K. C. D. No. 1010; Birch, No. 211. In 780 and 791 grants are made by Oslac and Aldwulf respectively, with the style of 'dux Suthsaxonum,' K. C. D. Nos. 1012, 1015, 1016; Birch, Nos. 237, 261, 262.

East Seaxe] Since the slaughter of Selred, 746, *supra*, Siric is the only East-Saxon king mentioned in the Chron. See on 798 F. W. M. makes Selred's successor, Swithaed or Swithred, the king who submitted to Egbert, i. 99; *i. e.* he gives him a reign of nearly eighty years! Fl. Wig. admits that there were 'reges pauci' between Swithred and the submission of Essex, but he cannot give their names, i. 263, 264. We have seen that Siric was succeeded by Sigred. He signs as 'rex' in 811, afterwards as 'subregulus'; so that up to 811, Essex seems to have retained some shadow of royalty, K. C. D. Nos. 196-198; Birch, Nos. 335, 338-340, 373. His last signature seems to be in 823, so that he probably disappeared after this submission to Egbert, unless he is to be found among the Sigereds who sign a little later with the title of 'dux.'

East Engla cyning . . . for Miercna ege] The East Angles had a special reason for hating Mercia, in the murder of their King Ethelbert, above, 792.

gesohte Ecg bryht . . . him to friþe] Cf. Oros. p. 228: 'he sippan gesohte Romane him to friþe.'

slogon . . . Beornwulf] This probably belongs to 826, H. & S. iii. 557; so R. W. i. 275, who says that Beornwulf had been trying to get possession of East Anglia ever since the time of Offa.

825*. Ludecan . . . cyning] He is probably the 'Ludeca dux' who signs at the Council of Clovesho in 824, K. C. D. No. 218; Birch, Nos. 378, 379. He fell in trying to avenge Beornwulf's death on the East Angles, according to Fl. Wig. i. 66, 67; W. M. i. 95, 96, 107; ASN.; while R. W. makes him slain by Egbert, i. 276. Possibly both views are mere inferences from the Chron. The true date is probably 828, H. & S. *u. s.*; Hoveden, I. xcvi. Gaimar treats 'Burnulf' and 'Lutecan' as contemporary and rival kings, *vv.* 2282 ff.

Wiig laf] W. M. calls him Wihthlaf; so Ethelwerd, p. 510; but he is Wiglaf in K. C. D. No. 227; Birch, No. 400.

827*. Her mona . . . niht] The true date of this eclipse is Dec. 25, 828; *i. e.* 829 according to the system which begins the year with Christmas, Theopold, p. 21.

ge eode . . . Miercna rice] According to R. W. i. 276, followed by H. & S. *u. s.*, Wiglaf was expelled almost immediately on his accession,

Royal
houses of
Sussex,

and Essex.

Death of
Beornwulf.

Death of
Ludeca.

Wiglaf.

Expulsion
of Wiglaf.

and was in exile three years. W. M. also says that he was expelled 'in initio regni,' i. 96. Fl. Wig. i. 67, and H. H. p. 133, imply that his first reign lasted two years, and that he was only now expelled in 827 (= 829). This may be merely an inference from the Chron., but it is more likely to be right than R. W.

7 he wæs se eahtepa cyning, 7c.] This is based on Bede, H. E. ii. 5, where see notes. H. H. adds to the list Alfred and Edgar, p. 52.

Bretwalda, A ; Bryten wealda, E] I am unable to accept Kemble's argument, Saxons, ii. 8 ff., that 'brytenwealda' is to be taken as meaning simply 'wide ruler,' though it is supported by the high authority of Prof. Earle, Charters, pp. 473, 474. Anyhow, whatever its original signification, it was certainly interpreted as meaning 'Wielder of Britain'; thus 'rector totius huius Britannie insule' is translated 'brytænwalda eallæs ðyses Iglandes,' Earle, *u. s.* p. 360; Birch, Nos. 705, 706; K. C. D. No. 1110. Again, we have the late form 'welding Brytone,' *ib.* No. 1119; Birch, No. 738; cf. F Lat. here: 'octauus rex qui rexit Bryttanniam.'

The Bret-waldas.

Norþan hymbre . . . him . . . eapmedo budon] 'Regem Eandredum statuit [Egbertus] sub tributo,' R. W. i. 277. That Northumbria, after so many years of anarchy, should have submitted easily, is not surprising; cf. Gaimar, *vv.* 2349 f. :

Submission of North-umbria

'A Everwch fu receuz

Ore fu reis e North e Suth.'

The reduction of Wales, mentioned in the next entry, completed the process: 'totius insulae pene nactus est monarchiam,' W. M. i. 2; cf. *ib.* 101, 102: 'regnum uarietates ad uniforme dominium, seruant unicuique proprias leges, uocauit'; and a curious and interesting passage on the monarchy of England in Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 198. But the work was soon more than undone by the inroads of the Danes.

pp. 62, 63. 828*. Her eft Wilaf onfeng] Wiglaf was restored as tributary king under Wessex, not earlier than Sept. 2, 830, as a document of Sept. 1, 831, is dated 'anno primo secundi regni mei,' K. C. D. No. 227; Birch, No. 400; Hoveden, *u. s.*; H. & S. *u. s.*; W. M. i. 96, 107; R. W. i. 277.

Restoration of Wiglaf.

Æpelwald bisç] Of Lichfield; cf. H. & S. iii. 608. *Ænelbald*, D, E, F wrongly.

Egcbryht . . . Norþ Walas] W. M. makes Egbert's reduction of the North Welsh a following up of his defeat of the West Welsh, 823, *supra*: 'quibus subiugatis, Aquilonales Britannos qui a praedictis brachio maris diuiduntur, tributarios fecit,' i. 106. See, however, on 853 A.

Reduction of Wales.

829*] From 829 to 839 the error in the Chronology amounts to three years, Theopold, p. 51. We have already noted this as regards single entries under 823, 825.

Felgild aṽṽiii. k1 Sept., F] The election and consecration of Felgild as archbishop are mentioned only in this insertion of F. That

Consecration and

death of
Felogild.

these events belong to 832 is shown by the fact that 'v id. Iun.' (June 9) was a Sunday in 832; cf. H. & S. iii. 557, 558; Theopold, pp. 35, 36. Felogild's death as simple abbot is given by the other MSS. under 830; it really took place Aug. 30, 832; cf. Liebermann, p. 64. Possibly he was not reckoned among the archbishops, as not having received the pallium. He signs Kentish charters from 803 to 825. If, as H. & S. think, he was a Canterbury abbot, he must have belonged to Christ Church, as Wernoth was Abbot of St. Augustine's at this time, Thorn, cc. 1775, 1776; Elmham, pp. 14, 15 (against Grubitz, p. 14). See Addenda.

Ceolnoth.

830*. Ceolnoþ] His election and consecration probably belong to 833, H. & S. iii. 610, 611. The day of his election, June 29, only in F Lat. He was consecrated Aug. 27, Gervase, ii. 348; Liebermann, p. 64, though this was not a Sunday in any year between 831 and 836.

831*, 832*] Probably 834, 835.

Evidence
of heathen
ravages.

hæpne men] It is noteworthy that in a Kentish will of about this time leaving certain rents to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, express provision is made for the case that in some years payment may be impossible 'þurh hæpen folc,' Birch, ii. 106, 107. So a little later, in Alfred's Laws, one of the causes which excuse the failure to return entrusted property is: 'þ hit here name,' Thorpe, i. 52; Schmid, p. 62.

833*] The true date is possibly 836. Theopold, p. 42.

Battle of
Char-
mouth.

gefeahrt . . . wip .xxxv. scip hlæsta] The xxv of D, E, F is a mere slip. From the word 'scip hlæsta' here and in 840, Robertson argues that the fight was on land, and that 851 was the first naval victory, E. K. S. ii. 437. But this is more than doubtful; in 875 and 882 the same phrase is used where it must refer to naval fights, and in Oros. p. 178, 'xxx sciphlæstra' translates 'cum triginta nauibus.'

7 Hereferþ . . . aldor men forþferdon] H. & S., following R. W. i. 278, regard the two bishops and the two aldermen as slain in the battle of Charmouth; and this is perhaps the view of H. H. p. 133 (they are not mentioned by Ethelw., Fl. Wig., or W. M.). 'Forðferan' is not commonly used of any but a natural death, though it is sometimes; cf. on 946 A. There is a difficulty about the two bishops; Wigthegn and Hereferth were both bishops of Winchester; they occur as fourteenth and fifteenth respectively in Fl. Wig.'s lists, i. 235 (so Hyde Register, p. 18). Dr. Stubbs conjectures that Hereferth may have been coadjutor to Wigthegn, Ep. Succ. pp. 10, 11, 161 [ed. 2, pp. 18, 19, 223]; H. & S. iii. 570, 571, 595, 596, 613. The form 'Wigferð' for 'Wigþegn' in D, E, F is a mere slip due to the preceding 'Hereferð.' Instead of Wigthegn, R. W. i. 278 has Sighelm of Sherborne, who lived just a century later. This may be some measure of the value attaching to R. W. See also Theopold, p. 70, for a very unfavourable opinion of R. W. Wigthegn signs both, and Hereferth one, of the charters which Egbert issued on his expedition against the West Welsh; above, 823. Possibly they too, like Ealhstan,

Bishops
Wigthegn
and Here-
ferth.

were fighting bishops; and this might favour the view that they fell in battle. If this was their character they bore singularly appropriate names, 'War-thane' and 'Army-spirit.'

835*] This union of the Danes and Welsh is very significant. Nor is it wonderful, considering how Offa had cut short the North Welsh; cf. Z. N. V. pp. 64, 65, 76, 77; a subject on which the Chron. is silent. The Scandinavian inroads seem to have revived in the Celtic population the hope of throwing off the Saxon yoke; cf. G. C. E. pp. 67, 77, 80; F. N. C. i. 41, 42. A seems almost to break into verse on approaching Egbert's great victory: 'þa he þæt hierde, 7 mid fierde ferde.' C keeps this feature almost intact. In B it is obscured, and in D, E, F is wholly lost. The usual correction of two or three years should probably be made.

836*. *Eggbryht . . . forþferde*] The true date is 839, H. & S. iii. 612, 624, 625; Theopold, pp. 30, 31, 43-49.

aflïemed .iii. gear] We must read xiii for iii, as Lappenberg saw, i. 270; E. T. ii. 1; *i. e.* 787-800, according to the chronology of the Chronicle. The mistake runs through all our MSS. of the Chron., for the significance of which fact see Introduction, § 100, note. For some interesting remarks on Egbert's exile, v. W. M. i. 105, 106.

feng Epelwulf] In G. P. there is a story that he was educated by Swithun for the Church, and ordained subdeacon, but received a dispensation from Leo IV, because there was no other heir, pp. 160 f.; cf. Lib. de Hyda, pp. 21, 22. The last statement is false; there was Athelstan (see below); Leo IV did not become Pope till 847, and the whole tale is a myth. Some MSS. of H. H. make Æthelwulf Bishop of Winchester! So Hoveden, i. 33; R. W. i. 293. That he may have been a pupil of Swithun's is both intrinsically and on chronological grounds quite possible; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 68. One of Swithun's biographers says: '*rex Athulfus . . . Swithunum altorem et doctorem suum . . . solitus erat nominare, ut in quibusdam scriptis ipsius regis repperimus,*' Earle's Swiðhun, pp. 68, 69. No grants of Æthelwulf to Swithun seem to be in existence, so that there are no means of testing this interesting statement.

he salde his suna Æpelstane, A; Æðelstan his oðer sunu feng, E] The reading of D, E, F makes Athelstan Egbert's son; that of A, B, C seems to make him Æthelwulf's son; and so it was understood by Fl. Wig. i. 69; W. M. i. 108; II. xl. f.; Ethelwerd, p. 511; cf. *ib.* 514 B, where, enumerating the sons of Æthelwulf, he says: '*primus Ethelstanus qui et regnum obtinuerat simul cum patre suo*'; R. W. makes him an illegitimate son of Æthelwulf, i. 279. But I believe the real meaning of A to be identical with that of E; 'he salde' refers to Egbert in the sense given by H. H.: '*regnum Cantiae Adelstano moriens reliquit,*' p. 171. Athelstan is mentioned, 851, *infra*, as king, and nowhere else: '*quando et quo fine defecerit incertum,*' W. M. i. 108. He signs charters as 'rex' from

Danes and Welsh.

Egbert's exile.

Accession of Æthelwulf.

Athelstan under-king of Kent, &c

841 to 850. (He seems to sign charters of 873, 874, Birch, Nos. 536, 538, but the signatures have evidently been transferred from earlier documents.) He died before 855, as then, if not earlier, Æthelwulf seems to have made his son, Ethelbert, King of Kent, see below, p. 82; the passage cited above from Ethelwerd also points to his having died before Æthelwulf.

Cantwara rice, 7c.] At some time after the expulsion of Baldred, 823 (= 825), the districts which then submitted were formed into a sub-kingdom, which was held as an appanage of Wessex; cf. F. N. C. i. 40. Æthelwulf held this till Egbert's death, when it was transferred to Athelstan. In D, E, F Essex is omitted through homoioteleuton, which shows that the 'East Seaxna rice' of B, C is the original reading.

837*. Wulfheard] The date is probably 840; Wulfheard certainly signs as late as 838, K. C. D. No. 239; Birch, No. 418; Theopold, p. 43.

838 A] This annal is very corrupt in D. It is omitted by E and by Gaimar. H. H. has it, but he may have got it from C.

Here bryht alдор mon] Of Mercia; there is a coin of his figured in Numismatic Chron. vi. 163. He signs certainly as late as 839, K. C. D. No. 241; Birch, No. 426. The date is probably 841.

pp. 64, 65. 839*. Cwantawic, A; Cantwic, E] The mention of this between London and Rochester lends plausibility to C's reading 'Cantwarabyrig,' followed by H. H. p. 140 (Gaimar omits it altogether). Cantwic or Cwantawic is St. Josse-sur-mer (S. Iodocus), or Étaples; on which see Bede, H. E. iv. 1, note; Nennius, § 37. That this is right is shown by the following entries: '842. Ea tempestate Normannorum classis in emporio, quod Quantouicus dicitur, . . . adeo debacchati sunt, ut nihil in eo praeter aedificia pretio redempta relinquerent,' Prudentii Trecensis Annales; Pertz, i. 439, or Bouquet, vii. 61; cf. Nithardi Hist. '842. Nortmanni Contwig depraedati sunt,' Pertz, ii. 669. This also shows that we have still to correct the chronology by three years. On the importance of Cwantawic, cf. Steenstrup, Vikinger, p. 41.

on Hrofes ceastre] From Rochester Gaimar takes the Danes to Sandwich, where there is another great battle, in which the Kentishmen are defeated. This cannot be identified with the battle of Sandwich in 851, as Mr. Martin thinks, for Gaimar has that also in its right place; and in that the Kentishmen were victorious.

840*] 'This Annal looks rather like a repetition of 833, but both are found in all the Chronicles, Saxon and Latin,' Earle. See on this point, Theopold, p. 61; as to the Chronology, *ib.* 61-65. Theopold would identify this battle with one mentioned by Prudentius Trecensis under 844, in which the 'Nortmanni' defeated the 'Angli-Saxones,' Pertz, i. 441, or Bouquet, vii. 63. I am inclined to agree with him, though Lappenberg, Pauli, and Steenstrup, Vikinger, p. 42, take a different view.

845*] Similarly, Theopold, *u. s.*, identifies this battle with a defeat of the

The
Eastern
sub-king-
dom.

Death of
Herbert of
Mercia.

The Danes
ravage
Étaples, &c

Second
battle of
Char-
mouth.

Battle at

Northmen, placed by Prudentius under 850, Pertz, i. 445 *or* Bouquet, the mouth of the Parret. vii. 66; Steenstrup again opposing, *u. s. p.* 43.

Eanulf, A; Earnulf, E] The charters are decisive in favour of A's reading; and so is Ethelwerd, both here and also p. 513 A, where he says that Eanwulf died in 867, and was buried at Glastonbury. Ethelwerd uses this battle of Pedredannuða also as a date to reckon from; cf. on 823, *supra*.

851*] From this point (owing in part to the occurrence of blank annals in the Chronicle between 845 and 851) the true chronology is restored, True chronology resumed. Theopold, pp. 60 ff.

Note the difference in the order of events in A as against B, C, D, E. Fl. Wig. follows B and C, except that he (like Asser and ASN.) has Sheppey in the place of Thanet (A omits the place altogether; on Thanet, see Bede II. 10, 41). Ethelwerd differs from both. The present commentary follows the order of A. Peculiarities of MS. A.

Note also that from this point there are frequent omissions in A, showing that it is a rather careless copy of an older original.

æt Wicgan beorge] Sometimes identified with Wembury. Mr. Davidson, in a letter to Professor Earle, suggests Weekaborough, four miles from Torbay, which certainly in form is nearer to the text; though I have not succeeded in finding the place.

Æpelstan cyning] See above, on 836.

7 Lunden burg, A] Note the omission of these words in D, E, F, and Gaimar.

Beorhtwulf Miercna cyning*] The Chronicle does not give the date of his accession and Wiglaf's death. H. & S., on the strength of certain documents of Berhtwulf's reign, would fix the date to 839, iii. 612. Florence gives the date as 838, i. 69; adding that Wiglaf died in the thirteenth year of his reign, *ib.* 266. Reckoned from the Chron.'s and Florence's (incorrect) date of 825 (= 828) for Wiglaf's first accession, this is consistent. W. M. gives Wiglaf and Berhtwulf each a reign of thirteen years, which reckoned from 825 is also consistent, i. 96. See above on 827, 828. Now, as Fl. Wig.'s date for Wiglaf's death and Berhtwulf's accession, 838, is not taken from the Chronicle, it does not follow that it requires correction as do the dates which come from that source. Nor are the documents cited by H. & S. really inconsistent with it. The only one which seems to be so is K. C. D. No. 247; Birch, No. 432, which is dated Christmas, 841, in Berhtwulf's third year. But if the year begins with Christmas Day, this would really be what we should call 840. Berhtwulf died in 852, Fl. Wig. i. 73. Florence is inconsistent with himself in saying (*ib.* 267) that this was in the thirteenth year of his reign, for if his accession was in 838 no part of 852 could fall into his thirteenth year. The date 852 is, however, confirmed, not only by what is said below, that his successor, Burgred, had been 'about twenty-two years' on the throne at Chronology of Berhtwulf's reign.

the time of his expulsion in 874, but also by two charters of Burgred, in one of which (K. C. D. No. 299; Birch, No. 524) 869 is called his seventeenth year, which shows that he cannot have succeeded earlier than 852; while in another (K. C. D. No. 290; Birch, No. 509) July 25, 864, is said to be in his thirteenth year, which shows that he must have succeeded before July 25, 852. Sæthryth, Berhtwulf's queen, signs all his genuine charters; in two, K. C. D. Nos. 242, 258; Birch, Nos. 428, 450, a son, Berhtic, also appears.

Ethelbald. **Æpelbald his sunu]** He signs as 'filius regis' (in one case 'Dux, filius regis,' K. C. D. 1049; Birch, No. 549) from 847 to 850, and then not again during his father's reign.

Battle of Aclea. **æt Aclea]** Ockley, Surrey. Professor Earle points out to me an entry in the *Rituale Eccl. Dun. S. S.* p. 185: 'be suðan Wudigan Gæte [prob. = Newdigate] æt Aclee on West Sæxum,' which makes it probable that this is also the Aclea of the Synods, K. C. D. Nos. 151, 186, 190, 256, 1031; Birch, Nos. 251, 313, 322, 377, 445. Note, however, a different theory of Mr. Kerslake cited on 822.

Contemporary writing. **op þisne 7weardan dæg, A]** Note this touch of nearly contemporary writing in A, B, C. In D, E this is weakened and made more general. It agrees with the importance assigned here to this battle that Ethelwerd uses it also as a date to reckon from, p. 514 E.

Peterborough interpolation. **852 E]** Another of the Peterborough insertions. In the signatures, 'Ceolred ærceþ,' is of course a mistake for Ceolnoth; 'Cenred' is a mistake for Ceolred (of Leicester). The other signatories are Tunberht of Lichfield, Alhun of Worcester, Berhtred of Lindsey. The original charter is K. C. D. No. 267; Birch, No. 464.

'græfa.' **twælf foður græfan]** I borrow the following from Napier and Stevenson's notes to the Crawford Charters:—"The word "græfa, -e" (weak masc. or fem.?) appears to mean "bush, bramble, brushwood, thicket, grove." We have noted the following instances of its occurrence: Wülker, *Glossaries*, i. 406, 526, "frondosis dumis" = "þæm gehilmdum græfum"; *ib.* 517 "per dumos = "þurh græfan"; *ib.* 225 "dumas" = "spinas uel græfe" (have we here a strong fem. "græf" ?); Birch, ii. 364 (original charter, A.D. 931) "on ða blacan græfan" (either acc. sing. fem. or acc. plur.); *ib.* iii. 655 (Codex Winton.) "on hincstes grefan, of hincstes grefan . . . on þonne mearcgrefan." The same word is found once in the *Ormulum* (l. 9210):—

7 whærse iss all unnsmepe gett þurh bannkess 7 þurh græfess,
7 sharrp 7 ruh 7 gatelæs þurh þornness 7 þurh breress,
þær shulenn beon ridinngess nu, 7 effne 7 smepe we3ress."

The context shows that close impenetrable thickets are here meant. The same word occurs frequently throughout the ME. period in the form "greve," meaning "grove, wood": cf. Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, l. 637:—

“And with his stremes dryeth in the greves

The silver dropes, hanging on the leves.”

Palsgrave, 1530, gives “greave or busshe, boscaige,” and this form survived until Elizabethan times. As a suffix it still exists in Sheffield local names. The word is probably related to the OE. “grāf” masc. neut., which occurs in the charters, and which survives as NE. “grove,” p. 61. Professor Earle, who in his own edition of the Chronicle gave a different explanation of the word, writes: “The wood and faggots may well have been wanted for repairing the dykes in the fens; cf. Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, i. 252: “be war ther leve no firsis in the deke that ye reparre, and that the wode be mad of fagot, and leyd up forthwoth as it is fellid for taking away.””

853 A, 852 E. Norþ Walas] R. W. i. 288 calls them ‘Mediterraneos Britones,’ perhaps as being intermediate between the Cornish and Strathclyde Britons. This shows that the hold of Wessex on Wales (828, *supra*) had not been maintained. Reduction of Wales.

sende . . . Ælfred . . . to Rome, A] That Alfred was sent to Rome at this time, 853, there is no doubt; see W. M. II. xli ff., where Dr. Stubbs cites a letter of Leo IV to Æthelwulf: ‘filium uestrum Erfred . . . benigne suscepiimus, et quasi spiritalium filium consulatus cingulo, honore uestimentisque, ut mos est Romanis consulibus, decorauimus, eo quod in nostris se tradidit manibus,’ MS. Add. 8873, No. 31. Compare Stephen IV’s words to Carloman in 770: ‘Obnixae quaesumus ut de . . . regali uestro germine . . . in nostris ulnis ex fonte sacri baptismatis, aut etiam per adorandi chrismatis unctionem, spiritalium suscipere ualeamus filium,’ Mansi, xii. 699; R. P. p. 201. The ‘spiritalis filius’ here = the ‘biscep-sunu’ of the Chron.; cf. Asser, p. 488: ‘ad manum episcopi in filium confirmationis acceptus’; so: ‘filius a chrismate . . . ut modo sub manu episcopi solemus, accipientes paruulos, filios nominare,’ Ethelw. p. 511. (On sponsors at Confirmation, *v. Bede*, II. 383.) All this shows that confirmation by the Pope is meant. But English writers regarded it as a royal unction, Chron. (here); Ethelw. *u. s.*; Asser, p. 470; Fl. Wig. i. 74; H. H. p. 141; W. M. i. 109. Alfred sent to Rome.

There has been much discussion as to the date of Alfred’s birth, Stubbs, *u. s.* It seems to have been overlooked that the date is fixed by the genealogical Preface to MS. A. of the Chron., a strictly contemporary authority, which says that he was ‘turned’ twenty-three at his accession in 871, i. 4. This fixes his birth to 848. He was therefore five years old at the time of his first visit to Rome. (Napier’s text of this document reads xxii for xxiii, but is less ancient than A; and Sweet’s copy, Earliest Texts, which is the most ancient of all, also reads xxiii.) Date of Alfred’s birth.

Alfred went again to Rome with his father in 855, Asser, *u. s.*; *infra sub anno*; and it is to this journey that the spurious charter (Birch, No. 493; K. C. D. No. 1057; cf. *ib.* iv. 176) refers the royal unction; Second journey to Rome.

so R. W. i. 290, 291, who makes this unction of Alfred as king, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, one of the main causes of Æthelbald's revolt (see notes to 855). F 855 represents Alfred as being at Rome when his father died (Jan. 858); on the news of which event Leo anointed him king, and also confirmed him, i. 67. The object of this is to make the royal unction more probable. But Leo IV died in 855.

Æthel-
swith.

pp. 66, 67. *geaf . . . his dohtor*] This is Æthelswith, whose death occurs below, 888; see also on 874. She is mentioned as 'queen' in a Wessex document of 854. She signs Mercian charters from 855-872. We find a place in Hants called 'Æþelswiðe tuninga lea' in a charter of 948 (K. C. D. No. 1163; Birch, No. 865). This may have been one of her dowry estates. According to Asser the marriage took place at Chippenham, p. 470 B.

855*. *Her hæþne men*] 'Scilicet Dani et Frisones,' Ann. Lindisf.; Pertz, xix. 506.

Wintering
of the
Danes.

ærest . . . ofer winter sætun] But an earlier wintering has been mentioned, 851, *supra*. These winterings 'mark the transition from the first to the second period of their invasions,' F. N. C. i. 45. A Mercian charter of this very year is dated 'quando fuerunt pagani in Wroocensetun,' K. C. D. No. 277; Birch, No. 487; *i. e.* 'the dwellers round the Wrekin in Shropshire,' Rev. C. S. Taylor, *The Danes in Gloucestershire*, p. 10.

Æthel-
wulf's
donation.

gebocude . . . teopan dæl his londes] The difficult subject of Æthelwulf's donation cannot be discussed here; see on it, H. & S. iii. 631, 632, 636-648; Kemble, *Saxons*, ii. 481-490; W. M. i. 118-120; Earle's *Swiðhun*, p. 70; *Charters*, p. lxxiii. Professor Maitland suggests that it may be partly explained as an early case of 'beneficial hidation,' *i. e.* the rating of land for fiscal purposes at a lower number of hides than it really contained, *Domesday*, p. 496, note.

Æthel-
wulf's
journey to
Rome.

ferde to Rome] 855 is correct for Æthelwulf's journey to Rome, H. & S. iii. 611, 612. As early as the year of his accession, 839, he had formed the plan, and had sent an embassy to the emperor to prepare the way, *ib.* 621. He took Alfred with him (*v. s.*), and remained at Rome a year. His visit is mentioned by Anastasius in his life of Benedict III, Muratori, SS. III. i. 251, where a list of his offerings is given; cf. the charter cited above. Returning to the Imperial Court in July, 856, he

Judith.

married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, on Oct. 1. The motive was to secure the co-operation of the Franks against the vikings, whose attacks affected both kingdoms. Judith was a mere child of twelve or thirteen. This may explain, though it does not justify, her subsequent marriage with Æthelbald, which does not rest merely on the authority of Asser. It is not mentioned by the Chronicler either here or under 885; Asser, Fl. Wig., and ASN. condemn it, in identical terms; Hoveden calls

it 'infame scelus,' i. 37; cf. R. W. i. 294, who says that in 859 Æthelbald dismissed Judith and did penance, *ib.* 295; while Rudborne adds that this was done by the persuasion of Swithhun, Ang. Sac. i. 204; but there is no early authority for this, though Dümmler, *ut infra*, accepts it. The marriage is mentioned also by several foreign chronicles, Prudentius Trecensis, Pertz, i. 451; Hincmar, *ib.* 456; Flodoardus Remensis, *ib.* xiii. 488, who makes Æthelwulf and Æthelbald identical: 'Iudith . . . Ediluulfo . . . qui et Edilboldus . . . copulata.' This is probably from a wish to cover up the scandal, as he follows Hincmar pretty closely. Iohannes Longus, while taking his account of the marriage mainly from W. M. i. 122, adds: 'nec regis facinus uidebatur Anglicis esse graue. quibus Dei cultus multum erat incognitus.' *ib.* xxv. 768. For Judith's later history, see *ib.* i. 456, 462; Bouquet, vii. 387, 388, 391, 397; Dümmler, *Gesch. d. ostfränk. Reiches*, ed. 1, i. 478; ed. 2, ii. 37, 38. She is a person of some interest in the history of literature; see Bede, II. 249; cf. Gaimar, v. 3346: 'unke dame n'out mieldre doctrine.'

æfter pam to his leodum cuom, A] Into the account of Æthelwulf's return Asser inserts (rather awkwardly) a story, copied by later writers (*e.g.* W. M. i. 117, 118; G. P. p. 176), of a conspiracy of his son Æthelbald, Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, and Eanwulf, Alderman of Somerset, to exclude Æthelwulf from the kingdom; who, sooner than occasion a civil war, accepted the Eastern sub-kingdom. Kent and its appendages, leaving Wessex to Æthelbald. This sounds very mythical; and seems flatly to contradict the simple and expressive words of the Chron. as to the joy of Æthelwulf's subjects at his return: 'his gefægene wærun' (the same words used of Alfred, 878 *sub fin.* i. 76, 77), though those words may indicate that there had been trouble in his absence.

ymb .ii. gear . . . gefôr*] Jan. 13, 858, Fl. Wig. i. 78; H. & S. iii. 611, His death. 612; so that the Chron.'s 'two years' from the return from Rome is rather too long, and Ethelwerd's 'post annum,' p. 512, is nearer the mark.

lip æt Wintan ceastre] The ASN. say that he was buried at Steningham (Steyning), and it is hard to see why the less known place should be substituted for the more familiar. Steyning was a royal 'ham'; see Alfred's Will, K. C. D. No. 314; Birch, No. 553. His burial.

Ond se Æpelwulf, 7c., A] The carrying up of the pedigree to Adam marks the desire to connect the national history with universal history in the person of the universal father, S. C. S. iii. 91: 'sicut Lucam euangelistam a Domino Iesu factitasse cognouimus,' W. M. i. 120, who, contrary to his wont, inserts this pedigree: 'quanquam timendum sit ne barbaricorum nominum hiatus uulneret aures desuetorum in talibus' (to the same effect in his life of Wulfstan, Ang. Sac. i. 254); cf. Nennius, pp. 15, 16, 64. So Ailred of Rievaulx carries Henry II's genealogy up to Adam, Hardy, Cat. ii. 250; cf. *ib.* 265. William the Lion's pedigree is Pedigree carried up to Adam.

carried up to Noah, P. & S. p. 145; cf. *ib.* 332. The pedigrees of British saints and princes are carried up, some to relatives of the Virgin Mary, Cambro-British Saints, pp. 21, 81, 82, 144; Y Cymmrodor, ix. 170; others to Roman emperors, *ib.* 176, 177.

A British pedigree.

Beaw Sceldwaing] It is noteworthy that after Beaw the Liber de Hyda diverges, and gives Alfred a British pedigree: 'Beawius qui fuit Ebrauci qui condidit ciuitatem Eboracum; et sic iste princeps inter mille nominatissimus Alfredus de natione uenit Britonum, et sic de nobili sanguine Troianorum,' pp. 28, 29.

Legend of Scaef.

Scaefing. id est filius Nôðs, B, C] On the omission of these links in the pedigree by A, on the West Saxon genealogy generally, and on Scaef, see notes to the genealogical Preface, p. 4, *supra*. For the significance of the insertion of the pedigree here, see Introduction, § 107, note. Both W. M., *u. s.*, and Ethelwerd, p. 512, insert the legend of Scaef in slightly different forms; cf. W. M. i. 121, note. For a most curious and interesting story illustrating the survival of the Scyld and Scaef myth, see Chron. Ab. i. 89; II. xl, xli; Kemble, Saxons, i. 413 ff.

Division of the kingdom.

Ond þa fengon, 7c.*] The division of the kingdoms is given more correctly in A. The confusion in E is due to the use of a double source in its prototype, which D has retained. E has endeavoured to correct it, but unskilfully. See critical note. Gaimar does not resemble E.

Chronology.

riosode . . . v. gear] As Æthelbald died in 860, the five years credited to him must be dated from his father's departure to Rome in 855, when he was no doubt associated with his father in the kingship; cf. ASN.: 'Regnauit Adelbaldus . . . post illum duos annos et dimidium, qui et ipse antea cum patre regnanit annis duobus et dimidio.' Similarly H. H. says of Ethelbert, who died in 865, that 'regnasset super West-sexe v annis, super Cantiam uero x annis,' p. 142. This shows that he must have been made King of Kent at the time of his father's departure to Rome in 855; and he signs charters of that year as 'Æthelberht Rex,' K. C. D. Nos. 269, 276; Birch, Nos. 467, 486. Unfortunately we have no signatures of Æthelbald to indicate his position between 855 and 858. It seems clear, however, that Æthelwulf, when he went abroad in 855, divided his dominions between his two sons, in the way in which they were ultimately divided at his death. It is possible that on his return to England Æthelbald objected to resign his power over Wessex, whereas Ethelbert in Kent showed a more dutiful spirit, and that this is the substratum of fact in Asser's story. Asser also says that Æthelwulf at his death left 'hereditariam . . . epistolam. in qua et regni inter filios suos, duos scilicet seniores, et propriae hereditatis inter filios et filiam [Æthelswith, therefore, seems to have been his only daughter] . . . diuisionem . . . mandari procurauit,' p. 472. Unfortunately this will does not exist, though a portion of it is recited in Alfred's will, K. C. D. No. 314; Birch, No. 553. Whether Æthelwulf did really leave his kingdom by

will must therefore remain uncertain. Of course Mr. Freeman could have told him that he had no power to do so.

Note that the ASN. place in 855 and 856 respectively the accession and coronation of St. Edmund of East Anglia, in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of his age. St. Ed-
mund.

860*. *Æpelbald cyng forpferde*] On the chronology of his reign, see above. He was a great benefactor of Abingdon, Chron. Ab. i. 38. Death of
Æthelbald. Ethelbert, his successor, seems to have been less generous, *ib.* 40. On Ethelbald's death H. H. says: 'sensit posthac Anglia quantum amiserit in eo,' p. 142.

æt Scira burnan] Ethelbert makes grants for the souls of Æthelwulf and Æthelbald 'to þære halgan stowe æt Scireburnan, þære Æðelbaldes cyninges lichama hine resteð,' Birch, No. 510; and Edgar makes grants to Sherborne 'for mine yldran the thar restat, Athelbold cyng 7 Æthelbyrht cing,' *ib.* No. 1308.

to allum pam rice] *i. e.* Ethelbert on succeeding to Wessex continued to hold Kent, &c.; cf. Asser, p. 473: 'Cantiam et Suthrigiam Suthseaxum quoque, ut iustum erat, subiunxit'; so ASN.; cf. H. H. p. 171: 'regnum utrumque Adelbricto subditum est, et nunquam postea diuisum. Hic igitur omnino regnum Cantiae explicit'; cf. also K. C. D. Nos. 285, 287, 288, 294, 307; Birch, Nos. 502, 506, 507, 516, 538, 539, where the union of Kent and Wessex is noted. Reunion of
the king-
dom.

pp. 67, 68. *Osric aldor man*] So A, D, E, Wulfheard, B. C. Both on textual and documentary grounds the former is to be preferred; B, C probably overlooked the fact that the death of Wulfheard of Hampshire is entered above under 837. Osric.

p. 69. 861 F. *S. Swiðun b*] The only mention of St. Swithun in the Chron., whom Professor Earle was inclined at one time to regard as possibly himself editor of part of the Chron. See his Introduction, p. xiii. It is noteworthy that Ælfric, writing about 996 (Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 463, 464), already complains of the scantiness of the materials for Swithun's life: 'ne we ne fundon on bocum hu se bisceop leofode,' Lives, p. 442. According to the lives printed in Earle's Swiðhun, pp. 67-73, he was born under Egbert, ordained priest by Helmstan, Bishop of Winchester (he signs a charter of 838 as *deacon*, K. C. D. No. 1044; Birch, No. 423), consecrated by Ceolnoth (852, *v. H. & S.* iii. 633, 634; on Oct. 30, Hampson, i. 431), and died in the third year of Ethelbert, 862, and was translated in 971; cf. also AA. SS. July, i. 321 ff. (A charter signed by him, and dated 863, cannot be genuine, for it is a grant by Ethelred, who only succeeded in 866.) Fl. Wig. places his death on July 2, 862; in S. D. ii. 104; G. P. p. 162, the date is given as 863. On the later lives of him, see Hardy, Cat. i. 513-519; ii. 22. Various traditions and legends are embodied in G. P. pp. 160-162, 167, 168. His posthumous miracles became so frequent that the poor monks complained that they could not sleep St. Swith-
hun.

for them. For his fame on the continent, cf. Pertz, xv. 52. For churches dedicated to him, see Earle, *Swiðhun*, pp. 87, 88.

pp. 68, 69. 865*] 'With 865 begins the real attempt to conquer England,' Steenstrup, *Vikinger*, p. 55.

genam friþ, 7c.] Cf. Oros. p. 210: 'Galba . . . frið genam wið hie, 7 hi under þam friðe beswác,' p. 218: 'he genom friþ wiþ þæt folc, 7 hiene siþþan aweg bestæl.'

Peace purchased from the Danes.

feoh geheton] An early instance of the system of purchasing peace from the Scandinavian marauders. Ethelwerd says: 'pecuniam parant ignoti [=ignari] futuri.' He evidently, therefore, regards this as the beginning of the fatal policy. It is most unjust to make Ethelred II responsible for this system, as is very commonly done; cf. on 991 E.

under þam friþe, A] The omission in D, E is due to homoioteleuton 'friþe.' Note also that in D's text 'on þam feohgehate,' *on* is for *ond* (=and); E mistakes it for the preposition, and inserts another 7.

Great invasion.

866*. Æþered . . . broþur] Ethelred signs as 'filius regis,' 854-864. micel (hæðen) here] Ethelwerd, p. 512, makes Ingwar the leader of this invasion; H. H. p. 143 says Ingwar and Ubba, who are mentioned below, 870 F, in connexion with St. Edmund of East Anglia. (Their ravages were foretold by St. Sexburg, Hardy, *Cat.* i. 361.) For their fate, cf. *Liber de Hyda*, p. 10; where Ingwar is said to have given his name to Hungerford. S. D. adds to these two, Halfdane, ii. 104 (a sentence not taken from Asser); so *ib.* i. 224, and *Ann. Lindisf.* 855; Pertz, xix. 506; cf. G. G. pp. lvi, lxxix f. 265, 268-270.

North-umbrian chronology.

867*. Norþhymbre] We have had no notice of the internal affairs of Northumbria since the expulsion of Eardwulf under 806, which marks the close of the Northumbrian 'Gesta,' incorporated in the DE recension of the Chron. (see Introduction, § 66). Hence Fl. Wig. only says: 'aliquot imperauerunt reges,' i. 270. The true date of that event is probably 807 or 808; *v.* note *a. l.* Reckoning from this, and combining the notices given in S. D. i. 52, 68-71, 225; ii. 86, 92, 106, 110, 111, 114, 115, 119, 377, 391; *Ann. Lindisf.*; Pertz, xix. 506, we get the following table. (The details do not exactly square in all cases, but the difference is not more than a year, or, at the very most, two, in any case.) Cf. also R. W. i. 270, 271.

807 × 808. Expulsion of Eardwulf; accession of Ælfwold.

808 × 809 Restoration of Eardwulf, *v. s.* p. 68.

809. Accession of Eanred, son of Eardwulf. This is the king who submitted to Egbert (see on 827, *supra*).

841. Accession of Ethelred, son of Eanred. R. W. makes Ethelred expelled in 844, and succeeded by Readwulf, who falls against the Danes at Alutthelia, when Ethelred is restored, i. 283.

850. Slaughter of Ethelred; accession of Osberht.

863. Expulsion of Osberht; accession of Ælle.

867. Osberht and Ælle slain at York. Egbert set up by the Danes as puppet king over the Northumbrians north of Tyne.

872. Expulsion of Egbert (he takes refuge in Mercia, i. 324).

873. Death of Egbert; accession of Ricsig (in S. D. i. 56, Ricsig succeeds immediately on the expulsion of Egbert).

876. Death of Ricsig; accession of Egbert II, who reigns for two years.

878-883. Interregnum; 'cum exercitus (se here) et qui supererant de indigenis sine rege nutarent,' *ib.* i. 68; cf. ii. 114.

883. Guthred set up as king in obedience to a vision of St. Cuthbert (a very mythical story; cf. Robertson, *Early Kings*, i. 52; ii. 432, 440).

894. Death of Guthred. He is called son of Hardecnut, and Todd makes him son of Cnut *or* Hardecnut, King of Denmark, G. G. p. 266. Anyhow he is probably one of the Danish chiefs who ruled in Northumbria; cf. the Guthfrid, son of Sitric, mentioned below, 927. H. H. distinctly reckons him among the Danish princes, adding: 'confuse autem regnauerunt Daci; ita quod modo ibi rex unus erat, modo duo, modo reguli multi,' p. 172. Ethelwerd has a 'Guthfrid rex Northymbriorum,' who dies on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 896, and is buried at York, pp. 518, 519.

ungecyndne cyning] *i.e.* not of royal race; 'regem ignobilem,' 'An unkind king,' Ethelw. p. 513; 'regem degenerem,' H. H. p. 143; 'tyrannum . . . non de regali prosapia,' Asser, p. 474 (this might seem to give the other sense of 'unkind' in addition, but 'tyrannus' merely means 'usurper'); 'regii seminis extraneo,' S. D. i. 225; 'alienigenam regii seminis,' *ib.* ii. 377, 391. Todd takes him for a Scandinavian chief from Ireland, G. G. p. lv and reff.; cf. Langebek, SS. i. 111. A document used by S. D. wrongly makes Ælle a brother of Osberht, i. 202. (The name 'Scaldingi,' Scyldings, given to the Danes by this writer is interesting; see note *a. l.* and cf. Ann. Lindisf. 911: 'Scaldi Rollo duce possident Normanniam,' where the note is wrong.)

hie late . . . gecirdon] This may refer specially to the rival kings, on whose reconciliation the Latin chronicles lay great stress; or to the Northumbrians generally.

pa ceastre bræcon] 'Osbertus et Ælla obsessam ciuitatem irrumpentes, expulerunt inde Danos,' Ann. Lindisf.

pær was ungemetic wæl geslægen] This phrase recurs exactly. Oros. p. 124.

sume binnan, sume butan] This is still a living phrase in Scotch; *e.g.* 'Hendry wandered ben and but the house,' A Window in Thrums, c. 20, *ad init.*

pa cyningas . . . ofslægene] Ord. Vit. regards them as martyrs, Death of because they fell fighting against the Danes, ii. 201; while in S. D. their fate is ascribed to their aggressions on St. Cuthbert's lands, i. 55, 201, 202; **Northumbrian** ii. 391. The battle of York is mentioned in Ann. Camb., in Brut y Tywys., **kings.**

and in the Ann. Ult. at the year 866 (= 867); the two first showing that they are taken from an Irish source. According to Three Fragments, Ælle was slain through the treachery of one of his own comitatus, p. 172: cf. *ib.* 158; but whether this rests on anything more than the writer's imagination, I do not know. For some curious legends as to Osberht and Ælle, see Gaimar, M. H. B. pp. 795 ff.; R. S. i. 103 ff., 328 ff. S. D. says that the Danes ravaged as far as Tynemouth. He gives the date of the battle of York as 'xii. Kal. Aprilis [March 21], feria vi. ante Dominicam Palmarum,' ii. 105, 106; cf. i. 55. Later tradition transferred it to Palm Sunday itself, *ib.* 202; so Ann. Lindisf.

sio laf . . . friþ nam] It was now that Egbert was set up, *v. s.*: '[Northanhymbris] qui remanserunt praepositus est Rex Ecgbertus,' Ann. Lindisf.

Ealchstan bisð] On him, see 823, *supra*, note.

The Danes at Nottingham. 868*. Snotengaham] 'quod Britannice Tigguocobauc interpretatur. Latine autem speluncarum domus,' Asser, p. 475.

7 þær winter setl namon] 'et Burhred rex Merciorum cum suis primatibus eis consenserunt manendi sine calumnia' [*i. e.* consented to their remaining], Ethelw. p. 513 B.

Death of St. Edmund. pp. 70, 71. 870*. Eadmund cyning] On the later lives of St. Edmund, see Hardy, Cat. i. 526-538; *ib.* xxx; Hoveden, i. 39. The principal one is by Abbo of Fleury, and is dedicated to Dunstan, who furnished materials for it. These he derived from St. Edmund's own armour-bearer, who narrated the story in the presence of King Athelstan. See the dedicatory letter in Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 378-380; and the whole passion in Surius, at November 20; cf. R. W. i. 303 ff., partly founded on Abbo.

pone cyning ofslogon] This is quite compatible with Edmund's having fallen in battle. According to the later authorities he was shot with arrows by the Danes; and thus becomes the St. Sebastian of English hagiology, to whom Abbo, c. 10, expressly compares him. Abbo, c. 3, followed by Fl. Wig. i. 78, says that he was 'ex antiquorum Saxonum . . . prosapia.' This need not mean more than that he was of ancient royal descent. It has apparently been taken as referring to the old Saxons, the Eald Seaxe of the continent, for Lappenberg says, i. 236; E. T. i. 242, that some of the legends make his father Alchmund (on whom, *v. s.* pp. 61, 62) king of the continental Saxons. The death of St. Edmund is mentioned in the Icelandic Annals, *e.g.* Sturlunga Saga, ii. 348. Ari's Libellus opens with a notice of it, and all through that work other events are dated from this, Orig. Island., i. 288, 291, 298, 304; cf. Lappenberg, i. 306; E. T. ii. 39: 'In the long line of royal saints there is scarcely one who has enjoyed for so long a European veneration.' S. D. says that Bishop Humberht of Elmham ('really Hygberht,' says Theopold, p. 108; Stubbs, Ep. Succ., however, keeps Humberht, giving him an episcopate of forty-six years) was martyred with Edmund, i. 55; ii. 107. '[Eadmundi] corpus iacet

mausoleatum in . . . Beadoricesuuyrthe,' Ethelw. p. 513 B. According to Heremanni Mirac. Edmundi, he was buried first 'in uillula Suthune dicta,' Martene and Durand, Ampl. Coll. vi. 823; cf. Liebermann, p. 203. Abingdon claimed to possess the shirt in which he was martyred, Chron. Ab. ii. 157.

7 *fordiden . . . to nan ping, E]* A very interesting Peterborough insertion; cf. Hugo Candidus, pp. 14-16; Introduction, §§ 35, 54 note.

gefór Ceolnop]* From this point we lose the invaluable guidance of H. & S. in ecclesiastical affairs.

Æpered Wiltunscire biscop, a] So F, in the continuation of this Archbishop's annal given in App. B, i. 283-285; a Canterbury addition, but on the difficulty of the statement, see H. & S. iii. 596; and on the decline of monasticism at Canterbury, implied in that continuation, *ib.* 575-577. There is a letter of Pope John VIII to Archbishop Ethelred, in which, after condoling with him on his trials, he adds: 'monemus ut . . . opponas te murum pro domo Domini . . . non solum regi sed omnibus in ea peruerse agere uolentibus' (the rest of the letter deals mainly with the question of unlawful marriages), Mansi, xvii. 54; R. P. p. 270. The king who was to be thus resisted was Alfred!

871*. *Her cuom se here to Readingum]* Asser says that the Danes on reaching Reading, 'uillam regiam,' threw up a fortification between the Thames and the Kennet, which is probable enough. This was a favourite mode of warfare with them; cf. Green, C. E. pp. 88-90. The Danes at Reading.

Æpered . . . 7 Ælfred his broþur] According to Lib. de Hyda, p. 27, Ethelred was Alfred's favourite brother. Alfred signs as 'filius regis,' 854-868.

to Readingum gelæddon] According to Gaimar Ethelred and Alfred were driven to Wiscelet (Whistley Green, south of Twyford), and the English escaped by the ford over the Loddon at Twyford, which the Danes did not know of, *re.* 2963 ff. This sounds perfectly genuine.

7 *Æpelwulf . . . ofslægen]* '[cuius] corpus abstrahitur furtim, adduciturque in Merciorum prouinciam, in locum qui Northworþige nuncupatur, iuxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby,' Ethelw. p. 513.

on Æsces dune] The site of Ashdown is fixed by a charter of Edred's granting land 'æt Cumtune, iuxta montem qui uocatur Æscesdune,' K. C. D. No. 1172; Birch, No. 908. This is Compton, near East Ilsley; *v.* Chron. Ab. ii. 510, note. It is this battle of Ashdown which the Berkshire White Horse is believed to commemorate. Its name is given in Welsh as Bryn Onnen, 'Hill of the Ash,' Ann. Cambr.; Brut y Tywys., 869. Asser, in his account of the battle, inserts a tale, which he says he had from eye-witnesses, how that Ethelred refused to engage until he had heard mass, and consequently Alfred had for a time to bear the brunt of the battle alone. He declares also that he had seen a solitary thorn which marked the site of the battle, pp. 476, 477. [In the Ecclesiastical Institutes (a Battle of Ashdown.

translation of a work of Bishop Theodulf of Orleans, c. 797; *v. H. & S. I. xiii.*), the one exception to the rule that mass must be said only in church is: 'butan lyt on fyrde sy · þonne hæbbe man geteld to þæm anum · 7 gehalgod weofod · on þæm seo þenung þæs mæssesanges sy gefylled,' Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 410.]

Bachsecg 7 Halfdene] Green, *C. E.* p. 98, calls Bachsecg 'the Danish King of Bernicia.' This is taken from Todd in *G. G.* p. 270, who also makes Halfdane King of Deira. But, as to Bachsecg, this seems impossible, for in 871 Egbert was King of Bernicia; *v. s.* on 867.

Battle of
Meretun.

Mere tune] This has been identified with Merton, near Bicester, Oxon., and with Marden, near Devizes, Wilts. The fact that Bishop Heahmund, who fell in the battle, was buried at Keynsham on the Avon (*v. inf.*), which is only some twenty miles from Devizes, is decidedly in favour of the latter (note the form in E, 'Mæredune,' which agrees well with this).

pp. 72, 73. Heahmund bisċ] Of Sherborne; a fighter, like his predecessor Ealhstan; see above on 823. Ethelwerd adds: 'sumque corpus iacet sepultum in loco Cægineshamme' (*Keynsham*), p. 513.

Sumor-
lida.'

micel sumor lida] 'aestius exercitus,' Ethelw. p. 514; cf. *H. H.* p. 145. So in Latin 'classis Somarlidiorum,' *P. & S.* p. 10. It refers to the hordes of Scandinavian pirates who issued forth to plunder in the summer, returning home to winter; as opposed to the forces which wintered in the British Isles, and ultimately settled there permanently; cf. Vigfússon, *s. v.* somarliði; *S. C. S. i.* 365; *Rs. Ad.* p. 411; Steenstrup, *Vikinger*, p. 66; *Inledning*, p. 274. Both Sumarliði (*Somerled*) and Vetrliði occur frequently as proper names; and so Gaimar here:

'Donc vint un Daneis, un tyrant,

Ki Sumerlede out nun le grant.'

rr. 3015 f.

Wimborne.

æt Winburnan] None of the Latin Chroniclers follow C's reading 'æt Scireburnan menster.' H. H. turns E's 'Winburnan menster' (where -an is the weak genitive) into 'Winburnham minster'; cf. the analogous corruption of 'Abbandun' into Abingdon. On Ethelred's descendants, see on 901, *infra*.

Accession
of Alfred.

þa feng Ælfred] The cross in the margin of MS. *A* draws attention to the significance of the event; cf. the name on the margin of E.

Battle of
Wilton.

æt Wiltune] 'in monte qui dicitur Wiltun, qui est in meridiana ripa fluminis Guilou [the Wylve] de quo flumine tota illa paga nominatur,' Asser, p. 477. Ethelwerd seems (for he is very confused) to place this contest also in the neighbourhood of Reading. And though the Chron. says distinctly 'Ælfred gefeagt,' Ethelw., commenting apparently on the words 'lytle werede,' says: 'erat . . . exiguus Anglorum exercitus propter absentiam regis qui eodem tempore exequias fratris impleuerat,' p. 514.

folc gefeagt] Cf. 'on þrim folcgefeohtum betux twæm cyningum,'

Oros. p. 128; cf. *ib.* 116, 118, where 'folcgefeotum' is contrasted with 'hloþum,' for which latter, see 894, i. 84.

on **py cynerice**] I am not certain as to the meaning of this phrase. It probably means Wessex as opposed to its various dependencies.

872*] The winter-settlement in London was 871-872; see Steenstrup, *The Danes in London*, Vik. p. 67. A lease of lands belonging to the see of Worcester, executed in 872, was necessitated 'pro immenso tributo barbarorum, eodem anno quo pagani sedebant in Lundonia,' K. C. D. No. 303; Birch, Nos. 533, 534. This was also probably the occasion of Alfred's vow, the fulfilment of which is recorded at 883 E.

namon Mierce friþ] 'stipendiaque statuunt,' adds Ethelwerd, Peace bought. p. 514 E; *i. e.* the peace had, as often, to be purchased.

873*. **æt Tureces iege**] 'Torksey, a fine strategical position at the point where an ancient Roman canal from Lincoln joined the Trent,' Earle. The shorter form of the annal in D, E, as compared with A, B, C, may be due to a suspicion on the part of the redactor of the DE recension that the latter part of this annal in A, B, C was a mere duplication of the latter part of 872. Owing to this overrunning of Lindsey by the Danes 'the list of the Bishops of Lindsey is interrupted for nearly a century,' H. & S. iii. 623. *Torksey.*

874*. **þone cyning Burgræd**] On the chronology of Burgred's reign, see on 851.

he fôr to Rome] Asser says that he lived 'non diu' after reaching Rome, p. 478. W. M. says that his wife followed him but died at Pavia, i. 96. This latter fact is taken from the Chron.; *infra*, 888. He is very contemptuous of the 'semiuir' Ceolwulf. He was to hold Mercia simply at pleasure; cf. Liber de Hyda, p. 14. There are two charters of Ceolwulf, both of the year 875, K. C. D. Nos. 306, 308; Birch, Nos. 540, 541; and a grant by him is recited in a charter of Edward the Elder, K. C. D. No. 340; Birch, No. 607. An interesting coin of this Ceolwulf is figured in Numismatic Chron. v. 10. *Burgred goes to Rome. Ceolwulf.*

875*. **mid sumum þam here**] 'We have to note here a division of the invading forces; (1) Halfdane on the Tyne; (2) Guthruun, &c., at Cambridge. Henceforward we have to observe these two centres in studying the movements of the Vikings,' Earle, from Steenstrup, Vik. pp. 88, 89. *Division of the Danes.*

on **Norp hymbre**] The object of this invasion of Northumbria was to reduce the land north of the Tyne, which had hitherto escaped, S. D. i. 56. The place at which Halfdane took up his winter quarters was 'circa Tomemuthe,' *i. e.* at the mouth of the Team, near Newcastle, *ib.*; cf. Mem. Hex. i. 42. The work of ravage was most effectually done: 'ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale caedem et incendium continuauit,' S. D. i. 58. It was this invasion which caused the monks to leave Lindisfarne, carrying the body of St. Cuthbert, with other relics, including the Lindisfarne gospels, which, after many wanderings, and a temporary rest at Chester-

le-Street from 883 to 995, ultimately reposed at Durham, *ib.* 56 ff., 207, 208, 235 ff.

Conflicts of Danes and Picts. pp. 74, 75. on Peohtas, 7c.] The conflicts with the Picts are mentioned in the Irish Annals; *e.g.* Ann. Ult. 874 (=875): 'Congressio Pictorum for *Dubgallu* [against the Black strangers, *i.e.* the Danes] et strages magna Pictorum facta est.' It is not necessary to limit this to the Picts of Galloway; as S. C. S. i. 326.

The Strathclyde Welsh. on *Stræclled Walas*] *i.e.* the Welsh of Strathclyde, 'Stratcluttenses,' Asser; 'Cumbri,' Ethelw., 'the first appearance of the term Cumbri . . . as applied to the Britons of Strathclyde,' S. C. S. *u. s.* It is noteworthy, however, that Florence seems to distinguish between 'Cumbri' and 'Streatgledwalani'; the former being apparently the 'Norð Wealas,' our Wales. Gaimar here speaks of 'Streclued reis de Geleweie'; *i.e.* he makes 'Stræclled' the name of a Welsh king, as does F at 924.

The Danes at Wareham. 876*. Her hiene bestæl se here . . . fierde] The true construction of this phrase escaped all the translators of the Chron. from Wheloc to Thorpe. Earle was the first to explain it correctly. 'Fierde' is the genitive after 'hiene bestæl,' 'the *here* eluded the West Saxon *fierd* [and got] into Wareham.' This is of course the Cambridge division of the *here*; so Ethelw. and Asser-Flor. rightly. (For the difference between *here* and *fierd*, see the Glossary, *s. vv.*) 'The phrase "hiene bestæl se here" occurs again, 878, *infra*. As against Wessex the Danes seem to have trusted more to surprise than force. On these unforeseen movements of the invaders, see Steenstrup, *Inledning*, p. 363.' Earle.

Wareham. Werham] Asser says: 'castellum quod dicitur Werham intrauit; quod monasterium sanctimonialium inter duo flumina Fraw et Terente [the Frome and the Trent], et in paga quae dicitur Britannice Durngueis. Saxonice autem Thornsæta [Dorset], tutissimo terrarum situ situm est, nisi ab occidentali parte tantummodo, ubi contigua terra est,' p. 478.

Peace purchased. se cyning friþ nam] 'simul pecuniam dando,' adds Ethelwerd, p. 515 B; *i.e.* the peace had to be bought. Earle vehemently contests this, Introduction, p. lix, on the ground that Ethelwerd has mistranslated the first sentence of the annal, which, as shown above, has puzzled all translators. But the fact that Ethelwerd is a poor translator does not put his independent additions out of court. We may lament that Alfred was reduced to such a necessity; but I see nothing improbable in the statement; see above on 865, 872.

The sacred oath-ring. on þam halgan beage] On the sacred temple-ring on which oaths were taken, see Vigfússon, *s. vv.* baugr, baug-eiðr, stall-hringr; Orig. Island. i. 63, 310, 311; G. G. p. lxxvii; Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 50, 51; Stephens' *Old Norse Runic Monuments*, iii. 237, citing an Essay by Prof. C. A. Holmboe 'Om Eedsringe' in *Transactions of Norwegian Academy of Sciences* for 1863; cf. also Stephens' *Thunor*, p. 40, where other references to Scandinavian writers on the subject are given; Daniel Wilson.

Prehistoric Annals, ed. 2 (1863), i. 444, 445. For many of the above references I am indebted to Professor Earle, who also adds: 'That the ring in marriage was an adopted heathen symbol seems to be expressed by the direction in the mediaeval rituals to make the sign of the cross over the ring and to sprinkle it with holy water.'

bestælon þære fierde se gehorsoda here] For the construction, see above. Asser-Flor. misunderstood this, making it an attack by the Danes on a body of native cavalry; and the mistake was perpetuated by Lappenberg, i. 315; E. T. ii. 50; Pauli, König Ælfred, p. 116. See Steenstrup, Vik. p. 70; here, too, most of the translators have gone astray.

se gehorsoda here] 'This expresses exactly the nature of the force, viz. mounted infantry; i. e. the horses were used for rapidity of motion, not for fighting; cf. Scott's Betrothed, c. 24 *ad init.*: "The Welsh marauders, . . . although the small size . . . of their nags made them totally unfit for service in battle, availed themselves of their activity and sureness of foot to transport them with the necessary celerity to and from the scenes of their rapine; ensuring thus a rapid and unperceived approach, and a secure and speedy retreat."' Earle. Misunderstanding.
Mounted infantry.

Escan ceaster] 'locus qui dicitur Saxonice Eaxanceastre, Britannice autem Cairwisc; Latine quoque Ciuitas Exae [Ciuitas Aquae, S. D. ii. 111; C. aquarum, *ib.* 82], quae in orientali ripa fluminis Wisc sita est,' Asser, p. 479. 'This is the first mention of Exeter in history,' Freeman, Exeter, p. 20. The move to Exeter is mentioned here proleptically, and is entered again under 877. Exeter.

Norþan hymbra lond ge dælde] On this division of Northumbria among the conquerors, see Green, C. E. pp. 115 ff.; Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 430 ff. It seems to have extended only to Deira, Northumbrian sovereignty over which probably ceased after the battle of York in 867; *v. s. ad ann.* And this, as Mr. Freeman pointed out, accounts for the curious fact that the name of Northumberland has survived in that part of the ancient kingdom which is the more remote from the Humber, F. N. C. i. 644. In Bernicia Egbert II succeeded Ricsig in 876; *v. s.* p. 85. Division of Northumbria.

hiera tilgende] 'hiera' is the reflexive pronoun; 'his tilian' is 'to provide for oneself, gain one's own livelihood'; see Bosworth-Toller, *s. r.* tilian; where this explanation (first suggested to me by Prof. Earle) is rightly given. From the examples there cited I select the following as conclusive: 'he was fiscere and mid ðam cræfte his teolode,' 'he was a fisher and gained his li'ng by that craft,' Ælfric, Hom. i. 394; cf. *ib.* 392. My suggestion in the Academy of Nov. 2, 1895, was quite wrong.

877*. micel yst] Cf. 'án micel yst' = 'magnus turbo,' Oros. p. 104; 'micel ýst windes,' Mk. iv. 37. On the reading of C. D. 'micel myst,' see Introduction, § 60, note. Causes of the Danish submission

hie . . . fore gislas saldon] Prof. Earle points out that the submission

of the Danes, &c., is not to be regarded as the consequence of Alfred's unsuccessful attempt to overtake them (though the arrangement of the annal gives that impression), but of the naval disaster at Swanage. This is entirely the view of Gaimar, who makes the Danish loss rather greater than does the Chron. : 'A hundred and forty ships went to the devils,' *rv.* 3105 ff. It should be noted that Asser has a double entry under 877; one based on the Chron. and the other independent. According to the independent version Alfred had blockaded Exeter with his ships, cutting off the Danish supplies; then came the Danish fleet trying to relieve the blockade, but having been a month at sea already they were defeated, and it was owing to the damage suffered in the engagement that they foundered at Swanage. Hence the submission of the Danes was due to the failure of their fleet to revictual the town. This sounds very probable. The editors of M. H. B. (p. 479, note) think that this passage in the text of Asser is a mere interpolation from the so-called Matthew of Westminster, who got it, through Matth. Paris, from R. W. i. 327, 328. But whence did R. W. get it if it was not in his text of Asser, whom he is following both before and after this point? It is true it is not in Fl. Wig. But the explanation may be that Fl. Wig. and R. W., finding two entries for 877, chose different ones; Fl. Wig. preferring the one which was nearer to the Chron. Anyhow, from whatever source R. W. took it, it seems perfectly genuine.

Division of
Mercia.

Miercna lond . . . Ceolwulfe saldon] Here we see the Danes exacting from their puppet Ceolwulf the surrender of part of his dominions; cf. 874. This is probably, as Mr. Green suggests, the origin of the division between English and Danish Mercia, which was of great importance at and after the peace of Wedmore, C. E. pp. 106, 112. See below on 886. Ethelwerd seems to make Gloucester the headquarters of the Danes while Mercia was being reduced, pp. 515 C, 516 A; but he is very confused. Anyhow, the Danes did not keep possession of Gloucester; had they done so 'it would have been almost impossible for the West-Saxon kings to hold central England,' Rev. C. S. Taylor, *The Danes in Gloucestershire*, pp. 1, 12.

878*. ofer tuelftan niht] 'þy twelftan dæge ofer Geochol,' Bede, p. 318 = Epiphania, H. E. iv. 19.

Chippen-
ham.

to Cippanhamme] 'Villa regia . . . sita in sinistrali parte Wiltunscire,' Asser, p. 480. (Note the Celtic use of the left hand to signify the north; so 'dextrales Saxones' = South Saxons, *ib.* 487.) It is clear from Alfred's will, notes Prof. Earle, that Alfred had a 'ham' at Chippenham; and we also find Edward there, K. C. D. Nos. 314, 328; Birch, Nos. 553, 591. It looks as if the Danes had tried to capture Alfred in his winter home.

Natives
driven over
sea.

ofer sæ adræfdon] In Pertz, iv. 343, we have the case of 'quidam uir natione Britto, Andreas nomine, . . . de patria insula infestatione Nortmannorum . . . pulsus.'

Alfred un-
subdued.

buton . . . Ælfrede] 'Four words very powerful in their plain sim-

plicity,' Pauli, cited by Earle (the same phrase, however, is used of Hereward, 1071 E, 1072 D); cf. Asser: 'ille solus diuino fultus adminiculo.'

Inwæres bropur . . . mon pær ofslog] Ingwar's brother was Ubba, according to Gaimar, who calls the site of the battle 'Penwood,' and says that Ubba was buried under a great how called Ubbelawe; *vv.* 3147 ff. This body of Danes had wintered in 'Demetica regione' (*i. e.* Dyfed or South Wales), whence they crossed to Devonshire (Asser) and besieged Odda, the alderman of Devonshire (Ethelw.), at a place which Asser calls 'Arx Cynuit.' This Prof. Earle would identify with Countisbury, near Lynton (*quasi* Cynwitesbyrig); but Mr. Wright, in his edition of Gaimar, says that near Kenwith or Kenny Castle, by Appledore, was formerly a mound called Ubbaston or Whiblestan, now swept away by the tide. If this is correct, it would fix the battle to that locality. It was this defeat which left the Danes of Northumbria leaderless according to S. D. ii. 111, 114; who, however, speaks as if it were Ingwar and Halfdane, not their brother, who fell. The date corresponds exactly with the interregnum in Northumbria; see above on 867.

pp. 76, 77. decc. monna mid him. 7 xl. monna his heres] I do not understand the distinction here made; H. H. combines the two classes into one.

se guðfana . . . heton, E] A alone omits this passage about the raven banner, the legend of which is embodied in ASN. *sub anno*: 'dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Habbae [Ingwar and Ubba] filiae uidelicet Lodebrochi illud uexillum texuerunt, et totum parauerunt illud uno meridiano tempore. Dicunt etiam, quod in omni bello, ubi praecederet idem signum, si uictoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi coruus uiuus uolitans; sin uero uincendi . . . fuissent, penderet directe nihil mouens, et hoc saepe probatum est'; a yet more marvellous account in the 'Gesta Untonis': 'Erat eis uexillum miri portenti . . . Enimvero dum esset simplicissimo intextum serico, nulliusque figurae in eo inserta esset imago, tempore belli semper in eo uidebatur coruus acsi intextus, in victoria suorum . . . excutiens alas, . . . et suis deuictis . . . toto corpore demissus,' Pertz, xix. 517.

Æpelinga eigge*] 'Athelney is at the junction of the Tone and Parret. Athelney. The name survives in Athelney Farm, in the parish of Stoke St. Gregory. It was suggested by Bishop Clifford that the name of the neighbouring parish of Lyng may be a relic of Æthelingaig; cf. Birch, No. 715. A little to the north of this spot the famous Alfred jewel was found in 1693, with its inscription: ÆLFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN,' Earle. The idea that Alfred while at Athelney was a hapless and inactive fugitive only comes from the silly story of the cakes, which is inserted here in the text of Asser from the much later life of St. Neot. (M. H. B. pp. 480, 481; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 542, 545). The Chron. shows that the fort of Athelney, and the raids which Alfred made from it with his 'lytel wered'

Defeat of the Danes in Devonshire.

The Raven banner.

Alfred at Athelney.

(consisting largely, according to Ethelw. p. 515, of the 'famuli qui regio pastu utebantur,' though Æthelnoth, alderman of Somerset [*infra*, 894, i. 87 *m.*], was also one of his helpers), conduced largely to his ultimate triumph. According to northern legend St. Cuthbert appeared to Alfred at Athelney and foretold his ultimate triumph, S. D. i. 62, 63, 204-206, 229 ff.; ii. 83, 111. In illustration of this Freeman cites the unusual dedication of Wells Cathedral to St. Cutlibert, Old Eng. Hist. p. 130. Southern legend assigned a similar part to St. Neot, Hardy, *Cat. u. s.* Alfred afterwards founded a monastery on the scene of his former struggles, Asser, p. 493; G. P. p. 199; see the spurious charter of foundation, K. C. D. No. 309; Birch, No. 545; cf. K. C. D. No. 1306. 'Alfred the Great in Athelney' is the title of a play by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 1876.

Eggbryhtes stane] 'Probably the judgement-seat of the district, and where the hundred-gemót or the scir-gemót was held, as æt Ægelnoðes stane, K. C. D. No. 755.' Earle.

Selwood.

Seal wyda] 'saltus qui dicitur Selwdu [Mucelwudu, S. D. ii. 83, 112] Latine autem sylua magna, Britannice Coitmaur,' Asser, p. 481. Prof. Earle thinks that the 'Wealwudu' of E is not a mere slip, but a reflexion from the time when Selwood was the barrier between Celt and Saxon. The identification of the other names in this annal, except Aller, Somerset, is unfortunately very uncertain: 'Egbert's stone,' Brixton Deverill, near Warminster, or Bratton Camp, near Westbury; Iglea, Clay Hill, near Warminster, or Leigh, near Westbury, or Highley Common, near Melksham (the suggestion, Crawford Charters, p. 81, that it is Isle Abbots, near Athelney, is impossible, as that would imply a backward instead of a forward movement on Alfred's part); Ethandun, Edington, near Westbury, or Yatton, near Chippenham, or Heddington, on the Roman road from Marlborough to Bath (cf. K. C. D. No. 465; Birch, No. 999).

Topo-
graphy un-
certain.

his gefægene wærun] See above on 855.

op þæt geweorc] *i. e.* Chippenham, as appears both by the beginning of this annal and also of the next; *q. v.*

Guthrum-
Athelstan.

se cyning . . . Godrum] On Guthrum-Athelstan, who is mentioned 875*, *supra*, cf. Todd, G. G. pp. 266, 267, who identifies him with Gormo Enski (*or* the English) joint king of Denmark in the Scandinavian authorities. W. M. says: 'uerum quia non mutabit Ethiops pellem suam, datas ille terras tyrannico fastu xi annis protriuit,' i. 126.

his . . . onfeng] 'in filium adoptionis sibi suscipiens,' Asser; cf. Bede, II. 142, 179. For the 'crism-lising,' *ib.* 280. Ethelwerd mentions the presence of alderman Æthelnoth at the 'chrism-loosing,' p. 515 E.

Wedmore.

Wæpmor] Wedmore was one of Alfred's own estates, as appears from his will, whereby he leaves it to his son Edward; so Asser: 'In uilla regia quae dicitur Wædmor'; Edward the Confessor gave it to the Church of Wells, K. C. D. iv. 197. On the peace of Wedmore, cf. G. C. E. pp. 111-114. The Chron. gives no idea of the extent of Alfred's loss; but

Peace of
Wedmore.

the gain was greater still; see below on 901. This peace must not be confounded with the later treaty cited on 886, *infra*, a mistake which is very commonly made, even by Freeman, F. N. C. i. 46.

879*] 'It is probable that this really belongs to 878. There seems no reason why the Danes should have stayed at Chippenham from the early summer of 878 to 879. Steenstrup, *Vikinger*, p. 74, has shown that the Saxon Chron. is one year in advance of the Ann. Vedastini and other continental authorities as regards the movements of the Danes. This mistake begins here and lasts till 897 (= 896),' Earle. As regards the present annal, this conclusion is confirmed by the hour of the eclipse, 'ane tid dages'; in 878 there was a solar eclipse at 1.30 p.m. on October 29. In 879 the eclipse was at 4 p.m. on March 26 (Asser and ASN. have altered the hour given by the Chron. to suit this: 'inter nonam et uesperam sed propius nonam'); while the eclipse of 880 with which M. H. B. identifies this was at 5.30 p.m. on March 14.

to Cirenceastre] 'Cirrenceastre . . . qui Britannice Cairceri nomina- Cirences-
tur, quae est in meridiana parte Huicciorum,' Asser, p. 482; cf. Taylor, *ter.*
Cotswold, pp. 20, 21.

hlop wicenga] For 'hlop,' see on 894 A; for 'wicenga,' see on 921 A.

880*. on East Engle] On the coalescence of Danes and Angles in East Anglia, see Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 241.

fór se here . . . to Gend] According to Gaimar, v. 3261, they started from Yarmouth. This sojourn of the Northmen in Ghent is naturally noticed in the *Annales Gandenses*: '880. Northmanni hiemauerunt in Gandauo,' Pertz, ii. 187. Ghent remained their headquarters from Nov., 879, to 881; v. Dümmler, *Gesch. d. ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 1, ii. 129, 130, 156; ed. 2, iii. 129, 130, 157. The date in the Chron., 880 (= 879), naturally indicates the beginning of their sojourn there.

881*. pa Francan him wip gefuhton] There is some difficulty in identifying this action; Dümmler would identify it with the battle of Saucourt, August, 881, *u. s.* ed. 1, pp. 152, 153; ed. 2, pp. 153, 154, in which the Franks were victorious. I am inclined to prefer an earlier Frankish victory, that of 880, *ib.* ed. 1, pp. 135, 136; ed. 2, 135, 136, 147. There was another battle later in 880, in which the Danes were victorious, *ib.* 147, ed. 1 and 2. But that the Chron. refers to a Frankish victory is shown by Ethelwerd's words: 'agmina Francorum . . . uictoriae funguntur numine, barbaro exercitu fugato,' p. 516 B; cf. S. D. ii. 85, 113; and Ann. Vedast. *s. aa.* 880, 881.

882*. on long Mæse] 'et castra metati sunt in loco Escelun,' adds Ethelw. p. 516; *i. e.* Elsloo, below Maastricht. This fixes the date to 881; see Dümmler, *u. s.* ed. 1, p. 156; ed. 2, p. 157.

fór Ælfréd . . . ut on sæ] Whether Alfred's naval battle should also be placed in 881, I do not know. This shows that he was not so free from contests with the invaders after the peace of Wedmore as Mr. Freeman

Chronology.

The Danes in East Anglia, and at Ghent.

Battles of Danes and Franks.

Naval battle.

fancied, Old Eng. Hist. p. 130. A charter of 882 is dated by him 'in expeditione,' K. C. D. No. 1065; Birch, No. 550. (The indiction, however, is wrong, so that the date is a little uncertain.)

pp. 78, 79. on hond eodon] *i.e.* surrendered; cf. Bede, II. 200, 205. Note the *v. l.* of F. Perhaps the scribe read 'of handa eodon.'

forslægene] Cf. Oros. p. 56: 'hie to ðon swiðe forslagene wurdon on ægþere hand, þæt hiera feawa to lafe wurdon.'

The Danes
at Condé.

883*. Cundop] 'ad monasterium sanctimonialium quod dicitur Cundoht,' Asser, p. 483. This sojourn at Condé was during the winter of 882-883, Dümmler, ed. 1, ii. 230, note; ed. 2, iii. 229.

Alfred and
Pope
Marinus.

Marinus papa, 7c., E] A (followed by Ethelw., Asser, and S. D.) is the only MS. which gives the annal in the shorter form. All the others have the story of Pope Marinus and the king's alms, &c.; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 542, 545-547. In Hincmar's annals is an account of a tumult in Rome in 864 on the occasion of a visit of the emperor: 'in quo tumultu . . . crux . . . in qua lignum mirificae crucis . . . confracta et in lutum proiecta, unde a quibusdam, ut fertur, Anglorum gentis hominibus, collecta et custodibus reddita est,' Pertz, i. 463. It may have been in somewhat tardy gratitude for this that the 'lignum Domini' was sent to Alfred; see below, 885, *ad fin.*

Alfred's
missions to
Rome and
India.

lædde Sighelm] This Sighelm, one of Alfred's messengers, is wrongly identified by W. M. with a later bishop of Sherborne, i. 130; II. 1; G. P. p. 177; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 552. The same mistake is made by Fl. Wig. i. 98, 99. W. M. says that he brought back from India gems and precious spices.

Alfred's
vow.

þe Ælfréd . . . ge het þider] This clause would come in much better after the words 'sçe Bartholomee.' In B, C it is omitted altogether; which makes nonsense, as it leaves the words 'þa hi sæton, 7c.' without any construction. Probably in the common archetype the clause was written on the margin; the original of B, C overlooked it; the original of D, E inserted it in the wrong place.

St. Thomas
and India.

on Indea to sçe Thome] On St. Thomas and India, cf. Ælf. Hom. ii. 558. The legends are examined by G. Milne Rae, The Syrian Church in India.

þa hi sæton . . . æt Lundene] Probably in 872; see note, *ad loc.*

bentigðe] Cf. 'ne hine mon . . . his bene tygþian wolde,' Bede, p. 220; 'he wæs from Dryhtne tigða þære bene ðe he bæd,' *ib.* 372.

884*] This annal is omitted by Asser (*not* by Fl. Wig.), and by S. D. and H. H.

Amiens.

to Embenum] The sojourn of the Danes at Amiens was in the winter of 883-884, Dümmler, *u. s.* ed. 1, pp. 230, 231; ed. 2, pp. 229, 230.

Scribal
error.

Here (see note 9), just a century too soon, a scribe in F inserts the death of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester. For instances of similar mechanical work, see S. D. ii. 92, 126; H. & S. iii. 607; Liebermann,

pp. 99, 100; Z.N.V. p. 206. In Orig. Island., i. 373, is a case of an entry just two centuries wrong.

885*. oper dæl east.] 'in orientalem Franciam,' Asser; 'ad Lofenum,' The Danes Ethelw. p. 516, *i. e.* Louvain. This was in the autumn of 884, Dümmler, at Louvain. *u. s. ed.* 1, p. 233; ed. 2, pp. 232, 233.

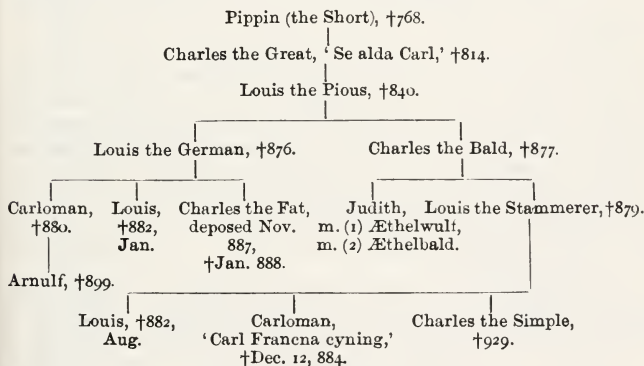
behorsude] 'equis, quos de Francia secum adduxerant, derelictis,' Asser, p. 483. For the bringing over of horses from the Continent by the Danes, cf. 893 A, i. 84; Fl. Wig. i. 111.

Stufe, A; Sture, E] Ethelw. alone of the Latin writers follows the erroneous reading of A, B, C.

pa hie pa hamweard wendon, A] 'cum . . . regia classis rediret,' Fl. Relation of Wig.; where Asser's text, probably by a mere slip, has 'dormiret.' S. D., Florence and Asser. however, expands this rhetorically: 'ubi dormiebant somno inertis, occisi sunt inermis multitudo; quibus illud aptatur . . . quod legitur, "Multi claudunt uisus, cum aspiciere deberent,"' ii. 87. This is one of several passages which incline me to believe that, in the parts common to Asser and Florence, Florence did not borrow from Asser as we have it, but both used some common source.

here hype] Cf. 'hereféoh' = 'praeda,' Orosius, p. 118.

ær middum wintra, 7c.] The references to Frankish affairs here and under 887 will be made clearer by the following genealogical table:— Frankish affairs.



Carl Francna cyning] This is Carloman, King of Aquitaine and Burgundy; he died Dec. 12, 884, from the effects of a wound received while hunting. It is said that he was accidentally wounded by an attendant, and that the dying prince, 'splendide mendax,' himself gave currency to the fiction that he had received his hurt from a boar, in order to shield his luckless follower, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, p. 238; ed. 2, p. 232; Art de Vérif. i. 561. Death of Carloman.

ane geare ær his broður forpferde] This was Louis, King of Northern France. The 'ane geare' should be 'twæm géarum,' for he died in August, 882, and his estates passed to his brother Carloman.

begen Hloþ wiges suna . . . apiestrode, A] *i. e.* both were sons of Louis the Stammerer, who was king of the Western Kingdom (France), 877-879. We have seen that there was an eclipse in 879, the year of Louis' death, though it is probably not the eclipse mentioned in the Chron. under that year.

to cuene*] The long omission in E (not D) after this point is due to the recurrence of the words '7 þy ilcan geare.'

Battles of
the Danes
and Old-
Saxons.

micel gefeoht. tua on geare, A] The Annales Fuldenses under 884 relate (*a*) that the Northmen who had wintered at Duisburg on the Rhine attempted to invade Saxony, but were defeated by Henry, Margrave of Nordgau; (*b*) that later in the year the Frisians defeated the invaders at Norden, in Frisia, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, p. 225; ed. 2, pp. 222, 223; under 885 the same Annals relate (*c*) that the Northmen invaded Saxony, and were driving the Saxons before them, when they were taken in the rear by the Frisians, who arrived in their fleet at the critical moment, and the invaders, hemmed in between two hostile forces, were cut off almost to a man; cf. Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 241, 242; ed. 2, pp. 239, 240. Dümmler thinks that this last action only is referred to, and that the 'tua' is a mere error. I am inclined to think that in the 'tua' the events of 884 and 885 are combined.

Divisions
of the
Frankish
kingdoms.

feng Carl . . . pridda fæder hæfde] This is Charles the Fat. In the division of 876 he had received Swabia and Alsace, in 879 he became King of Italy, in 881 Emperor. In 882, on the death of his brother Louis, he obtained the whole of the Eastern Kingdom (Germany), and in 885 (Carloman having died in December, 884) he obtained the Western Kingdom also. He thus, as the Chronicler says, restored, in extent at least, the empire of his great-grandfather, Charlemagne.

Wendelsæ] *i. e.* the Mediterranean, as often in Orosius, *e. g.* pp. 8, 10, 12, &c., where the Latin has 'mare nostrum.' The 'realm beyond that sea' means Italy.

Brittany.

Lidwiccium] Note the *rr ll.* For a legend as to the origin of the name, *v. Nennius*, p. 21, note; *S. C. S.* iii. 96. The first part of the word is identical with that of the Latin 'Letauia,' Welsh 'Llydaw' = Armorica.

se Carl, 7c.] A reference to the pedigree will make the remainder of this passage quite clear.

Death of
Pope
Marinus.

pp. 80, 81. þy ilcan geare . . . Marinus*] His gift of the 'lignum Domini' has been mentioned, 883 E. For this and his other benefits to the English, cf. Liebermann, p. 232; *K. C. D.* iv. 176. It is probably these benefits which form the basis of the epithet 'Se goda.' He died in 884, after a short reign of less than a year and a half, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 216, 217, 247; ed. 2, pp. 214, 215, 217, 245.

886*. *gelende*] The original meaning, 'to come to land,' is preserved 'gelendan. in Ælfric's Grammar, cited by Bosworth-Toller: 'ic gelende mid scipe, applico.' Hence it means, as here, simply to go, proceed; cf. Oros. p. 56: 'hi ham gelendon'; p. 166: 'þa gelende he . . . to anre oþerre byrig.' The meaning of this movement from east to west, is that the Danes left Louvain, where they spent the winter 884-885, and entered the Seine and captured Rouen in July, 885, and wintered on the Seine 885-886; cf. Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, p. 249; ed. 2, p. 247.

gesette . . . *Lundenburg*, 7c.] This winning back of London, the headship of which seems clearly recognised, was a very important stage in the progress of the national cause against the Danes (cf. R. W. i. 345), and is probably to be connected with the document known as 'Alfred's and Guthrum's Peace' (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 152 ff.; Schmid, pp. 106 ff.), whereby the boundaries fixed by the original peace of Wedmore (with which this document is often wrongly identified) were materially altered in Alfred's favour; see Green, *C. E.* pp. 112, 148-154. I cannot feel the difficulties which Prof. Earle finds in this annual. Alfred having recovered London occupied it ('*gesette*'). This conspicuous success made him the natural head of all who were not actually under Danish domination. Ultimately Alfred entrusted the city to Ethelred, alderman or 'lord' (*infra*, 911 C, i. 96; cf. F. N. C. i. 563-565) of the Mercians, husband of his daughter Æthelflæd, the famous 'lady of the Mercians.' On the death of Ethelred, King Edward resumed possession of London and its attendant districts, 912 A. Nor can I think with Prof. Earle that any distinction is meant between 'Lunden' and 'Lundenburh' in the Chron. (Steenstrup, *Vik.* p. 77, while endorsing Earle's suggestion, gives no additional proof.) In any case, this is not the beginning of the latter. We have had it already in 851 and 872; indeed, we find 'Lundenburh' as early as 457; and though the redaction of these early entries belongs to a time relatively late (*v. Introduction*, § 107), the use of the phrase in a passage referring to such early times clearly shows that it was not felt as a thing of recent origin. The statement of Ethelw. and H. H. (amplified in R. W. *u. s.*) that Alfred besieged 'obsideo' London may be due, as Earle thinks, to a misunderstanding of the Chron. ('*besæt*' for '*gesette*'); but in itself it is not improbable; we have seen that Ethelwerd sometimes has good additions of his own; and it is confirmed both by Gaimar, who says of Alfred, *rr.* 3369 ff.:

'Loinz e pres tuz ad mandé
Mult grant efforz ad asemblé,
A Londres vint, si l'asegat;
Tant i estu ke prise l'ad';

and also by a little-noticed passage in Fl. Wig., which is quite independent of the language of the Chron.: 'Dani . . . Ceolwlfo [Burhedi] ministro regnum Merciorum custodiendum ad tempus commisere [874]; uerum

Movement of the Danes from east to west.

Winning back of London.

London entrusted to Ethelred of Mercia. Edward resumes it.

The recovery was the result of a siege.

triennii tempore completo [877], partem illius inter se diuisere, partem autem illi dedere . . . qui ultimus regum Merciorum extitit. Post cuius mortem, . . . Ælfrædus, ut exercitum . . . Danorum suo de regno [Wessex] penitus expulerit, *strenuitate sua* Lundoniam cum circumiacentibus terris recuperavit, et partem regni Merciorum, quam Ceolwulfus habuit, acquisiuit,' i. 267. The words italicised imply that Alfred had to employ force for the recovery of London, &c. Florence is, however, wrong if he means that the recovery of London and the acquisition of Ceolwulf's Mercia by Alfred were made simultaneously. The latter had been already ceded by the treaty of Wedmore in 878, Green, C. E. p. 112, and as early as 880 Alfred had made Ethelred, the husband of his daughter Æthelflæd, alderman of English Mercia, K. C. D. No. 311; Birch, No. 547 (Ethelred had previously held a similar position under Burgred, K. C. D. No. 304; Birch, No. 537). Strictly taken, Florence only says that both events took place after the death of Ceolwulf; unfortunately we do not know when this was. The last mention of him was in 877. It is quite possible that he died 877 × 878, and that this facilitated the cession of his district under the peace of Wedmore. (The statement of Lib. de Hyda, p. 48, that Alfred retained London under the peace of Wedmore, and that Guthrum's districts were granted him 'ad habitandum et non ad regnandum,' is an obvious misstatement made with the view of concealing the extent of Alfred's losses.) Anyhow, this passage of Florence is a striking confirmation of Mr. Green's view that the division between English and Danish Mercia dates from 877 (see on that annal), though Mr. Green himself overlooked the passage in question.

Date of
Ceolwulf's
death un-
known.

887*. Her for se here . . . Cariei] It was during the winter sojourn of the Danes on the Seine, 885-886 (see above on 886), that the famous siege of Paris was commenced, which lasted from November, 885, to November, 886. In the latter month the siege was raised by the Emperor Charles the Fat, but only by means of a very discreditable treaty with the invaders, whereby among other articles they were allowed to spend the winter of 886-887 in Burgundy, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 260-275; ed. 2, pp. 259-273. In May, 887, they reappeared in the neighbourhood of Paris, and made their way to Chézy-sur-Marne, as here described. It was largely the failure of the Emperor in regard to Paris which brought about his deposition. Hermann, in his *Mirac. S. Edm.*, alluding to this siege, says of Paris: 'qui locus uernat ut Domini paradysus in omni re,' Liebermann, p. 231.

Siege of
Paris by the
Danes.

Cariei, A; Caziei, E] Ingram says that the original name was Casa Regia, and that this accounts for the two forms in the Chron. I cannot, however, verify his statement; the only Latin forms which I have found are Casiagum and Casiacum, Bouquet, v. 748; viii. 542.

Chézy-sur-
Marne.

Movements
of the
Danes.

7 þa sæton þara 7 innan Ionan . . . stedum, A] The later MSS., not understanding the construction and the facts, have wrongly omitted the 'and'

before 'innan.' The facts are these: during the winter of 887-888 the headquarters of the Danes were at Chézy; for the winter of 888-889 they removed to another tributary of the Seine, the Loing, which enters the Seine a little below the junction of the latter with the Yonne. This is the sojourn 'within Yonne'; and the two winters during which they 'sat there (*viz.* at Chézy) and within Yonne' are the winters of 887-889; cf. Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 344 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 345 ff.

þy ilcan geare . . . æt þam rice] The former statement is not quite true. Charles did not die till January, 888. His deposition was November, 887. See on it Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 286 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 287 ff. Death of Charles the Fat.

þæt wæs . . . gefafunge] This is true only in the sense that Arnulf found it ultimately expedient to consent to the arrangement. But at first he hoped to unite all the Frankish dominions in his own hands.

on fædren healfe] Cf. Oros. p. 114: 'þa þrie gebroðor næron na Philippuse gemedren, ac wæron gefæderen.'

buton him anum] And even he was only a bastard slip, being an illegitimate son of Carloman, the brother of Charles the Fat.

Rofulf . . . to þæm middel rice] This is Rudolf, Count of Upper or Transjurane Burgundy. It was in fact, as the chronicler hints, an attempt to restore the old Middle Kingdom. It only lasted for a short time, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 317 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 318 ff. Rudolf, Count of Upper Burgundy.

Óða to þæm west dæle] This is Odo, or Eudes, Count of Paris. He had been the soul of the defence of Paris during the great siege, after the death of the heroic Bishop Gozlin, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1 and 2, pp. 315 ff. Odo, Count of Paris.

Beorn gar] This is Berengar, Margrave of Friuli. He was crowned at Pavia, Jan., 888. Berengar of Friuli.

Wipa] This is Guido, Duke of Spoleto. At first he attempted to compete with Odo for the crown of the Western Kingdom; but failing in this, he returned to contend with Berengar for the Italian crown. The 'tu folc gefeoht' are probably the battles of Brescia, Autumn, 888, in which Berengar was victorious; and that of the Trebbia, Spring, 889, in which he was completely defeated, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 313 ff., 324 ff., 363 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 314 ff., 325 ff., 365 ff. It is curious that Dümmler, who constantly cites Asser and Ethelwerd, hardly ever quotes the Chronicle, from which both are derived. Guido, Duke of Spoleto.

Long beardna londe] 'Gallie . . . þe mon nu hæt Long beardas' (*i. e.* Gallia Cisalpina), Oros. p. 180; cf. *ib.* 192.

on þa healfe muntas] Cf. Oros. p. 184: 'ægðer ge Gallie be suþan muntum ge Gallie be norþan muntum.'

Æpelhelm aldor mon] 'Comes Wiltunensium,' Asser, p. 491.

pp. 82, 83. 888*. Æpelswiþ cuen] Ex-queen of Mercia; wife of Burgred; see on 853, 874. A ring found near Aberford, in Yorkshire, bears the inscription 'EADĒLSVIÐ REGINA,' Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christ*, No. 224. D, E, by inserting the words '7 heo' before 'forðferde,' Death of Æthel-swith.

imply that she accompanied the mission which took Alfred's alms, which the reading of A, B, C leaves indeterminate. S. D. ii. 91, and Gaimar, *vv.* 3331 ff., follow D, E. According to R. W. i. 355, she died 'in habitu religionis.' Fl. Wig., with MS. C, places all these events in 889, which is certainly right for the death of Archbishop Ethelred (June 30), Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* p. 12; ed. 2, p. 22. R. W. places Æthel-swith's death under 890, the death of Ethelred and the sending of the alms in 889. He also says that alms were sent to Jerusalem as well as to Rome. This is perhaps due to the Chron., 883, where MSS. B and C read 'Iudea' for 'India.'

Æpelwold aldor mon] Of Kent, Ethelw. p. 517.

890*. Beornhelm aḅḅ] Of Saint Augustine's, Thorn, c. 1777.

Death of
Guthrum-
Athelstan.

Godrum . . . Æpelstan] On him, see above, 878, 886. According to ASN, he was buried 'in uilla regia quae uocatur Headleaga [Hadleigh, Suffolk] apud Orientales Anglos.' Gaimar says that he was buried at Thetford, *v.* 3383. On his successor, see below, 905 A.

se norþerna cyning] This description of Guthrum may be connected, as Schmid suggests, *Gesetze*, p. lxxv, with the 'North' in 'North-folk.' S. D.'s phrase 'rex Northanhymbrorum,' ii. 91, is commonly treated as a mere mistranslation of this; and a further development of the error is found in W. M., when he says that at the treaty of Wedmore, 'datae sunt ei [Guthrum] prouinciae Orientalium Anglorum et Northanhimbrorum,' i. 126; Schmid, *u. s.* p. xxxix. On the other hand, S. D. himself says that there was an interregnum in Northumbria from 878 to 883, after which Guthred was set up, who, if he existed at all, was probably of Danish blood, *v. s.* p. 85. It cannot, therefore, be pronounced impossible that Northumbria may have been ceded to Guthrum at Wedmore, the vacancy there facilitating the transfer, just as the possible death of Ceolwulf about the same time may have facilitated the transfer of his part of Mercia to Alfred; see above on 867, 878, and 886, and cf. *Lib. de Hyda*, p. 48. Ethelwerd calls him 'rex Borealium Anglorum'; and in spite of his baptism dismisses him below: 'Orco tradit spiramen,' p. 517 C.

Battle
between
Danes and
Bretons.

Sant Laudan] '890. Sancti Laudi castrum, interfectis habitatoribus, funditus terrae coaequatum,' *Gesta Normann.*; Bouquet, viii. 97; Dümmler, *u. s.* ed. 1, p. 345; ed. 2, p. 346.

Brettum] 'Armorica,' Fl. Wig. i. 108.

on ane ea] The Vire, Pauli, Pertz, xiii. 107; the Blavet, Dümmler, doubtfully, *u. s.* ed. 1 and 2, p. 346. The former seems more probable.

Archbishop
Plegmund.

Plegmund, a, E] He was a Mercian, Asser, p. 487. English Mercia had intellectually suffered less than some other parts of England, G. C. E. pp. 156, 157. Fl. Wig. speaks of Plegmund as 'literis nobiliter instructus,' and places his accession in 889, i. 108. Alfred mentions him among his instructors in the preface to the *Cura Pastoralis*, pp. 6, 7; cf. G. P. p. 20: 'magister Elfredi regis.' There are some curious letters from Fulk, Arch-

bishop of Rheims, to Alfred, complimenting him on Plegmund's appointment; and to Plegmund himself, complimenting him on his studies, Floard, *Hist. Eccl. Reinensis*, Pertz, xiii. 566-568, cited W. M. II. xlvii. For an examination of the famous story of the letter of Pope Formosus to Plegmund, and of the simultaneous consecration of seven bishops by Plegmund, see Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* p. 13; ed. 2, p. 23; G. P. pp. 59-61; W. M. i. 140; II. lv ff. In 908 he consecrated the tower of the New Minster at Winchester, and went to Rome with the English alms, Ethelw. p. 519. By a purely mechanical mistake a enters his death under DCCCCXIII instead of under DCCCCXIII; but it is a curious mistake for a Canterbury scribe; see Fl. Wig. i. 123; Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* p. 12; ed. 2, p. 22.

Alleged letter of Pope Formosus to him.

891 A] C and D, followed by Fl. Wig., date this annal 892; E alone omits it altogether.

Earnulf . . . gefeahht] There were two great battles between the Franks and Danes in 891; the former, June 26, on the Geul, which flows into the Maas or Meuse a few miles below Maastricht, in which the Franks, in the absence of Arnulf, were defeated; the latter on the Dyle, Nov. 1, in which Arnulf won a brilliant victory, Dümmler, *u. s. ed.* 1, pp. 346 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 348 ff. It freed the interior of Germany for ever from the invasions of the Northmen, Thorpe, *ad loc.*, citing Depping, *Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*, ii. 35.

Battles between the Franks and Danes.

ræde here] Cf. Oros. p. 154: 'ge on gange here, ge on ræde here, ge on scip here'; so 'feðe here' and 'ræde here' occur in juxtaposition, *ib.* 124; cf. the note on 'se gehorsoda here,' above, p. 91.

Bægerum] Bavarians; cf. Oros. p. 16. Dümmler, however, says: 'gerade die Baiern gar keinen Antheil [nahmen] an dem Kampfe,' ed. 1 and 2, p. 350. The mention of the Saxons is also wrong according to him, *ib.* note.

The Bavarians.

prie Scottas] *i. e.* Irish; cf. Bede, II. 11, 12. This incident is thoroughly characteristic and genuine. On the love of the Irish for pilgrimage and missionary labour, see Bede, II. 76, 170; though the touching anecdote in Adamnan, *Vit. Col.* i. 48, shows that they were not in their self-imposed exile exempt from the pains of home-sickness; cf. G. P. p. 337: 'peregrini triste reficis corculum.' Not only on the Continent and in Britain, and the islands adjacent to Ireland and Britain, but in the distant Faroes and Iceland, we find these Irish exiles, many of whom were slain or forced to seek securer shelters by the Scandinavian marauders, *Landnámabók*, Prologue; Z. K. B. i. 231; ii. 216. Some of the expressions in this annal are well illustrated by the language in which the Anglo-Saxon Bede speaks of some of these voluntary exiles to and from Ireland: 'in Hibernia for heofona rices lufan in elþiodignesse lifde,' p. 190 (of Egbert); 'he wolde for Godes nonian in elþeodignesse lifian' (of Fursa), p. 210; cf. *ib.* pp. 242, 332. But naturally it is in the Irish Sagas, especially the class called 'Imraina' or Voyages, of which the one best

Irish exiles.

Parallels in Irish literature

known to English readers is the Voyage of Maelduin, and in the lives of Irish Saints that we find the closest parallels; the desire for exile, the self-abandonment (as they deemed it) to the will of God involved in committing themselves to the deep in a frail skin-covered coracle without carage or steerage ('gerépru' includes both, the steering being done by an oar at the stern of the boat; see *e.g.* the pictures in Yule's *Marco Polo*, i. 111; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ii. 371, 372, 380, 415); the slender provision of food for the voyage; all these points are illustrated in the following extracts. Three young Irish clerics set out on pilgrimage: 'ni rucad and do loon for muir acht teora bargin. . . . In anmain Christ tra lecam ar ráma úan isamuir, 7 foncerddam illeth ar tigernai,' 'they took as provision on the sea only three loaves. . . . In the name of Christ let us throw our oars away into the sea, and let us commend ourselves to our Lord,' *LL.* 283^a; cf. *Z. K. B.* ii. 132. So Maelduin: 'leicid in noi ina tost cen inram, 7 an leth bus ail do Dia a brith, beraid,' 'leave the boat alone without rowing, and whither God wills it to be borne he will bear it,' *Rev. Celt.* ix. 462; cf. *ib.* x. 86. St. Brendan: 'Mittite intus omnes remiges et gubernacula, tantum dimittite uela extensa, et faciat Deus sicut uult de seruis suis,' *Peregrinatio*, p. 7. Other good parallels in *Rev. Celt.* ix. 18; xiv. 18, 38, 40; *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 256; and the legend of Sceaf in *W. M.* i. 121. Sometimes this plan was adopted as a sort of ordeal, the judgement of the accused being left (as it was conceived) to God. Thus the men of Ross murdered their chief Fiacha; his brother Donnchad was about to put them to death, but St. Columba advised him 'sesca lanamna do chor dib isan fairrge, 7 co rucad Dia a breith forro,' 'to put sixty couples of them to sea, and let God give judgement upon them,' *Rev. Celt.* xiv. 16; cf. *ib.* 44. So when the pregnancy of St. Kentigern's mother was discovered, and doubts were entertained as to her virtue: 'decernitur ut muliercula illa grauida sola in nauicula posita, pelago exponeretur; . . . ibique eam solam paruissimo lembo de corio, iuxta morem Scottorum confecto, impositam sine omni remigio fortune committunt,' *N. & K.* p. 167; cf. *ib.* 249, 250; *R. W.* i. 306 (a Scandinavian legend). So too it was resorted to as a means of getting rid of inconvenient persons without actual blood-shedding. Mothla, King of Ciarraige, had a nephew, Ciar Cuircheach (*i. e.* Ciar of the Coracle), whose claims were dangerous to him: 'dochuiread a curach aenshluaisti for muir,' 'he was put to sea in a coracle with a single paddle,' *Lismore Lives*, p. 95 (see also below, on 933 E). It was also, however, a well-recognised punishment for the guilty; so much so that Cormac's Glossary derives the Irish 'cimbid,' 'a prisoner,' from the Latin *cymba* (!), *Corn. Trans.* p. 32; cf. *Vita Tripartita*, pp. clxxiv, 222, 228: 'ait Patricius: non possum iudicare, sed Deus iudicabit. Tu . . . egredire . . . ad mare, . . . et postquam peruenias ad mare, conliga pedes tuos compede ferreo, et prœiece clauim eius in mare, et mitte te in nauim unius pellis absque gubernaculo, et absque remo, et

The judge-
ment of
God.

Punish-
ment of the
guilty.

quocumque te duxerit uentus et mare esto paratus.' A dead body was sometimes treated in the same way, Hardy, *Cat. i.* 155. Sometimes the boat is of three hides; so Rev. Celt. ix. 458; xiv. 38, 54; Hardy, *Cat. I.* xxxii, note; sometimes, as in the above passage from Vit. Trip., it is only of one; cf. Rev. Celt. x. 84; *Corm. Trans.* p. 32. By a transference of Irish ideas to classical myths, the infant Jupiter, when concealed from Cronus, is represented as placed 'i curach oen seiched for sruth Níl 7 gabur blicht cengalta isin churuch,' 'in a coracle of a single hide on the river Nile, and a milch goat tied in the coracle,' *LL.* 217^a. A yet higher degree of the marvellous is reached when Celtic saints embark successfully in coracles without any covering of skin at all, *Lismore Lives*, pp. 71, 340; Féilire, Dec. 8; *N. & K.* p. 152; *Mart. Doneg.* p. 82; *Cambro.-Brit. Saints*, p. 186; Hardy, *Cat. I.* xxxii, note.

Skin-covered coracles.

of Hibernia] Note how F alters this into 'of Yrlande,' note 5; cf. *Ireland. Adam Brem.*: 'Hybernia Scotorum patria, quae nunc Irland dicitur,' *Pertz*, vii. 372.

pus hie wæron genemnde, 7c.] I have not been able to identify any of the three 'Scots,' though the names are not common. There is only one Maelinmhaín in the *F. M.* 953, and only three Dubhslaines, 878, 1003, 1024. Macbeth, though a famous, is not a common name. The Irish names throughout are given most correctly by B. Ethelwerd also is fairly correct, though he has developed the story strongly in a mythical direction. R. W. calls it openly a miracle, i. 355. H. H. and ASN. omit the incident. Asser tells how Alfred's liberality to churches extended to Ireland, p. 496.

Names of the three Scots.

Swifne] Irish Suibhne. This name is commoner, and has given us the modern surname Mac Sweeny. The person meant is Suibhne mac Maelumha, anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnoise, whose death is entered in *Ann. Ult. and Brut y Tywys.* under 890 (= 891), and in *F. M.* under 887. His tombstone at Clonmacnoise is figured in *Petrie's Round Towers*, p. 328. F Lat. is of course wrong in making him come to England with the other three Scots, though Dr. Petrie (probably independently) makes the same mistake, *u. s.* p. 327.

At this point, after writing the number 892 ready for the next annal, ends the first hand in A. The next scribe, however, found something more to add, for though he omitted to cross out the numeral, the words 'þy ylcan geare' show that the events all belong to one year; cf. *Introduction*, § 13.

End of the first hand in A.

æt eowde se steorra, 7c.] Cf. *Bede*, p. 476: 'æteowdon twegen steorran . . . þa syndon on bocum cometa nemde . . . stod se leoma him of, swilce fyrenþecele'; cf. *infra*, 1066. ASN. place the comet in 891; so two foreign chronicles in *Pertz*, i. 52; iii. 3; a third places it in 892, *Bouquet*, viii. 251. On the significance of comets, cf. *Bede*, II. 222, 223, 338.

Comet.

pp. 84, 85. 893 A, 892 E. to Bunnan] Gaimar makes them embark at Cherbourg, which seems much less likely, *v.* 3411.

Alteration
of the coast
line.

on Limene mupan] The configuration of the coast lands of Kent and Sussex has changed considerably since the ninth century, and there is now no river which would admit the passage of the Danish ships. But there is evidence, both geological and documentary (K. C. D. Nos. 47, 234; Birch, Nos. 98, 411), that formerly a considerable river ran from about Hythe in the direction of Appledore (Apultreo, Fl. Wig.), following approximately the line of the modern military canal. The clearing of the 'mickle wood called Andred,' causing the shrinkage of the rivers, has combined with the action of tides and storms in silting up harbours and blocking river mouths, to bring about the change. Gaimar says expressly: 'Cel ewe Limmene e bien parfund,' v. 3416.

Andred.

þe we Andred hatað] 'quae uocata est Andredesweald,' ASN. In 1018 Cnut grants to Archbishop Ælfstan (or Lifing): 'quoddam siluule . . . nemus famosa in silua Andredeswealde, quod uulgo dicitur Hæselersc,' Ordnance Survey Facs. III. 39.

'licgan.'

seo ea . . . lið] For this use of 'licgan' to indicate the direction of a road, river, &c., cf. 'Seo Wisle lið út of Weonod lande 7 lið in Estmere . . . 7 þonne . . . ligeð of þæm mere . . . on sæ,' Oros. p. 20. Prof. Earle cites an extract from a Copenhagen MS. (communicated in *Archaeological Journal*, 1859): 'Se þe bið of earde and feor of his cyððe, hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele leornian hu se weg lioge þe lið to his cyððe? = He who is absent from his land and far from his people, how can he get home if he will not learn how the way lies that goes to his country?'

Misreading.

f[æst]enne] It is curious that two MSS. so far apart as A and E(ε) should independently have made the same mistake 'fenne,' 'fænne,' for 'fæstenne'; yet the agreement of B, C, D, the Latin chroniclers, and the context all show that the latter is right.

Milton.

æt Middeltune] 'Non multo post fecit alium in Aquilonali parte Tamensis in loco qui dicitur Beanfleot,' ASN. This is taken from the next annal, i. 86 m., and is added here to make the course of events clearer.

Death of
Wulfhere
of York.

Hic obiit Wulfhere . . . archiepiscopus, E] The date given by E for the death of Wulfhere of York, 892 (895, R. W. i. 361), agrees with S. D. ii. 92, 119, where it is said that he died in the thirty-ninth year of his episcopate. This would place his accession in 853 × 854. So would the different computation of Simeon in his letter on the Archbishops of York, where he says that Wulfhere died in 900, in the forty-seventh year of his episcopate, i. 225. With this practically agree the Ann. Lindisf., which, being often a year or two behind the correct chronology, give 852 for his consecration and 893 for his death. His predecessor, Wigmund, died in the sixteenth year of his episcopate, S. D. i. 224. If he was consecrated in 837 (Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 11, 180; ed. 2, pp. 20, 242) his death would fall 852 × 853. Dr. Stubbs, *u. s.*, accepts 854 and 900 as the dates of Wulfhere's accession and death respectively. He received the pallium in 854, S. D. ii. 71, 100. While the Danes were ravaging York in 867 he

fled to Addingham in Wharfedale, i. 225. He was expelled with King Egbert in 872, but restored on his death in 873, i. 56; ii. 110; see above, on 867. On the change in the character of E after this point, see Introduction, §§ 62, 114, 116. Ethelwerd also changes, *ib.* § 99.

894 A] This annal is of great difficulty, owing partly to the number and complexity of the operations related in it, partly to the fact that several earlier events are alluded to only incidentally in explanation of later matters, and it is extremely difficult to arrange things in their due chronological order. (Florence has attempted to improve somewhat the arrangement of the Chron., but there is no need on this account to suppose with Mr. Thorpe that he used 'a MS. varying considerably from those now extant.' Ethelwerd has some additional particulars, but unfortunately it is very difficult to penetrate the darkness caused by the corruption of his text and the confusions of his own 'puzzle-headed rhetoric.') The following is offered as a tentative solution. In the previous annal (893) it is told how a large force of Danes had crossed from Boulogne to the mouth of the Limene, and fortified itself for the winter at Appledore. A smaller detachment under Hæsten sailed round to the mouth of the Thames, entered the Swale, and fortified itself at Milton. In 894 Alfred exacts pledges from the Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria that they will not assist these new invaders. (S. D. represents this as a regular annexation of Northumbria and East Anglia: 'Anno DCCCXCIV . . . mortuo Guthredo, rex Elfredus Northanhumbroꝝ regnum suscepit disponendum. . . . Paterno regno . . . et prouinciam Orientalium Anglorum, et Northanhymbroꝝ post Guthredum adiecit,' i. 71; cf. on 867, *supra*. This is of course a gross exaggeration.) But nevertheless they co-operate more or less openly with them in their forays. Alfred takes up a position between the two Danish camps in order to watch them both, and numerous skirmishes take place. Alfred endeavours to detach the Danes at Milton by making a separate agreement with them. Hæsten consents; he is honourably received, his two sons are baptised, Alfred himself and his son-in-law Ethelred, the great alderman of the Mercians, acting as sponsors. But the treaty was only a blind on Hæsten's part. (So R. W.: 'Hasteinus . . . cogitauit quo ordine regem . . . deciperet,' i. 358; in other respects R. W. is very confused.) Hæsten crosses to Benfleet in Essex, and throws up a fortification there, and begins to ravage, after sending word to the Danes at Appledore to let their ships sail round and join him, while they themselves break out in force, and marching through Surrey, Hants, and Berks, cross the upper Thames, and then, turning eastwards, regain their ships at Benfleet. But before they could reach the Thames they were overtaken (perhaps in consequence of the enormous booty with which they were laden) by a division of the fyrd [under Alfred's son Edward] at Farnham, defeated, and driven in confusion across the Thames and up the Hertfordshire

Complex movements of the Danes.

Colne, where they took refuge in an island [called Thorney], and were there besieged. Just at this crisis the term of service of Edward's division of the fyrd expired, their provisions were exhausted, and they abandoned the siege. Alfred was on his way with a fresh division of the fyrd to relieve them, when he heard that two fleets raised by the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes were besieging Exeter and an unnamed place on the north coast of Devon. He at once turned west, detaching, however, a small body [under Edward] to watch the Danes [at Thorney]. These were still there, having been unable to avail themselves of the absence of the fyrd, owing to the state of their chief, who had been wounded in the battle of Farnham. [Edward, with the help of a force from London, under Ethelred, compels them to submit and give hostages, and they march off to Essex], and reach Benfleet, where Hæsten (taking advantage, perhaps, of Ethelred's absence on the Colne) was again harrying the English part of Essex; *v. s.* Here their former assailants, having received reinforcements on their way at London and from the west, attacked them in Hæsten's absence, carried the fort, captured or destroyed the ships, and made prisoners of Hæsten's wife and sons. These last were sent to Alfred, who chivalrously released them. The defeated Danes fell back on Shoebury, where they were joined by Hæsten [after he had first repaired the fort at Benfleet, ASN.], and by reinforcements from East Anglia and Northumbria, and threw up a fresh fortification. (Meanwhile Alfred had compelled the besiegers of Exeter to retire to their ships.) The combined Danes from Shoebury make a dash up the Thames to the Severn, and thence up the Severn, but are defeated at Buttington by a general levy under the three aldermen, Ethelred of Mercia, Æthelnoth of Somerset (Ethelwerd, p. 515), and Æthelhelm of Wilts, and retire to Essex. They receive large reinforcements from Northumbria and East Anglia, and make another dash across England to Chester, which they occupy before the fyrd can overtake them. The above sketch does justice, I believe, to all the points mentioned in the Chron. The parts taken from Ethelwerd are included in square brackets. If I have rightly understood his words they certainly cohere well with the rest. Some points of detail in the narrative require notice.

Movements
of the
Danes on
the Conti-
nent.

on *þæm east rice geweorc*] This has not been mentioned; it refers to the winter quarters of the Danes at Louvain after their defeat on the Dyle in 891. The other division under Hæsten wintered at Amiens. This was the winter of 891-892, and the crossing to England from Boulogne was in the autumn of 892, Dümmler, *u. s.* ed. 1, p. 351; ed. 2, p. 352; if this is correct, then here, as in other instances, the chronology of the Chronicle is a year in advance, and the original numbering in A (see i. 84, note 1), with which ASN. agree, would be correct.

'hloj.'

hloþum] Above, on 871, we have seen 'hloþ' opposed to 'folc gefeoht'; cf. 'hie hloðum on hie staledon,' Oros. p. 100. The size of a 'hloð' is

defined in Ine's laws, c. 13 § 1: 'þeófas we hátað oð VII men, from VII hlóð oð xxxv, siððan bið here,' Thorpe, i. 110; Schmid, p. 26. We have also the verb 'hloðian'; cf. 'hie ofer þone sá hloðedon 7 hergedon,' Bede, p. 44.

on tu to numen, 7c.] The object of this measure was to give continuity to the military operations against the Danes, and to mitigate the difficulties to which a citizen-army is always liable; cf. Green, C. E. pp. 133-135. That it was not wholly successful the present annal is a proof. Compare the description of the Amazons in Orosius: 'hie heora here on tu to-dældon, oþer æt ham beon [? sceolde] heora lond to healdanne, oðer út farau to winnanne,' p. 46; cf. also 1 Kings v. 13, 14, of Solomon's levies of labourers to build the Temple. It is by no means impossible that the Orosius passage may have suggested the plan to Alfred. Wülker assigns the Orosius translation to 891 × 893; cf. on 896, *infra*; and see Introduction, § 103.

Twofold division of the fyrd.

p. 85. ongean þa scipu] 'classicae manui quam praemiserat obuiare,' Fl. Wig.

p. 86. mid þære scire] *i. e.* with his division of the fyrd, the division whose term of service was now beginning. It has no reference to 'shire' as a territorial division.

ge waldenum dæle] That 'gewalden' means 'inconsiderable' is shown by the following passage in Oros.: 'hi . . . gewaldenne here . . . sendon an hergiunge, . . . 7 . . . ða hwile mid heora maran fultume . . . foron ongean Somnite,' p. 138; cf. *ib.* 192. Florence translates it 'paucis . . . relictis,' i. 111; see the passages cited in Bosworth-Toller.

'gewalden.'

ge on feo, 7c.] Cf. G. G. p. 102.

p. 87. cum pæder] 'The Latin "compater," which probably at this date was still understood in its etymological sense, of the relation subsisting between two men who were godfathers to the same child, or between a godfather and the natural father. (So in the letter of Stephen IV to Carloman, cited above on 853 A.) Alfred and Æðered were both in this relation to Hæsten, as appears in the previous sentences. Cf. K. C. D. No. 709: "Eadrico meo compatri." The word soon became generalised; it began and ended much as our *gossip* (God sib),' Earle; cf. 'cummer' = 'commère.'

'Compa-ter.'

oppæt hie gedydon æt Sæferne] The object of this dash across England was probably to co-operate with the Danish fleet at Exeter. This was doubly frustrated; (1) by the fact that the three aldermen overtook and defeated this body of Danes on the Severn; (2) by the fact that the Danes at Exeter were held in check by Alfred; see Taylor, The Danes in Gloucestershire, pp. 16-18; supplemented by an interesting letter of Mr. Taylor to myself.

The Danes on the Severn.

Norð Weal cynnes] It is interesting to find the Welsh taking part against the invaders. Contrast on 835. The Welsh annals tell of their ravages, Brut y Tywys., 894; Ann. Camb. 895.

Welsh allied with English.

æt Butting tun] Mr. Taylor, *u. s.*, follows Dr. Ormerod in fixing this

Butting-ton.

at Buttington Tump in Tidenham, at the junction of the Wye and Severn, which certainly answers the conditions admirably. Then the river on the two sides of which the English forces encamped would be the Wye, and not the Severn.

The Danes starved out. *mete lieste*] Cf. 'pæt hie . . . oþer sceoldon, oþþe for metelieste heor lif aketan, oþþe Somnitum on hand gán,' Oros. p. 120; cf. *ib.* 168.

hungre acwolen] Cf. *ib.* 168: 'Hanibal . . . beset Saguntum . . . oþ he lie ealle hungre acwealde.'

Chester. p. 88. *westre ceastre*] Deva was the station of the twentieth legion 'victrix,' M. H. B. p. xxi.; hence its name 'Legaceaster,' 'Legionis castra.' Its desolation probably dated from the battle of Chester; *v.* Bede, H. E. ii. 2, and notes. From this epithet 'west' = 'waste' comes the name 'Westchester,' sometimes given to Deva. It has nothing to do with 'west' as a point of the compass.

Extreme measures against the Danes. *genamon ceapes eall, 7c.*] 'Steenstrup, Vik. p. 338, remarks that this is the only recorded instance of Christians destroying the means of life. Extreme measures were felt to be necessary. On p. 81 he shows that Asser and Fl. Wig., followed by Lappenberg and Pauli, reverse the parts, as if it were the Danes who had destroyed the corn, &c.,' Earle. Here the Liber de Hyda, p. 50, tells of Alfred a story like that which Asser tells of Ethelred at Ashdown, above, on 871.

'efenehð.' *efenehðe*] In the summer and autumn of 1891 there was a long discussion in the Academy on the meaning and etymology of this word, which occurs only here. On the whole, the meaning of 'neighbourhood,' 'neighbouring district,' seems the most probable.

895 A. *þa foron hie . . . East Engla*] 'quoniam propter Mercenses repedare per Merciam non audebant,' Fl. Wig. i. 114.

Ravages of the Danes in Sussex. *þa hergodon hie upon Suð Seaxum*] Florence has transferred the account of the ravages of the Danes in Sussex to the previous annal in immediate connexion with Alfred's raising of the siege of Exeter.

The Lea blocked. p. 89. 896 A. *worhton ƿa tú geweorc*] 'Fecit rex aquam Luye findi in tria brachia,' H. H. p. 150. Steenstrup surmises that the operation may have been suggested to Alfred by Orosius' account of Cyrus and the Euphrates, ii. 6 (AS. vers. p. 74); Vikinger, p. 83.

Cwat brycge] 'There are still Quat and Quatford, respectively 4½ and 2½ miles SSE. of Bridgenorth,' Earle.

End of Alfred's campaigns against the Danes. 897 A. *suð ofer sæ foron to Sigene*] This was in 896; *v.* Ann. Vedastini, *s. a.*, and Dümmler, *u. s.* pp. 433, 434. 'So ended the last great campaign between Alfred and the Vikings,' Steenstrup, Vik. p. 84.

Næfde se here . . . gebrocod] Cf. Alfred's will, *ad init.*: 'þa gelamp pæt we ealle on hæðenum folce gebrocude wæron,' K. C. D. Nos. 314, 1067; Birch, No. 553.

p. 90. *þa para selestena cynges þena*] Cf. 'mid geðeahte . . . ealru minra selostra witena,' K. C. D. vi. 202.

Wulfred . . . Hamtunscire] *Only* in A. He signs one genuine charter, K. C. D. No. 1065; Birch, No. 550. He is not mentioned in Fl. Wig.

biscop æt Dorce ceastre] In consequence of the Danish conquest of Mercia, 874, *supra*, the see of Leicester had been moved to Dorchester, H. & S. iii. 129. This perhaps explains the difference of phraseology as compared with 'biscop on Hroſesceastre' just above. Swithulf was Bishop of Rochester, but Ealheard was only Bishop at Dorchester. It was not his proper see, and the removal was probably at first regarded as only a temporary measure. (On the earlier history of Dorchester as a bishop's see, cf. Bede, II. 144, 145, 245, 246.) Cf. G. P. pp. 402, 403, where Sexhelm is called 'episcopus Sancti Cuthberti,' the see being then temporarily at Chester-le-Street. I have not been able to find out anything about any of these worthies.

hors þegn] 'Strator regius,' Fl. Wig. i. 115.

ða geðungnestan (witan)] Cf. Alfred's laws: 'seonoðas . . . haligra geðungen.' *biscepa 7 eac oðerra geþungenra witena*; Ine: 'on ealdormonnes huse . . . oþþe on oðres geþungenes witan,' Thorpe, i. 58, 106; Schmid, pp. 22, 66; cf. 'swa æþele wer 7 swa geþungen' of Gregory the Great, Bede, p. 98; *ib.* 130.

sume hæfdon .lx. ara] Cf. Crawford Charters, p. 23: 'æne scegð lxiiii ære,' where the last word is an adjective = having sixty-four oars.

un wealtran] 'minus nutantes,' Fl. Wig. i. 115. Professor Earle cites Longfellow, *The Phantom Ship*: Alfred's ships.

'But Master Lamberton muttered,

And under his breath said he,

"This ship is so crank and *walty*

I fear our grave she will be!"

D's 'untealtran' may be a mere blunder, or it may be for 'untealtran.' With this description of Alfred's ships compare that of Antony's fleet at Actium, Oros. p. 246. On Alfred's efforts to create a navy, cf. F. N. C. i. 55; G. C. E. pp. 137, 138. Compare also Charlemagne's similar efforts, Einhardi Vita Caroli, cc. 16, 17.

mid nigonum] 'Here "nigon" is substantival, and therefore declined; so "buton fifum" below; contrast "nigon nihtum," 898, *infra*. The same distinction holds good to some extent in modern German; we can say not only "vor zwölf (Uhr)," but also "vor den Zwölfen," Earle. Numeral substantives.

on uter mere] 'in ostium fluminis, cui Uthermare nomen est,' (!) R. W. i. 365.

p. 91. Lucumon cynges gerefa] 'praepositum regalis exercitus,' H. H. p. 151; but 'gerefa' never implies military position.

Friasa . . . Friasa] The number of Frisians serving in Alfred's ships explains a phrase of Asser referring to the contests of 877: 'rex Ælfredus iussit cymbas et galeas, id est longas naues fabricari per regnum, Frisians in Alfred's navy.'

. . . impositisque *piratis* in illis vias maris custodiendas commisit,' p. 479. Till Alfred could build up a native body of sailors he had to hire foreigners. For Frisians among the earliest Teutonic settlers in Britain, cf. F. N. C. i. 21; S. C. S. i. 115, 231, 237; ii. 183, 185; iii. 25.

cynges geneat] The ordinary 'geneat' seems to have been a rent-and-service-paying tenant, often a mere peasant, almost a serf; cf. K. C. D. iii. 450; Birch, No. 928. That the king's 'geneat' held a very much higher position is shown both by the special mention here, and by the fact that in Ine's laws, § 19, he has the same wergild as a king's thane, viz. 1,200 shillings; and the name geneat (= *genosse*) suggests a connexion with the thanehood in its earlier form of a *comitatus* or body of 'gesiðas,' v. Schmid, Glossary, s. v. geneat.

Wealh gerefa, B, C, D; Wealh gefera, A] Cf. Glossary. In support of his view Prof. Earle cites from a charter freeing land: 'a . . . refectiōne illorum hominum quos Saxonice *Walhfæreld* nominamus,' K. C. D. No. 278; Birch, No. 489; which he takes to be the body of troops patrolling the Welsh border, of which the *Wealhgefera* was the commander.

898 A. Heahstan . . . biscop] Fl. Wig. places the death of the Bishop of London in 900, i. 116, where he calls him (as A) *Heahstan*. But in the list of Bishops, *ib.* 232, he calls him *Ealhstan*, as in B, C, D.

901*. Her gefor Ælfred] There is an unfortunate doubt as to the date of Alfred's death. The length of his reign given by the Chron. (28½ years) is inconsistent with its dates for his accession and death, April, 871—October, 901. Perhaps it is for this reason that S. D. places his death in 899, i. 71; ii. 92, 120. Mr. Stevenson, in an elaborate article in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xii. 71 ff., also decides for 899 on the strength of an entry discovered by him in Cotton *Vespas. D. xiv. f. 223 vº*. Mr. Anscombe, *Athenaeum*, March 12, 1898, thought this entry not inconsistent with 900, but was refuted by Mr. Stevenson, *ib.* March 19. 900 is, however, the date given by ASN., and also by Ethelwerd, and this is supported by two documents dated: 'Anno dominicæ incarnationis DCCCCº, Indictione III quando Ælfred Rex obiit et Eadward . . . regnum suscepit,' K. C. D. Nos. 1076, 1077; Birch, Nos. 590, 594. The Indiction is right. Mr. Stevenson thinks these charters suspicious, but the agreement of them with ASN. forms rather strong evidence. Unfortunately none of Edward's charters give his regnal years, so that we cannot fix from them the date of his accession. Fl. Wig. gives Alfred a reign of 29½ years; so S. D. ii. 372. But Mr. Stevenson ingeniously surmises that this is a mere slip due to overlooking the 'oprum' before 'healfum,' i. 92 t. Fl. Wig. also gives the day as October 28, instead of October 26 (see below on 941 A). But the latter is certainly right, and is confirmed by the Calendar printed in Hyde Register, p. 272; cf. the curious entries of his obit, Hampson, i. 395, 416. Even Ethelwerd grows simple and dignified in the face of this great event: 'Magnanimus

'cynges geneat.'

'Wealhgefera,' or 'Wealhgerefa.'

Date of Alfred's death.

Historical judgements on Alfred.

transiit de mundo Ælfredus rex, Saxonum immobilis Occidentalium postis, uir iustitia plenus, acer in armis, sermone doctus, diuinis . . . super omnia documentis imbutus . . . Cuius requiescit urbe in Wintana corpus in pace. Dic modo lector "Christe redemptor, animam eius salua,"' p. 519. He must be a stern Protestant who would refuse to grant Ethelwerd's request. Florence gives a fine character of Alfred: 'uiduarum, pupillarum, orphanorum, pauperumque prouisor studiosus, poetarum Saxoniorum peritissimus, suae genti carissimus,' p. 116; S. D. ii. 109 (cf. 'Alfred the King, Englelondes deorling,' Layamon, i. 269; 'Englene darling,' Salomon and Saturn, p. 226). H. H. bursts into verse, two lines of which are vigorous:

'Si modo uictor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas,
Si modo uictus eras, ad crastina bella parabas,'

p. 152; cf. *ib.* 171. H. H. makes him the ninth Bretwalda, Edgar being the tenth and last, p. 52. Orderic says: 'omnes Angliae reges praecedentes et subsequentes excellit,' ii. 202; cf. V. liii. We have seen how the Liber de Hyda calls him 'iste princeps inter mille nominatissimus,' p. 29. Ailred calls him 'famosissimus et Christianissimus rex,' c. 740; in the French Life of Edward the Confessor he is 'le roi Auvre, le seint, le sage,' p. 28. In a charter of Ethelred's he is 'the wise king,' 'se wisa cing Ælfred,' K. C. D. iii. 203. Not the least glorious of his titles is that given him by Asser, p. 471 C: 'the truth-teller,' 'Ælfredus ueridicus'; cf. Liebermann, p. 232; so ASN. p. 172. Gaimar, after noting his wisdom and valour, says: 'Clerc estait, e bon astronomien,' v. 2852; cf. *vv.* 3446 ff.

The only unfavourable view of Alfred which I have met with is in His alleged the Abingdon Chron.: 'Ælfredus . . . mala malis accumulans, quasi spoliation of Abingdon. Iudas inter xii, uillam in qua coenobium situm est, quae . . . Abbendoniam appellatur, . . . a . . . coenobio uiolenter abstraxit, uictori Domino pro uictoria . . . super Essedune . . . inparem reddens talionem,' i. 50; cf. *ib.* 52, 125; ii. 276. We cannot tell what the rights of the matter may be. It is hard to believe that Alfred can have been guilty of deliberate wrong. W. M.'s account is as follows: 'Elfredi tempore regis, cum barbarica ubique Dani discursarent petulantia, ediftia loci ad solum complanata. Tum rex, malorum praeuentus consiliis, terras, quaecunque appendices essent, in suos suorumque usus redegit,' G. P. p. 191. It may have been some measure dictated by the exigencies of defence.

Florence distinctly says that he was buried in the New Monastery His burial. in Winchester, *u. s.* W. M. i. 134, 135 (cf. Liber de Hyda, pp. 61, 62, 76) has preserved a story that he was buried first in the Cathedral, 'in episcopatu,' because his monastery was not finished, but was removed thither because the drivelling canons said that he 'walked': 'pro deliramento canonicorum dicentium regios manes resumpto cadauere noctibus . . . oberrare. . . Has sane naenias, sicut ceteras, . . . Angli pene innata

credulitate tenent.' As far as regards the double burial, and the translation from the Old to the New Monastery, this account is confirmed by the Hyde Register, p. 5. When the site of the New Monastery was transferred to Hyde, the remains of Alfred were translated anew in 1110. They were desecrated and scattered to the winds in 1788, Liber de Hyda, pp. xlv f., lxxv ff. From the ruins a stone bearing the inscription 'ælfred rex DCCCLXXXI' was rescued by Mr. Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, where it now reposes. For a beautiful squeeze of this stone I am indebted to my cousin, Mrs. H. A. Hills, the present tenant of Corby. The date cannot of course be that of Alfred's death; it may be a mistake for 871, the date of his accession. On the significance of Alfred's reign and work I may perhaps be allowed to quote what I wrote in 1889:—

His tomb
desecrated.

Signifi-
cance of
his reign.

'Alfred holds in real history the place which romance assigns to Arthur; a Christian king,—

'Scarce other than my own ideal knight,'

who rolls back the tide of heathen conquest from his native land. The peace of 878, by which more than half of England passed to the Dane, might seem the confession of a disastrous defeat. In reality it is impossible to overestimate what had been gained. Wessex was saved, and in saving Wessex Alfred saved England, and in saving England he saved Western Europe from becoming a Scandinavian power. It is true that this did not avert later conquest under Swegen and Cnut; but though that conquest gave England for a time a dynasty of Danish kings, it did not make her Scandinavian in the same sense in which the earlier conquests would have done, had they been successful. And if Wessex had lost much by the Danish inroads she had also gained something by them. They made her the representative of English national feeling, the one power in the island which could boast a royal house of unbroken national descent. The work of Alfred's successors lay in the endeavour to win back and incorporate the under-kingdoms which had been ceded to the Danes. But the work was only very imperfectly accomplished, when it was more than undone by the renewal of the Danish inroads towards the close of the tenth century, which culminated in the election of Cnut as sole King of England in 1017; cf. F. N. C. i. 46 ff.

On the extinction of the local dynasties, cf. Chron. Ab. i. 37; Mon. Alc. pp. 371-373; H. & S. iii. 510. It may be noted that Alfred is called king of the Gewissae by the Welsh Annals, cf. Bede II. 89; and by Ord. Vit. ii. 202. His will is in K. C. D. Nos. 314, 1067; Birch, No. 553; and elsewhere. It throws no light on the original place of burial.

pp. 92, 93. 7 þa feng Ead weard] 'a primatibus electus,' Ethelw. p. 519 B. This distinct statement is important in view of Æthelwold's attempt to seize the crown. But, indeed, Edward seems to have been associated with Alfred in the government even before the latter's death, for

Accession
of Edward

he signs a charter of 898 as 'rex,' K. C. D. No. 576; Birch, No. 324. He was crowned on Whit-Sunday, Ethelw., *u. s.* As Alfred died in Oct. this must be the Whitsuntide of the following year. Of Edward, Fl. Wig. says: 'litterarum cultu patre inferior, sed dignitate, potentia, . . . et gloria superior,' i. 117.

Æthelwald] The sons of Ethelred had been passed over as minors at their father's death. One of them now attempted to make good his claim against Edward; cf. F. N. C. i. 56. Æthelwold is mentioned in Alfred's will, who leaves him the hams of Godalming, Guildford, and Steyning. Ethelwerd the historian was descended from Ethelred, possibly through Æthelwold, pp. 499 C, 514 A.

Rebellion of Æthelwold.

gerad . . . rad] 'ridan,' to ride, 'geridan,' to get by riding, to surprise; so 'winnan,' to fight, 'gewinnan,' to get by fighting, to *win*. Hence in modern German this prefix, which indicates accomplishment, attainment, has become the sign of the past participle.

'ridan,'
'geridan.'

Twæoxn eam] The more modern form of the name is Twinham. But both forms have been supplanted by the name of Christ Church, derived from the famous Abbey. As early as the twelfth century this had become the prevailing name: 'quidam locus qui solitario [?] uocabulo Cristeerce, id est Christi ecclesia, uocatur,' G. P. p. 418; cf. Freeman, English Towns and Districts, pp. 165 ff. A similar name is 'Bituinæum,' Twining, Gloucester, K. C. D. No. 203; Birch, No. 350; cf. 'betwux þæm twæm eam,' Oros. p. 218.

Christ Church, Hants

Baddan byrig] 'ad Bathan,' H. H. p. 153; he is wrong of course. It is Badbury Rings, near Wimborne, Dorset.

libban . . . licgan] A proverbial expression; cf. 'to tacne þæt hie oþer woldon, oððe ealle libban, oððe ealle licgean,' Oros. p. 138. The phrase 'libbende 7 licgende' is used of live and dead stock, Ancient Laws, Thorpe, i. 390; Schmid, p. 284; so K. C. D. vi. 149.

'Live' or 'lie.'

hi hine under fengon . . . to bugon, D] So B, C; omitted by A. On the difference between the A recension and that of B, C, D in this section of the Chronicle, see Introduction, §§ 83, 84 note, 89, 93, 112. According to S. D., Osberht, apparently one of the fleeting princes in Northumbria, was expelled in the year of Alfred's death, ii. 121 (cf. *ib.* 92, where the chronology is different). This may account for the reception of Æthelwold; the Danes may also have hoped to divide the national resistance to themselves (cf. H. H.: '[Daci] nobilitati iuuenis congaudentes,' p. 153). If so, their hopes were singularly falsified.

Æthelwold received by the Danes.

to nunnan, A, D] At Wimborne: 'rex . . . sanctimonialem . . . captam iubet ad suum monasterium Winburnan reduci,' Fl. Wig. i. 118; cf. the case of Swegen, son of Godwine, and the abbess of Leominster, 1046 C, *infra*. The offence is one expressly provided for in the Laws, Thorpe, i. 66, 246, 324; ii. 300; Schmid, pp. 74, 174, 232, 370; Earle, Charters, p. 231; Blickling Homilies, p. 61.

Crime of Æthelwold

forð ferde *Æþered . . . Ælfréd cyning*] As Ethelred's death is expressly dated by reference to that of Alfred, it must be placed in the same year, whatever that may be.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE ELDER.

Chronology
of Edward's
reign.

The chronology of the Chronicle for the reign of Edward is extraordinarily complicated and difficult. There is (i) the doubt as to the date of Edward's accession, *v. s.*; (ii) the question of the relation of the Mercian Register to the main Chronicle; (iii) the divergence of three years in the MSS. of the main Chronicle during the years 917, 918 A=914, 915, B, C, D. The first point has been already discussed. As to the third it might seem at first sight more probable that the original of B, C, D should wrongly omit three blank annals, than that A should wrongly insert them; and we have seen that the chronological dislocation in the earlier part of the Chronicle was caused by a similar omission of blank annals. But on the other hand, (a) I have in the Introduction, §§ 93, 112, given some reasons for believing that the BCD recension of the main Chronicle is in this part more original than that of A, and this greater originality may extend to the dates as well as to the text of the annals. (b) Fl. Wig. agrees with the chronology of BCD; so much so, that when incorporating the annals 919-924, which are quite peculiar to A, he dates them also three years earlier, *viz.* 916-921. Either, therefore, he had a MS. in which these annals were so dated; or, having decided that A in the two preceding annals was three years in advance of the true chronology, he applied the same correction to the six following years. In the latter case, of course, Florence's dates only represent his own estimate of the conflicting evidence. If so, I am inclined to agree with him. (c) It would be very easy for the scribe of A's original to mistake 'xiii' for 'xvii,' then the next scribe (or himself) would naturally insert the missing numbers as blank annals.

The
Mercian
Register.

As to the second question, the chronological relation of the MR to the main Chronicle, we may note that in A we have the latter only; in BC we have both, but separate and uncombined; in D we have an attempt to combine the two, with a further admixture of a Northumbrian element (on which see Introduction, § 70). The Mercian dates in D have, I believe, no independent authority, and need no special discussion; where they agree with MR, they are taken from it; where they differ, they simply represent a (not very successful) attempt to accommodate them to the chronology of the main Chronicle (MC). The MR deals principally with the doings of *Æthelflæd*; MC with those of Edward. Hence the points at which they touch are few in number, and the materials for judging of their mutual relations are slight. The points of contact are these:

Death of Ealhswith, 902 MR, 905 MC [probably the battle of the Holme, 902 MR, is also to be equated with the battle in 905 MC; see below, pp. 123, 124].

Death of Ethelred of Mercia, 911 MR, 912 MC.

Death of Æthelflæd of Mercia, 918 MR, 922 A (probably to be corrected to 919, *v. s.*).

Death of Edward, 924 MR, 925 MC.

Now, either Fl. Wig. had a MS. of MR differing from ours, or else from Fl. Wig.'s these three last instances he made the induction that the chronology of MR was always one year behind the true; for, with the exception of the battle of the Holme, which he advances by two years (902 to 904), he always adds one to the dates of MR, which he then combines with those of MC, according to the BCD recension (with the single exception of the fortification of Witham, which he advances a year, from 913 to 914). Hence his combination is much more systematic than that of D. Whether it represents anything more than his own opinion is a question. Two other tests of the chronology of MR seem to offer themselves, the lunar eclipse of 904, and the comet of 905. But, owing to the occurrence of similar phenomena in other years, both are delusive; see notes *a. l.*

Ethelwerd and ASN show no trace of the MR (see Introduction, §§ 99, 100, note). Of these ASN is uniformly one year, and Ethelwerd two years, behind the chronology of MC, according to the BCD recension.

As the two series of entries have little connexion, and it is difficult to determine their mutual relations, it will be best to take them separately, beginning with 902-924 MR.

p. 93. 902 C. Ealhswið forðferde] December 5, Hampson, i. 419. Death of Her death is entered in MC at the end of 905. Fl. Wig. adopts 905, Ealhswith. and says that she founded the convent of nuns (Nunnaminster) at Winchester; cf. Hyde Reg. pp. 5, 57; Nunnaminster Codex, ed. De Gray Birch for Hants Records Soc. pp. 5-7. She was mother of Edward and widow of Alfred, who married her in 868. According to Asser she was daughter of Ethelred, 'Gainorum comes,' and her mother, Eadburg, was of the Mercian royal house. Fl. Wig. *u. s.* calls her 'religiosa Christi famula,' which looks a little as if she had 'entered religion' herself after Alfred's death. If so, this might account for the fact that her signature as 'mater regis' does not occur later than 901, K. C. D. No. 333; Birch, No. 589; cf. *ib.* No. 630; a fact which otherwise would be in favour of the earlier date of 902 for her death. The position of Asser's Gaini is not known; certainly the name has nothing to do with Gainsborough; see Mr. H. Bradley in *Academy*, June 2, 1894. 'Ethelred Ganniorum Dux' subscribes a spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 322; Birch, No. 571.

þ gefeocht æt þam Holme] See on 905 MC.

904 C. mona apystrode] There was an eclipse of the moon in 904, Lunar but as there were lunar eclipses also in 901, 902, 903, 905, and 907, this eclipses. is not much help in fixing the chronology.

905 C. cometa] There is evidence for a comet in 905, Pertz, i. 611; Comets. ii. 255; iii. 3. But in the first of these entries it is said to have appeared in May, whereas D places its appearance on October 20. In 904 there

was a comet towards the end of the year, and in 906 there was one which was visible for nearly six months, Pingré, *Cométographie*, i. 352, 353.

Restoration
of Chester.

p. 94. 907 C] Only in MR. It has not escaped the careful Fl. Wig.: 'Civitas quae Karlegion Britannice, et Legeceastre dicitur Saxonice, iussu Ætheredi ducis et Ægelfledæ restaurata est,' *u. s.* W. M. has a story of Chester rebelling 'fiducia Britonum' and being reduced just before Edward's death, i. 144, 145. This may come from the life of Athelstan which W. M. had before him; see below.

Translation
of St. Os-
wald.

909 C. Oswaldes lic] On the fate of Oswald's relics see notes to Bede, H. E. iii. 11-13. The monastery at Gloucester, to which his body was now translated, had been founded by Ethelred and Æthelflæd in his honour. It was closely allied with that of Malmesbury. The monks were dispersed by the Danes, and canons substituted. Archbishop Thurstan, when restoring the shrine of St. Oswald, discovered the tombs of the founders in the south [? east, v. 918 C, i. 105] 'porticus,' W. M. i. 136; G. P. p. 293. It was granted by William Rufus to the see of York, and the archbishops sometimes used it as a place of banishment for refractory ecclesiastics. At the time of the dissolution of the lesser monasteries Archbishop Lee interceded with Thomas Cromwell that it might be spared; needless to say—in vain, Raine's *Hexham*, i. Appendix pp. xli f., cxxv f.

Æthelflæd,
lady of the
Mercians.

910 C. Æðelflæd getimbrede, 7c.] This is the first mention by name of Alfred's heroic daughter ('fauor ciuium, pauor hostium,' W. M. i. 136, Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians. The Rev. C. S. Taylor ingeniously suggests that she was named after Æthelflæd, the daughter of Oswy, whose dedication to the religious life marked Oswy's triumph over the heathen Penda, *The Danes in Gloucestershire*, pp. 5, 6. The restoration of Chester, 907 C, was, however, her work, v. note *a. l.* H. H. says of her: 'haec . . .

Her royal
position.

tantae potentiae fertur fuisse, ut a quibusdam non solum domina uel regina, sed etiam rex uocaretur,' p. 158 (cf. the Hungarian: 'moriatur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresia,' Carlyle's *Frederick*, iii. 472 ff.; Weber, *Weltgesch.* xiii. 17, 18; cf. F. N. C. i. 555, of Elizabeth). On the semi-royal position of Æthelflæd and her husband in Mercia, see F. N. C. i. 563-565; Green, *C. E.* pp. 144, 145, where the evidence of the charters is collected. To the instances there given may be added the following: Ethelred and Æthelflæd are called 'Myrcna hlafordas,' K. C. D. Nos. 313, 339; Birch, Nos. 551, 608; Ethelred is called 'Myrcna hlaford,' K. 327; B. 582; 'dux partis regionis Merciorum,' B. 577; 'dux et dominator Merciorum,' K. 340; B. 607; Æthelflæd is called 'domina Merciorum,' B. 583. This position may be due in part to the fact that Æthelflæd's maternal grandmother, Eadburg, was related to the Mercian dynasty, Asser, p. 475. Of the Chronicles it is only MR, with its local feeling, which gives Ethelred the title of 'hlaford.' Fl. Wig. calls him 'Dux et patricius,' 'Dominus et subregulus,' and speaks of 'regnum Merciorum,' i. 121; Ethelwerd twice calls him 'rex,' p. 518, and says that he governed

Northumbria as well as Mercia, p. 519. Celtic sources uniformly speak of Æthelflæd as queen, and sometimes of Ethelred as king; cf. Three Fragments, *ut infra*; Ann. Ult. 917, 918; Ann. Camb. 917; Brut y Tywys. 914; so Gaimar, v. 3477. The Chron. Ab. also calls Æthelflæd 'regina,' i. 44. For the line of fortresses by which she and Edward bridled the Danes, cf. W. M.: 'urbibus . . . per loca opportuna multis, uel ueteribus reparatis, uel nouis excogitatis, repleuit eas manu militari, quae incolas protegeret, hostes repelleret,' i. 135; Green, C. E. pp. 193 ff.; Maitland, Domesday, pp. 183-188; C. P. B. I. lxii. One great object of this line of fortresses was to cut off the Danes of the Five Borougs from the Welsh, and to prevent them from receiving reinforcements from their kinsmen in Ireland through the estuaries of the Severn, the Dee, and the Mersey. Her line of fortresses.

Of her conflicts with the Danes there are some confused but interesting notices in Three Fragments of Irish Annals, pp. 226-236, 244-246. Throughout these passages she and her husband are called king and queen. We find them manumitting a female serf at Padstowe, K. C. D. iv. 311.

Bremes byrig] Not Bransbury, near Torksey, as Mr. Arnold, H. H. p. 157, which is the wrong side of the country entirely; but 'Conigree Hill, a great mound . . . entrenched at the summit, at Bromesberrow, near Ledbury,' Rev. C. S. Taylor, The Danes in Gloucestershire, p. 23. Bremesburh.

p. 96. 911 C. gefor Æþered] See on 912 MC.

912 C. Scergeate] Shrewsbury, Mr. Kerslake, St. Ewen, &c., pp. 12 ff.; Scergeat and Mr. Taylor, *u. s.* But the difference in the names is hard to account for.

æt Brige] Cf. Fl. Wig. ii. 49: 'Arcem quam in occidentali Sabrinae fluminis plaga, in loco qui Brycege dicitur lingua Saxonica, Ægelfleda Merciorum domina quondam construxerat, . . . Rotbertus de Beleasmo . . . restaurare coepit.' Bridge-north.

913 C. Gode forgyfendum] 'dante Deo'; cf. 917, 918 MR. It marks the sense of the national triumph. It is omitted in D. That Tamworth was an important place is shown by the frequency with which Mercian Witenagemóts were held there, K. C. D. Nos. 1020, 194, 203, 206, 245, 247, 248, 251, 258, 278, 280; Birch, Nos. 293, 326, 350, 351, 430, 432, 434, 436, 450, 488, 489, 492. Tamworth fortified.

Stæf forda] See Green, C. E. p. 201; Fl. Wig. notices that the 'burg' at Stafford was 'in septentrionali plaga Sowae amnis,' i. 123. Stafford.

p. 98. 914 C. æt Eades byrig] 'Eddisbury Hill, in Delamere Forest, Cheshire, . . . to guard the estuary of the Mersey,' Taylor, *u. s.* p. 24. Eddisbury.

p. 99. 915 C. æt Cyric byrig] Chirk, *ib.*

Chirk.

æt Weard byrig] Warburton on the Mersey, *ib.*

æt Rum cofan] On the importance of this, cf. G. C. E. pp. 123, 124. Runcorn.

p. 100. 916 C. Ecgbriht abbud] I have found nothing which throws light on this tragedy. Egbert was probably a Mercian abbot. An 'Egberht abbas' signs a spurious charter of Æthelflæd, K. C. D. No. 343; Birch, No. 632. The charter seems based on this MR, for it is dated Murder of Abbot Egbert.

at Wardbury, 915 MR, and Ælfwyn, Æthelflæd's daughter, 919 MR, is made to sign as a bishop (!).

Campaign
against the
Welsh.

Æpelflæd . . . on Wealas] Having thus isolated the Danes and Welsh, she now attacks them in detail, capturing Brecon here, and Derby in the following year; see Taylor, *u. s.*

Ɔæs cinges wif] I cannot discover who this was, nor can Professor Rhys help me.

Derby
captured.

p. 101. 917 C. Gode fultum gendum] 'adiuuante Deo.' This again marks the chronicler's sense of the greatness of the triumph, cf. Green, C. E. pp. 206, 207; 'locus qui Northworthige nuncupatur, iuxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby,' Ethelw. p. 513.

be sorge] 'de carioribus,' Fl. Wig. i. 126; cf. 'þeoda hlaford, us se besorgesta,' Ælf. Lives, i. 496; 'Papinius wæs þam casere ealra his deorlinga besorgost,' Boethius, 29, 2.

'geweor-
ðan.'

p. 105. 918 C. hi þæs geworden hæfde] 'they had agreed upon this'; 'geweorðan' used impersonally in the sense of 'to be agreed,' 'come to terms,' takes the accusative of the persons who agree, and the genitive of the thing agreed upon, as here; cf. 'hi nanre sibbe ne gewearð,' 'they could not agree on terms of peace,' Oros. p. 204. But sometimes the persons who agree are in the dative case; so 1014, *infra*, 'gewearð him 7 þam folce . . . anes'; so 1103. In K. C. D. No. 1302 we have the dative and accusative in consecutive sentences.

xii. nihtun Ɔer middan sumera] D adds 'pridie ID IUNII,' *i. e.* June 12 (June 24 being Midsummer Day; so in 924 A, where the Chron. has 'foran to middum sumera'; Fl. Wig. has 'ante Natiuitatem Iohannis Baptistae,' i. 129). Fl. Wig. says: 'xix Kal. Iulii,' which is impossible, as there are not nineteen days of the Calends of July, June having only thirty days.

Ɔy eahtopan geare] *i. e.* from her husband's death, which MR places in 911.

Mercian
feeling.

mid riht hlaford dome] This phrase seems to show that the Mercian chronicler regarded Æthelflæd as having either through herself or her husband a right, independent of Wessex, to reign in Mercia; while the next annal indicates a certain amount of discontent that the claims of their daughter were not respected, and that a Mercian princess should be led away into Wessex. This view comes out very strongly in H. H.: 'Edwardus . . . exhaereditauit ex dominio Merce totius Alfwen, . . . magis curans an utiliter uel inutiliter ageret, quam an iuste uel iniuste,' pp. 158, 159; and to some extent in Fl. Wig.: 'Ægelfleda . . . unicum filiam suam Ælfwynnam . . . haeredem regni reliquit. . . . Post haec ab Ælfwynna nepte sua potestatem regni Merciorum penitus ademit,' i. 128, 129. Both Florence and Henry were Mercians by position, and possibly also by descent; cf. H. H. p. xxxi.

Ælfwyn.

919 C. Ælfwyn] Her name occurs as that of the third life in a lease

of lands to Ethelred and Æthelflæd in 904 by Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, K. C. D. No. 339; Birch, No. 601.

924 C. Eadweard] For a discussion of the date of his death, see 925 MC.

Ælfwerd his sunu] Ælfweard signs charters as 'filius regis' under Edward, K. C. D. Nos. 1091, 1094, 1095; Birch, Nos. 624, 625, 628. He is mentioned as 'Ælfweard filius Eadwerdi regis' in the Hyde Register, p. 14, but at p. 6 there is the following notice: '[Eadwerdum] duo pignora filiorum, Æðeluuerdus . . . atque Ælfuuerdus . . . in sepulturæ consortio secuti sunt; quorum unus clito, alter uero *regalibus infulis redimitus*, immatura ambo morte preuenti sunt.' The words in italics suggest either that Ælfweard was considered as king during the few days that he survived his father (Athelstan being possibly illegitimate), or that he had been associated with his father in the kingship. This second view (which is also that of Mr. Birch, *ib.* p. x) is confirmed to some extent by a story in Liber de Hyda, p. 113, of a son of Edward named 'Elfredus' (which may easily be a mistake for Elfwerdus), who was crowned during his father's lifetime. Æthelweard also signs the charters cited above (where 'frater regis' is probably a mistake for 'filius regis'; 'filius' and 'frater' are constantly confused, owing to the same letter *f* standing as the abbreviation for both). He signs other charters distinctly as 'filius regis.' See on him, W. M. i. 136, 137. A third view is not impossible. It will be noted that the election of Athelstan by the Mercians is placed in close connexion with the death of Ælfweard. This suggests that on the death of Edward his dominions may have been divided among his sons, Athelstan having Wessex, Ælfweard Mercia, and possibly Edwin Kent; see below on 933 E.

Was he king?

Was the kingdom divided?

æt Wintan ceastre] 'in nouo monasterio regio more,' Fl. Wig. i. 130.

7 he geaf his sweostor . . .] The MR ends here incompletely in B and C. Either, therefore, the scribe of this common original had a mutilated copy, or failed to read or understand what he had before him, possibly a reading like that of D, which adds 'ofsæ Eald Seaxna cynges suna.' In accordance with the practice of previous editors I have printed 'Ofsæ' as if it were a proper name; the common view being that it is meant for Otho the Great, son of Henry I, who married Athelstan's sister Edith. It is hard to see how such a corruption can have arisen, when the chronicler had native forms like Oda and Odda answering to the German Otho or Otto. I have no doubt that it is a mere slip for 'ofer sæ,' a phrase which occurs frequently (see Glossary). The slip would be all the easier if the entry was copied from a MS. in which the *er* was abbreviated, as *e. g.* in 'æfter,' 670*. There is a similar error in 855 D *ad init.*, 'of eal his rice' for 'ofer eal his rice'; and a converse one in 910 D, 'ofer West Seaxum' for 'of.'

Misreading corrected.

End of MR.

The marriage took place in 930, Pertz, ii. 213; iii. 141; W. M. i. 149, Marriage

of Edith of
England to
Otho the
Great.

note (929, Pertz, iii. 54; cf. *ib.* 320, 434; x. 577). Fl. Wig. mentions the marriage under 936 in connexion with Otho's accession, i. 132. For her coronation in that year, cf. Pertz, iii. 744. The embassy which sought her hand is described in Hrotswith's *Gesta Oddonis* (written in 968, *ib.* iv. 303) as sent 'Gentis ad Anglorum terram sat deliciosam,' and Edith (wrongly, see Bede, II. 160) as 'natam de stirpe beata Oswaldi regis,' *ib.* iv. 320, 321. She died Jan. 26, 946, *ib.* iii. 393, 449; x. 578. The virtues of this English princess made a deep impression on the hearts of her German subjects, and many beautiful traditions of her piety and charity have been preserved, *ib.* iii. 449, 744; vi. 600; x. 577; xvi. 62. This is the only allusion in the Chron. to Athelstan's foreign relations, which were very important; see on them F. N. C. i. 182 ff; C. P. B. ii. 499. The Cottonian Gospels (Tib. A. ii) seem to have been a gift from Otho to his English brother-in-law; see Birch, ii. 417, 418. It is possible that the sending of Cynewold, Bishop of Worcester, with presents to German monasteries, and the admission of Athelstan and other English notables to rights of confraternity at St. Gallen in 929, may have been in connexion with the arrangements for this marriage; see *Libri Confr. S. Galli*, i. col. 332, pp. 136, 137.

We now return to the main Chronicle.

pp. 92, 93. 903 A, D. Apulf . . . broðor] I do not know what his aldermanry was. Possibly that of the Gaini in succession to his father, v. s.

Ferghil.

Uirgilius] Probably Ferghil, Bishop of Finnabair, whose death is placed by the FM in 902. On the significance of this name 'Virgil' among the Irish, cf. Z. K. B. ii. 326-328.

Grimbald.

Grim bald] Monk of St. Bertin's in Flanders, whom Alfred brought over to assist him in the task of raising the condition of learning in England; see Asser, pp. 487, 489 f. He seems to have come to Britain c. 892. See W. M. II. xlv-xlviii; where Dr. Stubbs has collected all that is known of him. The letter of Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims, recommending him to Alfred, is printed in Wise's Asser, pp. 123 ff.; Birch, ii. 190-194, and elsewhere. He speaks of Grimbald as 'dignissimum . . . pontificali honore,' p. 127; cf. *ib.* 128, from which it would seem that there was an idea of making him a bishop. This was not carried out; and he died abbot of the New Minster at Winchester. Fl. Wig. calls him 'magnae uir sanctitatis, unusque magistrorum Ælfredi regis,' i. 118; so Alfred himself in the Preface to the *Cura Pastoralis*; cf. *Lib. Eli.* p. 81: 'Eluredus . . . per Grimbaldum et Iohannem, doctissimos monachos, tantum instructus est, ut . . . totum Nouum et Vetus Testamentum in eulogiam Anglicae gentis transmutaret.' Whether there is any historical basis for this very interesting tradition I do not know; cf. also on Grimbald, Hardy, *Cat.* i. 549, 555, 556, 561; Pertz, xxv. 767, 769, 770; from which it appears that his memory was perpetuated at St. Bertin's. His festival is mentioned

below, 1075 D, *ad init.* His translation in 934 seems to be mentioned only in Ann. Cicestr., Liebermann, pp. 86, 88.

was ge halgod Niwe mynster, F] Said to have been founded by Alfred on Grimbald's advice; cf. K. C. D. No. 322; Birch, No. 571. There Grimbald was buried, and there regarded as a saint; cf. F. Lat. 'Sancti Grimbaldi'; Fl. Wig. ii. 133. It was rebuilt by Henry I outside the city as Hyde Abbey, G. P. pp. 173, 174. For the rivalry between the Old and New Minster, cf. Ælfric's Lives, p. 448; G. P. p. 173; and for friendlier relations, see the very curious document printed in K. C. D. iv. 260-262; Thorpe, Diplom. pp. 321-324; Hyde Register, pp. 96-100; and for the history of the New Minster generally, Liber de Hyda, R. S.; and the Hyde Register edited by Mr. de Gray Birch for the Hants Record Soc. 1892.

S. Iudoces to cyme] On St. Judoc, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 265-269, 823; H. & S. ii. 89; Ord. Vit. ii. 134 ff. He was a seventh century Breton Saint. By this translation of his relics to the New Minster he became, with Grimbald, the patron saint of that house, and their names are found coupled together in Collects, &c.; cf. Hyde Reg. pp. 6, 46, 92, 99, 248, 270, 273; Liber de Hyda, pp. xxviii, 82; Fl. Wig. ii. 133.

904 A, D. ofer sæ] 'de partibus transmarinis,' Fl. Wig., and such is often the meaning of the phrase; and if that be the meaning here, it would imply that, between his withdrawal to the Northumbrian Danes in 901, and 904, Æthelwold had been to seek help on the continent. But more probably it merely means that he came from Northumbria 'by sea'; just as 'ofer land' in 896 A clearly means 'by land.'

on East Sexe] The fuller phrase of D shows that this must be construed with 'com,' not with 'wæs.' Fl. Wig. has misunderstood the phrase, which makes it the less surprising that he should have misunderstood the phrase 'ofer sæ.'

905 A, D. Bradene] 'silua quae Saxonice Bradene uocatur,' Fl. Wig. pp. 94, 95. **betwuh dicum 7 Wusan]** This is the ancient dyke which formed the boundary between Mercia and East Anglia; cf. Offa's Dyke on the West. Fl. Wig. calls it 'limes terrae sancti regis,' i. e. of East Anglia (cf. Liber de Hyda, p. 9: 'Regnum Estanglorum habens . . . ad occidentem fossam S. Edmundi'), not the territory of the monastery of St. Edmund, as Mr. Arnold in H. H. p. 153; 'inter duo fossata S. Eadmundi,' R. W. i. 370. For the dyke, cf. Lappenberg, i. 236, 237; E. T. i. 242.

be for se here hie] Cf. Oros. p. 120: 'hie Somnite utan beforan.'

hie ðær gefuhton, 7 þær wearð . . . ofslægen . . . Sigelm] I have suggested above that this battle is to be identified with the battle 'at the Holme' in 902 MR. The proof is to be found in Ethelwerd, who says: 'bella parantur Holme in loco, . . . ibidemque ruit Sigeuulf dux Sighelmque, . . . necnon Haruc (Eohric) rex barbarorum,' p. 519 B. Here the battle at the Holme is clearly identified with that in which Sighelm and Eric fell. Equally conclusive is an interesting document, K. C. D. No. 499;

Consecration of the New Minster.

St. Judoc.

'ofer sæ.'

Æthelwold in Essex.

The dykes.

The battle at the Holme.

Birch, No. 1064, in which Eadgyfu, third wife and widow of Edward the Elder, tells how her father Sighelm paid off a mortgage on his land, 'emb þa tid þæt man beonn ealle Cantware to wigge to Holme,' because he would not start on a campaign with his debts unpaid; and how, as a matter of fact, 'he on wigge afeallen wæs.' This again shows that the battle in which Sighelm fell was that at the Holme. Fl. Wig. does not identify the two entries, and says that at the Holme the Kentish men were victorious. But this cannot weigh against the much earlier evidence of the document and of Ethelwerd. Moreover, as Ethelwerd shows no trace of the use of MR, his narrative cannot be regarded as a merely theoretical combination of the two entries of the Chron. He dates the battle 902, as does MR, five days after the festival of the Virgin; but which of her festivals is meant I do not know.

Where is the Holme?

Where is the Holme, where the battle was fought? Because it was the Kentish division of the fyrd which was there engaged, the site is commonly fixed in Kent; so Mr. Arnold in H. H. p. 156: 'The large plain or stony common, near Dungeness, between Lydd and the sea, known to this day as "the Holme Stone."' But this is totally to misconceive the course of the campaign. Æthelwold having arrived in Essex, 904, induces the East Anglian Danes to invade Mercia, 905. During their absence Edward hastily gathers an army and ravages East Anglia 'between Ouse and the dykes,' his fyrd being no doubt divided into different companies for this purpose. When the work was accomplished, he sent orders to the different divisions to concentrate for the homeward march, 'þæt hie foron ealle ut æt somne.' The Kentish division disobeyed the order, and so were intercepted by the returning Danes, and defeated, after inflicting severe loss on the enemy. It is clear that the Holme must be sought in East Anglia. The Kentish men were perhaps insisting on their right to strike the first blow at the enemy; cf. F. N. C. iii. 426.

List of the slain.

Sigulf . . . Sigelm . . . Eadwold, 7c.] In K. C. D. No. 324; Birch, No. 576, is a grant by Alfred to Sigelm 'meus fidelis dux' dated 898, and signed by 'Sigulf dux,' 'Eadweald minister,' and 'Beorhtsige minister' (cf. for this last Birch, ii. 244, 247, 250).

Eric, a king of the Danes, slain,

Eohric hira cyng] According to W. M. i. 98 he was the successor of Guthrum-Athelstan. He was succeeded by another Guthrum, whom Todd makes a nephew of Guthrum-Athelstan, and identical with Gormo Gamle, G. G. p. 267. Todd, however, seems to be wrong in making him succeed his uncle immediately in 890; cf. Liber de Hyda, pp. 11, 47.

and Æthelwold etheling.

Æthelwald ætheling] A's description, 'ðe hine to þæm unfriðe gespon,' as compared with that of B, C, D, 'þe hi him to cýninge gecuron,' is consistent with the difference which we have already observed between the same MSS. under 901; so that A probably represents a distinct point of view.

Berhtsige.

Byrhtsige] Cf. S. D. ii. 92: '902, Brehtsig occisus est.' Perhaps the Berhtsige mentioned in last note but two. On his father Berhtnoth or

Beornoth, cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 85, 86. He was possibly a Mercian etheling.

hold] 'Hold' is the Icelandic 'höldr,' the free holder of allodial land. 'hold. In the 'North people's law' his wergild is the same as that of the king's high reeve, Thorpe, i. 186; Schmid, p. 396. In the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels 'tribunis' is glossed 'holdum.' The West-Saxon Gospels omit it. It is translated 'baro' in ASN.

Ealh swið] See above on 902 C.

908 A, D, E. æt Baðum, A, D] Cf. Folwin, *Gesta Abb. S. Bertini*; Bath. Pertz, xiii. 626: 'Rex Adalstanus . . . monasterium quod dicitur Ad Balneos [uulgariter uero Bade, adds Ioh. Longus, *ib.* xxv. 774], eis . . . concessit.' Note the form of D, 'æt Baðum tune,' which perhaps survives in Bathampton, a village just outside Bath. Cf. 'locus qui ad balneos nominatur' (Baden), Pertz, iv. 415. See Taylor, *Cotswold*, pp. 21, 22.

for neode, E] So S. D.: 'necessitate compulsus,' ii. 92. Fl. Wig. takes a very different view: 'Pagani . . . inuictum esse regem Eadwardum scientes, &c.,' i. 120.

909 A, D. Denulf] He succeeded Tunberht in 879, Fl. Wig. Denewulf s. a., who has a legend of his having been originally a swineherd whom Alfred came across in the days of his own adversity, and discovering his ability had him educated. So G. P. p. 162; *Ang. Sac.* i. 208. On the duplication of events in D, owing to the use of different sources, see Introduction, §§ 64, 69, 80.

910 A, D. Her feng Friðestan] On the death of Denewulf in 909 the Frithestan. see of Winchester was divided, K. C. D. Nos. 342, 1092, 1094, 1095; Birch, Nos. 621, 625, 626, 628; Frithestan became Bishop of Winchester, and Athelstan of the new see of Ramsbury, which, after the Conquest, was moved to Sarum. On the connexion of this fact with the story of Plegmund consecrating simultaneously seven West-Saxon bishops, see W. M. i. 140; II. lv ff. Frithestan's name occurs in the 'Confraternitates Sangallenses,' col. 332, in a list of the year 929. The crosses against his name in \bar{A} mark the Winchester interests of the scribe. See Introduction, § 94, note; and cf. 931, 932 A and notes.

Asser] See his own account of his first introduction to Alfred, pp. 487, Asser. 488; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 549-553. According to G. P. p. 177 he made a paraphrase of Boethius 'de Consolatione Philosophiae planioribus uerbis' in preparation for Alfred's translation: 'labore,' says W. M. of the paraphrase, 'illis diebus necessario, nostris ridiculo.' Fl. Wig. wrongly enters his death under 883, i. 98, and so omits it here. The *Brut y Tywys.* calls him 'archescob ynys Prydein,' 'archbishop of the isle of Britain,' which probably points to his having held the see of St. David; cf. Hardy, *u. s.* On Asser's life of Alfred, so far as it is related to the Chronicle, see Introduction, § 84, note.

on pæm norð here] According to Fl. Wig. the reason why Edward

attacked Northumbria was, 'quia pactum quod secum Dani pepigerant praeuaricati sunt'; he forced them to renew it, i. 120.

pp. 96, 97. 911 A, D. *ælc frið*, A; *ælc riht*, D] A's reading is a mere slip due to the preceding 'frið.' If 'frið' were right we should require 'ælcne.'

offoron . . . hindan] Cf. 'Tarentine . . . þa oþre hindan offoron,' Oros. p. 415.

Ecwils cyng, A; Eowils, B, C; Eowilisc cyng, D] According to Fl. Wig. Eowils and Halfdane were brothers of Ingwar; and the site of the battle was 'in campo qui lingua Anglorum Wodnesfeld [Wanswell in Berkeley, Rev. C. S. Taylor, *The Danes in Gloucestershire*, p. 21; Cotswold, p. 22] dicitur,' i. 121. ASN. and Ethelwerd make the same statement as to the site of the battle, and as to Eowils and Halfdane, and the latter adds Ingwar, and the former Egellus to the list of Danish slain. I do not know with what Scandinavian name to equate Ecwils or Eowils, unless perhaps Eyjólf. The reading of D, 'Eowilisc cyng,' suggests whether the true reading may not be 'Eowel Wilisc cyng,' that is, some Welsh Hywel, co-operating, as in other instances, with the Danes. We have this exact form 'Eowel' in a charter of c. 944, K. C. D. No. 410; Birch, No. 812. Ethelwerd says the battle was fought on Aug. 5 (in 909 according to his chronology).

With this invasion of Mercia may be connected a transaction alluded to in a charter of 926, whereby lands in Derbyshire were redeemed 'a paganis, iubente Eadweardo rege . . . et dux (sic) Æþelredo,' Birch, No. 659. The mention of Ethelred shows that it must have been before 912; cf. *ib.* No. 634, where we find books ransomed 'æt hæðnum here.'

912 A, D. Her ge for Æþered] On Ethelred's position, *v. s.* on 910 MR. He was buried at Gloucester, Ethelw. pp. 519, 520; and *v. s.* on 909 MR.

Eadweard . . . feng to . . . Oxna forda] The first mention of Oxford in the Chron., cf. F. N. C. i. 370; but Mr. Freeman is certainly wrong in regarding it as 'one of the chief acquisitions of Eadward the Elder.' If not by the treaty of 878 (so Green, C. E. p. 112), at any rate by that of 886 it had been left in Alfred's hands. Certainly as regards London, perhaps as regards Oxford, all that Edward did was, on Ethelred's death, to resume possession for the West-Saxon crown of districts specially granted to him in 886, which did not belong to his aldermanry as originally granted to him; cf. Fl. Wig.: 'post cuius mortem uxor illius Ægelfleda . . . regnum Merciorum, exceptis Lundonia et Oxenoforda, quas . . . rex Eadwardus sibi retinuit . . . strenuissime tenuit,' i. 121. H. H., perhaps misunderstanding, exaggerates when he says: 'Rex Edwardus saisuit Londoniam et Oxnefordiam, omnemque terram Mercensi prouinciae pertinentem,' p. 155.

913 A, D. þa burg . . . æt Witham] Fl. Wig. seems to combine the 'getimbrede' of A, B, C with the 'getrymmode' of D: 'donec apud Hwittham urbs aedificaretur, et aedificata firmaretur,' i. 122.

Ecwils or
Eowils.

Death of
Ethelred
of Mercia.
Edward
takes pos-
session of
London and
Oxford.

Witham.

pa norðran burg . . . pa burg . . . on sup healfe Lygean] 'This de- Hertford.
scribes the site of Hertford as it is at this day. Part of it is north of the
Lea, between the points of its junction with the Maran and the Beane.
The south part of the town is on the opposite bank of the Lea, and there
stands Hertford Castle,' Earle. Of the three rivers H. H. says: 'flumina
non profunda sed clarissima,' p. 155.

pp. 98, 99. 917 A, 914 D] On the chronology, see above, p. 116.

918 A, 915 D. of Lid wiccum] See note on 885, *supra*.

foron west on butan] 'circumnavigata West-Saxonia et Cornubia,'
Fl. Wig. i. 123.

Ohtor 7 Hroald] Todd would identify these with the Ottir Dubh, Danish
O. the black, and Ragnall of the Irish annals, G. G. pp. lxxxv f., xciv f., chiefs.
293, 294. Ethelwerd, as usual, dates this two years earlier, 913; and the
deliberateness of his system is here shown, for he mentions that in the
following year Christmas Day fell on a Sunday, which it did in 914.

Cameleac biscop on Ircingafelda] I think this means 'Bishop of Cimeliauc.
Archenfield,' not necessarily (as Fl. Wig. takes it, and the modern trans-
lators) that he was captured in Archenfield. Archenfield is a district
north-west of the Forest of Dean, on the borders of Herefordshire and
Gloucestershire. There is some evidence for the existence of a separate
see of Archenfield; v. H. & S. i. 148. Or the diocese of Llandaff may
have been known to its Saxon neighbours by the title of that part of it
nearest to themselves. There was a Cimeliauc, Bishop of Llandaff, about
this time, who died, according to the Book of Llandaff, in 927. If this
date is correct, it alone is sufficient to throw doubt on the story that he
was consecrated by Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 872, which
would give him a tenure of fifty-five years, *ib.* 208, 209. The name
Cimeliauc, from an older Camiliac, is in modern Welsh Cyfeiliog; a by-
form of which is Cyfelach, postulating an older form Camilac. That he
was ransomed by Edward seems to show that here again some of the Welsh
were on the English side against the Danes.

7 be drifon hie . . . utan] Cf. '7 hiene bedraf into anum fæstenne, 7
hiene ðær hwile besæt,' Oros. p. 146; so *ib.* 224.

pearruc] An enclosure; this is the word which has been corrupted in 'parrock.'
modern English into paddock; influenced by the O. French 'parc' it has
given us our modern park. 'Parrock' and 'parrick' are still found dia-
lectically signifying an enclosed piece of ground, or paddock, in Wilts,
Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. And in many localities pieces of land may
be found called parks, which have no pretension to be parks in the modern
sense.

hæfde funden] For this sense of 'findan,' 'to contrive,' 'manage,' cf.
Oros.: 'oþ hie fundon þæt hie sendon æfter him,' p. 148; 'fundon Romane
ærest þæt hie scipa worhton,' *ib.* 172.

from Wealum] 'a Cornubia,' Fl. Wig. i. 124, quite correctly.

æt . . . twam cirron] Cf. 'he sige hæfde æt twam cierrun,' Oros. p. 228.

þa slog hie mon . . . scipum] Cf. 'he . . . þæt folc . . . mæst eall ofslog. 7 þa oþre to scipum oðflugon,' *ib.* 170.

Flatholme
and Steep-
holme.

æt Bradan Relice, A; Steapan, B, C, D] The former is Flatholme, the latter Steepholme, at the mouth of the Severn. Fl. Wig. *v. s.* calls it simply 'Reoric.' H. H. says 'in insula Stepen,' p. 156. (For another instance of starving out the Danes, *v. s.* 894, i. 87, and note.) The name 'Relic' may point to some Irish religious settlements on these islands; 'relic' (= reliquia) is the regular Irish name for a cemetery. In Cambro-Brit. Saints, p. 63, we find mentioned 'insula Echni, qui modo Holma uocatur'; whether this is Flatholme or Steepholme I do not know.

'relic.'

p. 100. 919 A] These important annals, 919-924, are quite peculiar to A. See Introduction, §§ 83, 93. The true date is probably 916-921, *v. s.* p. 116.

Wigmore.

p. 101. 921 A. Winginga mere] Probably Wigmore in Herefordshire; an important post for watching the Welsh. William I built a castle there, and granted it to the Mortimers, till in the person of Edward IV it reverted to the crown, F. N. C. iv. 740. Prof. Earle, who formerly contested this identification, is now disposed to accept it.

'Lammas.'

be twix hlafmæssan] Cf. Oros. p. 246: 'on þære tide calendas Augustus, 7 on þæm dæge þe we hatað hlafmæsse.' There can be no doubt that Lammas, like 'lady,' comes from 'hláf,' and is connected with the offering of a loaf in dedication of the first-fruits; cf. 'of ðam gehálgedan hláfe ðe man hálige on hláf-mæsse dæg,' Leechdoms, iii. 290 (cited by Bosworth-Toller). Though a Christian complexion was thus given to the festival, it probably has its origin in remote pagan antiquity. See Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, pp. 409 ff. The derivations from 'lamb' and from 'S. Petri ad uincula mass' are certainly wrong. Cf. Promptorium Paruulorum: 'lammasse, festum agnorum, uel Festum ad uincula S. Petri.' This day is also called 'the Gule of August,' 'Gula Augusti.' The temptation has been felt to identify this with the Welsh name of the day, 'Gwyl Awst,' 'the feast of August.' But it is more likely to be the AS. géol=yule; especially as the O.N. jól occurs frequently in the general sense of feast. See Vigfússon, *s. v.*, and cf. Chambers, Book of Days, ii. 154; Hampson, i. 332 ff. 'At latter Lammas' is a phrase like 'the Greek Kalends' to express a day that never comes, *ib.* 292.

ûn lytel] Cf. 'mycel feoh 7 unlytel,' Bede, p. 274.

Guthrum
slain.

p. 102. of slogon þone cyning] *i. e.* the King of East Anglia, Guthrum, who succeeded Eric, above, 905. W. M. dates the expulsion of the Danes from East Anglia in the fiftieth year from the death of St. Edmund (870), which agrees very fairly with this annal, whether dated 918 or 921. He also says that it was in the fifteenth year of Edward's reign; which is inconsistent both with himself and with any possible date for Edward's acces-

sion, i. 98. Fl. Wig. regards this as the turning point in the great struggle: 'exinde Danorum uires paulatim decrescebant, Anglorum uero indies crescebant,' i. 126.

Colne ceastre] On Colchester, see Freeman, English Towns and Districts, pp. 383 ff.

wicinga . . . æsc manna] No difference is intended. Both words indicate the naval forces which the Danes of East Anglia summoned to their help. Fl. Wig. translates both words by 'piratae,' i. 127; cf. Adam of Bremen: 'piratae quos illi Wichingos appellat, nostri Ascomannos,' Pertz, vii. 370; *ib.* 317, 332. Cf. Wülker, Glossaries, c. 111, 26-28: *pirata*, wicing *uel* scegðman; *archipirata*, yldest wicing; c. 311, 36: *pirata*, wicing oððe flotman; c. 469, 6: *piratici*, wicingsceaþan, sæsceaþan, æscmen; cf. Oros. pp. 5, 226: 'hú Metellus oferwon þa wicengas,' = *piraticam infestationem compressit*; 'he scipa gegaderode 7 wicengas wurdon,' *ib.* 116. See Vigfússon, *s. v.* vikingr; C. P. B. I. lxiii. f. On 'æsc,' *v. s.* 897, i. 90.

ge wrecan hira teonun] Cf. 'þæt ic minne teonan on him gewrece,' Ælf. Hom. ii. 414; cf. *ib.* 520.

p. 103. þa se fird stemn . . . oper út] From this it would seem that Edward kept up Alfred's twofold organisation of the fyrd; cf. 894, *supra*. Twofold division of the fyrd.

mund byrde] Used to translate 'patrocinium,' Bede, pp. 470, 474. Cf. 'to friðe 7 to mundbyrde,' K. C. D. No. 238; Birch, No. 417.

þe ær under Dena an walde wæs] 'qui ferme xxx annos feritati Paganorum subiacebant,' Fl. Wig. *u. s.* Florence's date for this annal is 918; 'xxx' is perhaps a slip for 'xl'; the treaty of Wedmore, 878, is the date intended. Recovery of Danish districts.

aréd] See Glossary. Cf. 'domas þa ðe from halgum fædrum . . . aræded wæron,' Bede, p. 276; 'gif hit þus aræded seo,' *ib.* 290.

921 E. Her Sihtric . . . his broþor] This entry seems due to a confusion. In 888 Sicfrith, an elder brother of this Sitric, was treacherously slain by his brother. In 919 this Sitric defeated and slew Niall Glundubh (*i. e.* Black-Knee), King of Ireland; *v. Ann. Ult.* 887, 918. The error is repeated by all the authorities who copy the Chronicle; *v. G. G.* pp. 271, 279. This Sitric in 920 plundered Davenport in Cheshire, *S. D.* ii. 93, 123; he married Athelstan's sister 925 D, and died 926 D; *Ann. Ult.* 926 (=927). Gaimar calls him

'Sihtriz li reis

Ki l'altre partie teneit de Merceneis'; *vv.* 3501 f. *i. e.* King of Danish Mercia.

Owing to the numerous persons bearing the same name among the Danish chieftains in Britain and Ireland at this time, and the loose way in which such terms as 'son of Ivar,' 'grandson of Ivar,' are used in the Annals, the attempt to reconstruct their pedigree is extraordinarily hazardous.

922 A. þa ge for Æpelfæd] See above on 918 MR.

II.

K

Death of Æthelfæd.

Edward takes possession of Mercia.

pa gerad he, 7c.] On the death of Æthelflæd, Edward completed the work which he had begun on the death of her husband, 912, *supra*, and took the whole of Mercia, as far as it had been recovered, into his own hands. The narrative of A gives the impression that he had to use a certain amount of force; cf. on 918 MR.

Submission of Welsh princes.

7 pa cyningas on Norþ Wealum, 7c.] The submission of Mercia brought with it the submission of the Welsh princes who had formerly been dependent on it, Green, C. E. p. 208. Their dependence is shown by their signing documents in English Witenagemóts, *ib.* 224; F. N. C. i. 592, 593. Among these signatories is a Juthwal, who may be the Ieþwel of this annual. Howel, who also signs frequently, is none other than Hywel Dda, Howel the Good, the famous Welsh legislator, H. & S. i. 211. Cledauc does not occur. The Welsh Annals record the death of a 'Rex Clitauc' about this time, Ann. Camb. 919; Brut y Tywys. 917; and the uncertainty of the chronology, both in the Sax. Chron. and in the Welsh Annals, makes it not impossible that he may be this person.

Nottingham.

p. 104. Snotingaham] On the importance of this, see F. N. C. iv. 198, 199; G. C. E. pp. 207, 208; and note that Edward can now entrust the fort to Danish settlers, 'mid Deniscum.'

923 a. Plegemund] On this, *v. s.* p. 103.

Two Ragnalls.

p. 105. 923 D, E. Her Regnold . . . Eoforwic] There are two Regnolds or Ragnalls found among the Scandinavian chieftains connected with Britain and Ireland at this time. The elder, who was lord of Waterford, and died in 920=921, Ann. Ult., was the brother or first cousin of the Sitric mentioned above; the younger, mentioned under 942, 944, *infra*, the date of whose death is not known, was his nephew, and the son of Guthfrith, his brother, G. G. pp. 278, 288, 293, 294. If the date of D, E is correct, it must of course be the younger Ragnall that is meant here; and this is Dr. Todd's view, G. G. p. 288. There is, however, an expedition of the elder Ragnall against Britain, and a victory gained by him over the Scots 'on the banks of the Tyne in North-Saxonland' in 917=918, recorded in the Ann. Ult., and this is almost certainly the same expedition which is described in S. D. i. 72, 73, 209; according to which Ragnall seized York, killing and putting to flight the inhabitants, and occupying the lands of St. Cuthbert, and of Ealdred, son of Eadwulf, lord of Bamborough (the 'Eadulfes sunu' of 924 A). The latter thereupon went to Scotland, sought and obtained the help of Constantine, King of the Scots; but 'nescio quo peccato agente' their united forces were defeated by Ragnall at Corbridge on Tyne; cf. *ib.* ii. 391. Again, in his Hist. Regum, S. D. has the entry '919 Rex Inguald irrupit Eboracum,' ii. 93 (where Reringuald is a mistake for Reinguald). And this is evidently identical with the present entry in the Chron.; for the preceding entry in Simeon is that of the murder of Niel=921 E. On the whole then it is probable that the present entry refers to the elder Ragnall, and is post-dated some

four or five years. This does not, however, alter the fact of the existence of the younger Ragnall, or the possibility that he may have succeeded in Northumbria to some part at least of the power of his elder relative and namesake; see next note. Mr. Arnold's account of these matters, S. D. II. xxvii ff., is somewhat different. He makes the expedition recorded in S. D. distinct from, and earlier than, that in the Ann. Ult. But he does not convince me. Gaimar says of 'Renald':

'Co ert un rei demi Daneis,

De par sa mere esteit Engleis,'

vv. 3509 f.

p. 104. 924 A. 7 hine geceas pa . . . to hlaforde, 7c.] This is the entry around which so much of the famous controversy about the English claims to feudal supremacy over Scotland has raged. See on the English side, Palgrave, E. C. ch. 20; F. N. C. i. 57-59, 117 ff., 565 ff. On the Scotch side, Robertson, E. K. S. i. 69, 70; ii. 382 ff.; S. C. S. i. 349, 350. Mr. Green, C. E. p. 217, holds rather a middle position.

Submission of the Scots.

In regard to the general objections brought by Mr. Robertson against this annal, it must be remarked that no interpolations in later Chronicles, no later forgeries of documents, no exaggerations of later writers, can *in themselves* throw doubt upon an authentic entry in the oldest MS. of the Chron. Yet Mr. Robertson often writes as if such were the case. In regard to his specific criticisms, the one on which he relies most, and which is repeated mechanically by Skene and Green, is the fact that the elder Ragnall died in 921. But I have shown, pp. 116, 130, above, (1) that these entries in A are probably post-dated by three years; so that the entry might quite possibly be true even of the elder Ragnall; (2) that there is no reason why the younger Ragnall should not be meant; and the comparative newness of his hold on power might account for his submission to Edward. To the objection that 'in the opinion of that age [of Sim. Dun. and Fl. Wig.] no Scottish king had ever met an Anglo-Saxon sovereign except upon their mutual frontiers,' I would reply with Mr. Freeman (a) that the opinion of the twelfth century is no evidence against the occurrence of an event at the beginning of the tenth; (b) that the Chron. never says that these princes came to Bakewell. It merely places their submission about the time (þá) of Edward's journey thither. Nor is this submission the least inconsistent with Athelstan's annexation of Northumbria, 926, *infra*. But, in truth, the importance of the incident has been very much exaggerated by both sides. While I fully accept the genuineness of the entry, I cannot regard it as implying the creation of that strict legal and permanent relation and dependence which Mr. Freeman asserts, and Mr. Robertson denies. It was a submission dictated by the military position of the moment; Constantine and Ealdred, Eadwulf's son, had been recently defeated by the Danes. The Strathclyde Welsh (on whom see H. & S. ii. 10) would be specially exposed to the attacks of the Danes from Ireland; while the steady advance of Wessex had made it clear that

Mr. Robertson's views.

Importance exaggerated.

she was the one power in the island capable of making head against the foreigner.

Ealdred,
son of
Eadwulf.

Eadulfes suna] This is omitted by Fl. Wig. Eadwulf himself (Athulf) had died in 912 according to Ethelwerd, p. 520 A. His son's name is given at 926 D as 'Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bebbanbyrig'; *i.e.* he was one of the English rulers of Bernicia, and on terms of friendship with Wessex. We have seen, p. 130, how he was expelled by Ragnall and made a vain attempt to effect his restoration by means of the Scots: 'Regenwaldus rex . . . occupavit terram Aldredi filii Eadulfi, qui erat dilectus regi Eadwardo, sicut et pater suus Eadulfus dilectus fuit regi Elfredo,' S. D. i. 209, *v. s.* 867, 876. Under his son and successor, Oswulf, Northumbria sank definitely into the position of an earldom, F. N. C. i. 644; Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 430 ff.

ge Denisce, ge Norþmen] The only place in the Chron. where Danes are certainly distinguished from Northmen. In 942 A the reading is doubtful.

p. 105. **Streaclede Wæla cinge, F]** See on 875, *supra*.

Death of
Edward,
and acces-
sion of
Athelstan.

pp. 104, 105. 925 A, E, F; 924 C, D, E. Eadward . . . Æpelstan] On the barrenness of the Chron. from this point, see Introduction, § 94. The impulse given by Alfred is now exhausted. Athelstan signs several charters as 'filius regis' during his father's reign. There is considerable uncertainty as to the date of Edward's death and Athelstan's accession. Of the Chronicles, A and F place Edward's death in 925, C and D in 924, E both in 924 and 925. S. D. in one passage places it in 923, ii. 93; in another (following Fl. Wig.) in 924, ii. 123. (In i. 75 he seems to reckon 919 as Athelstan's first year, which is probably a mere slip of xviii for xxiii.) The subject is discussed in Stubbs' Dunstan, p. lxxiv. From the regnal years of Athelstan's charters, Dr. Stubbs calculates that his accession would fall after Nov. 12, 924. And if Edward died in the last week of 924, some difference in the way of reckoning the beginning of the year might account for the confusion between 924 and 925. And this is rendered more probable by a charter which Dr. Stubbs does not discuss, K. C. D. No. 367; Birch, No. 716. This is dated Dec. 21, Anno Dom. 937, Anno regni xi, Indict. viii. Both indiction and regnal year point to 935 as the true date, and if this is so, it proves that Athelstan's accession cannot have been earlier than Dec. 21, 924. Thorn says that his coronation was 'in crastino ordinationis S. Gregorii,' 925. This festival was on Sept. 3. A more serious difficulty is that the oldest authorities give Athelstan a reign of fourteen years and about two months. See i. 5, note 5; *infra*, 940. He certainly died Oct. 27, 940, *ib.* This, therefore, would place his accession in Aug. or Sept. 926. Now by July, 926 D, Athelstan had received the submission of the kings of Bernicia, of the Scots, West Welsh, and Gwent, i. 107. It is quite possible that this may have been followed by some solemn coronation or inauguration of Athelstan as lord of the whole of Britain; and that his fourteen years are reckoned from this. It

Imperial
position of
Athelstan.

is generally agreed that this is the most probable explanation of Edgar's coronation, see on 973 A, 972 E, below; and Athelstan may have set an earlier precedent. And this may be the coronation meant by Thorn. On the other hand, those authorities who give Athelstan sixteen years would reckon from his actual accession in 924; so Fl. Wig. i. 133; S. D. ii. 372; Hoveden, i. 34. Ethelwerd dates Edward's death and Athelstan's accession in 926, but then he also puts Brunanburh in 939, which seems to show that his chronology here differs by two years from the received. Many of the authorities lay stress on Athelstan's unique position: 'primus regum ex Anglis totius Britanniae monarchiam habuit,' &c., S. D. ii. 372; 'hic primus obtinuit totius Angliae monarchiam,' Ann. Lindisf.; Pertz, xix. 506; 'rex totius Angliae,' Liebermann, p. 88; 'Angliam diu partitam solus sibi subiugat,' *ib.* 232; 'primus totius Angliae monarchus,' Chron. Ab. ii. 276; cf. H. Y. ii. 255. So in charters, 'Rex Angul Sexna et Norphymbra imperator, paganorum gubernator, Britannorum propug-nator,' Birch, No. 746. (Similar titles of later kings, *ib.* Nos. 815, 876, 882, 883, 884, 937; K. C. D. Nos. 411, 426, 424, 451.) So *ib.* No. 514; Birch, No. 1135: 'primus regum Anglorum omnes nationes quae Brytanniam incolunt sibi armis subegit.' (That this charter is spurious does not make it less available as evidence on this point.) Cf. Green, C. E. p. 241; S. C. S. i. 304. In P. & S. p. 304, the very name 'Anglia,' instead of 'Britannia,' is made to date from Athelstan. The imperial position of Athelstan is also marked in his laws, where for the first time we find measures for the uniformity of coinage: 'þæt an mynet sy ofer eall þæs cynges onweald,' Thorpe, i. 206; Schmid, p. 138. (Similar enactments by later kings, Thorpe, i. 268, 322, 380; Schmid, pp. 192, 232, 274.) So in other matters: 'þæt man ofer eall Engleland gelicne dom healde,' Thorpe, i. 224; Schmid, p. 412.

It should be noted how the MR in C and D lays stress on the separate election of Athelstan by the Mercian Witenagemót. Mr. Green, carrying this hint further, would see in the coronation at Kingston a specially Mercian coronation. But Kingston is not in Mercia, nor even on the border. There is great doubt as to the primate who crowned Athelstan. The difficulties of fixing the date of the death of Athelm and the accession of Wulfhelm are hardly less than in the case of Edward and Athelstan. A charter, Birch, No. 641, makes Athelstan crowned by Athelm on Sept. 4, 925 (this is a St. Augustine's charter, and was probably Thorn's authority; but the authenticity of it seems to me very doubtful). Fl. Wig. also, following Adelard's Life of Dunstan, says that Athelstan was crowned by Athelm; Athelm, however, seems to have died in 923, or at latest early in 924, cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxviii, 55, 56, 258. W. M. speaks of Athelstan in one place as 'magno consensu optimatum . . . electus,' i. 141; in another as succeeding 'iussu patris et testamento,' *ib.* 145. Both may be true; and W. M. had special materials for the reign of Athelstan. Cf.

His corona-
tion.

on these, W. M. II. lx ff, and note how his mention of them breathes the joy of a recent discovery: 'pauci admodum dies sunt quod didicerim in quodam sane uolumine uetusto,' &c., i. 144.

His
mother.

Athelstan's mother (whether married to Edward or not), was Egwyn, 'foemina nobilissima,' Fl. Wig. i. 274; 'illustris foemina,' W. M. i. 136; who thus, and in other ways (cf. 'si tamen uera est,' *ib.* 142), throws discredit on the story which he gives from traditional ballads, 'cantilenis per successiones temporum detritis,' that Athelstan was the offspring of an amour of Edward with a shepherd's daughter, *ib.* 155, 156. Besides Egwyn, Edward had a second wife, Ælflæd, K. C. D. No. 333; Birch, No. 589, daughter of Æthelhelm, alderman, W. M. i. 137; and a third, Eadgyfu, Hyde Register, p. 57; K. C. D. No. 499; Birch, No. 1064, which shows that she was stripped of her property under Edwy, but recovered it under Edgar. Authorities differ much as to the respective mothers of Edward's various children; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 274; W. M. i. 136, 137, 156; Liber de Hyda, p. 113.

Edward's
wives.

Athelstan had been brought up at the court of his aunt, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, W. M. i. 145; possibly with a view to conciliating Mercian loyalty. His accession was opposed by a pretender, Alfred, and Athelstan's next brother, Edwin, is said to have been implicated in the conspiracy to seize and blind him, *ib.* 141, 142, 153; see on 933 E, *infra*. There are references to this alleged plot in two spurious charters, K. C. D. Nos. 354, 1112; Birch, Nos. 670, 719. It is pleasant to find that the earliest extant genuine document of Athelstan's reign is the manumission of a serf, Birch, No. 639 (where Mr. Birch's heading is a mistranslation).

Conspiracy
against
Athelstan.

Birth of
Dunstan.

Dunstan wearð akænned, a, F] 925 is probably correct for Dunstan's birth. All writers seem to agree in placing it in the first year of Athelstan, which apparently began at the end of 924, *v. s.* See Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxiv, 71-73, 166, 253, 254; though Mr. Green, C. E. pp. 282, 283, argues for an earlier date. S. D. i. 75 does place his birth in 919, making that, however, the first year of Athelstan, probably by a mere slip, *v. s.* p. 132. His biographers are fond of etymologising his name 'montanus lapis,' to indicate the immovable firmness of his nature, Stubbs, *u. s.* pp. 67, 73, 96, 284, 455 (cf. 'Dunstan se anræda,' Ælfric, Lives, i. 270). He occupies, however, a small place in the Chron. compared with his importance in monastic histories and biographies. For a general view of his policy, see Robertson's Essays, pp. 189-203; and the introduction to Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxxiii-cix. On his literary services, *ib.* cix-cxv; Hardy, Cat. I. xxxv. In Bouquet, iv. 601, is an 'exorcismus aquae ad iudicium Dei demonstrandum,' ascribed to Dunstan. On his relations with Abbo of Fleury 'flos dignissimus Floriacensis coenobii,' cf. H. Y. i. 459-462; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 378-380, 410-412; Hardy, Cat. i. 594.

Wulfhelm

Wulfelm, a, E, F] The true date of his archiepiscopate is probably 923-942, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 55, note; *ib.* lxxviii; and if so, he must be the

prelate who crowned Athelstan. Some verses of Dunstan are addressed to him, *ib.* 354. E and F are wrong in saying that he 'was consecrated' to Canterbury. Like his predecessor Athelm, he was translated from Wells, to which he had been consecrated in 914, Fl. Wig. i. 123. The expression of a, 'feng to, 7c.,' is unobjectionable. His name occurs in the Confraternitates Sangallenses of 929. For his share in Athelstan's legislation, see Thorpe, i. 194, 196, 214; Schmid, pp. 126, 130, 148.

925 D. *Æpelstan . . . 7 Sihtric*] On this, cf. Fl. Wig. i. 130, 274; S. D. Athelstan and Sitric. ii. 377; W. M. i. 136, 142, 146.

his *sweostor*] 'Cuius nomen non in promptu habeo,' W. M. *u. s.* He says that Sitric asked for her. Mythical accounts of her in R. W. i. 385; Liber de Hyda, p. 111. Authorities differ as to who her mother was.

p. 107. 926 D. *fyrena leoman*] Aurora Borealis.

Sihtric acwæl] Cf. Fl. Wig. i. 130, 131; S. D. ii. 377; W. M. i. 142, 146, 147. He was succeeded by Guthfrith, whose expulsion is mentioned in 927 E, F. (Fl. Wig., followed by later writers, cf. S. D. ii. 377, makes Guthfrith a son of Sitric; he was more probably his brother, G. G. pp. 278-280; Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 438; S. C. S. i. 352.) Fl. Wig. puts the expulsion of Guthfrith in the same year with his accession as Sitric's successor, viz. 926; his expulsion leading to the annexation of Northumbria as given here by D. This certainly seems reasonable, but may be merely Fl. Wig.'s own view. It is, however, confirmed by Ann. Ult., which put both the death of Sitric and Guthfrith's return to Dublin in the same year, 926 (= 927). Possibly this annal of D should be dated 927; or 926 may be the date of Guthfrith's expulsion from Northumbria, 927 of his expulsion from Strathclyde; see on 927.

ealle pa cyngas . . . he ge wyld] For the significance of the submission of these princes to Athelstan, see above, p. 132. Fl. Wig. seems to go beyond the Chron. when he says: 'reges . . . Huwal, &c. . . proelio uicit et fugauit. Aldredum quoque . . . de . . . Bebbanbyrig expulit,' i. 131. So W. M. (in a passage founded apparently on the Chron., though 'Iudwalus [Iothwael] rex omnium Walensium' is substituted for Howel and Owen, and Eadwulf is written by mistake for his son Ealdred) says that Athelstan expelled these princes and then in pity restored them, i. 142. But in another passage, based probably on his other authority, he represents Athelstan as reducing Northumbria, expelling Guthfrith and his brother Anlaf, receiving at Dacre the submission of Constantine, King of the Scots, and of his nephew, Eugenius, Eogan, or Owen, King of the Strathclyde Britons (cf. P. & S. pp. 223, 224), who had harboured Guthfrith; then falling like a thunderbolt, 'fulmineus,' on the North Welsh, and compelling their kinglets, 'regulos,' to submit to him at Hereford; next expelling the West or Cornish Welsh from Exeter, and obliging them to accept the Tamar as their boundary, as the North Welsh had been forced to retreat beyond the Wye, *ib.* 146-149. Dr. Stubbs regards this

Submission
of Celtic
princes.

passage as 'a most valuable supplement to the Chronicles,' on account of 'the chronological arrangement of Athelstan's wars,' *ib.* 147, note; and it is quite possible that the Chronicle has concentrated in a single annal submissions which were made at different places in consequence of various campaigns. Indeed the word 'ærest' rather points to this. Mr. Green would see in this entry the historical reality of which 924 A is the reflexion, C. E. p. 220. But I doubt this solution. Mr. Robertson objects to this entry also, because the renunciation of idolatry, though appropriate to the Danes, is quite inapplicable to the Scots, &c. (Fl. Wig. seems to have felt the difficulty, for he omits the words '7 ælc deofolgeld tocwædon.') Mr. Robertson regards all the words '7 ealle . . . Bebbanbyrig' as an interpolation. I should regard them not as an interpolation, but as a rather clumsy parenthesis embodying, as said above, the results of many campaigns, and I would understand the following words about the oaths at Emmet, and the renunciation of idolatry, as referring only to the Northumbrian Danes; cf. Robertson, E. K. S. i. 60, 61; ii. 397-399; S. C. S. i. 351, 352. At the same time, as I have pointed out in the Introduction, §§ 77, 78, the late date at which D, as we have it, was compiled, will not allow us to reject summarily, as in the case of A, the idea of later interpolations. The suppression of heathendom forms one of the articles between Edward and Guthrum II of East Anglia, Thorpe, i. 166; Schmid, p. 118. The submission of Constantine, and the death of Sitric, seem alluded to in the curiously corrupt verses and prayer printed in Birch, ii. 331-333, cf. *ib.* 347.

927 E, F. Her Æpelstan . . . Guðfrið cyng] 'Ethelstanus rex de regno Brittonum Gudfridum regem fugauit,' S. D. ii. 93. This confirms W. M.'s account of Guthfrith having taken refuge in Strathclyde.

for to Rom] For his pallium, F Lat. Journeys to Rome seem to have been attended with a good deal of danger at this time. Flodoard, under 921 and 923, tells of parties of English pilgrims who were killed by the Saracens in the Alps, Pertz, iii. 369, 373.

pp. 106, 107. 931, 932 A, 931 F. Byrnstan . . . Frype stan] Frithestan resigned before his death, Fl. Wig. i. 131. Hence A rightly places the consecration of Byrnstan before the death of Frithestan. F, not understanding this, has reversed the order. May 29 was Whit-Sunday in 931, which is a further confirmation of the date. For Byrnstan, cf. G. P. pp. 163, 164. I have quoted, in the notes to Bede, the beautiful tradition of his piety in interceding for the dead, II. 138, 139. He died in the act of prayer. His servants, knowing his habits of devotion, did not venture to enter his room till the following day, when they found the spirit fled. He died on All Saints' Day, joining thus the company of those whose festival he was celebrating on earth. Surely we may apply to him the words of one of Dunstan's biographers: 'O nimis felicem quem Dominus inuenit ita uigilantem,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 66. His day is given as Nov. 4, Hampson, i. 432, 445, 457; perhaps because the actual day of his death

Renuncia-
tion of
idolatry
by the
Danes.

Wulfhelm
goes to
Rome.

Frithestan
and
Byrnstan.

was already occupied by a high festival. The year of his death is somewhat uncertain. A places it under 933, which agrees with the length which it gives to his episcopate, two and a half years; and his successor, Ælfheah, signs charters of 933, K. C. D. Nos. 362, 1109; Birch, Nos. 694, 699; W. M. *u. s.* gives him four years' episcopate; and he signs a charter of May 28, 934, K. C. D. No. 364; Birch, No. 702. Frithestan died Sept. 10, 933, Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* pp. 13, 14, 161; ed. 2, pp. 24, 223. A life of Byrnstan is cited, Hardy, *Cat. i.* 558.

933 E] This mysterious entry in found only in E. It is developed 'more suo' by H. H.: 'Adelstan . . . rex . . . aduersa percussus fortuna, fratrem suum Edwinum, magni uigoris iuuenem, et bonae indolis, maris fluctibus flebiliter amisit,' p. 159. S. D., on the other hand, says: 'Rex Ethelstanus iussit Eadwinum fratrem suum submergi in mare,' ii. 93, 124. This darker view is developed in W. M. into a long story how Edwin, for his alleged share in the conspiracy against Athelstan (nine years previous!), was sent to sea in a crazy boat without oars or rudder, with a single attendant (see above on 891 A), how in despair he drowned himself, but the attendant recovered the body and reached land. The punishment of the accuser is brought about, as in the Godwine myth, by his casual remark 'sic frater fratrem adiuuat'; the king, as in the Edgar myth, submits to a seven years' penance (Alberic of Trois Fontaines improves this into a seven years' voluntary imprisonment!), and founds the monasteries of Milton and Michelney in expiation, W. M. i. 156, 157; II. lxi; G. P. pp. 186, 199 f.; cf. R. W. i. 390; Ang. Sac. i. 214. This too is one of the stories which W. M. derived from ballad sources. But the most historical account is found in Folwin's *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini*, a Chronicle written 961 x 962, less than thirty years after the event. After telling how Athelstan, in 944 [either the year must be wrong or Edmund must be meant], received certain refugee monks of St. Bertin, he adds: 'ob id maxime, quia frater eius . . . Edwinus rex in monasterio Sci. Bertini fuerat tumulatus. Siquidem anno . . . DCCCCXXXIII idem rex Edwinus, cum cogente aliqua regni sui perturbatione, hac in maris parte ascensa nauis uellet deuenire, perturbatione uentorum facta, nauisque collisa mediis fluctibus absortus est. Cuius corpus cum ad litus esset deuectum, Adalolfus comes, quoniam propinquus ei . . . erat, . . . ad Sci. Bertini monasterium detulit tumulandum. Post cuius mortem frater eius rex Adalstanus, plurima huic loco in eius elemosina direxit exenia, et ob id eiusdem monasterii monachos amabiliter suscepit,' Pertz, xiii. 628, 629. (Alberic simply copies W. M., either directly, or indirectly through Helinandus, with improvements of his own, *ib.* xxiii. 759. Iohannes Longus, in his Chronicle of St. Bertin, combines W. M. and Folwin, *ib.* xxv. 772.) It will be seen that in Folwin there is no suggestion of any foul play, though it is implied that Edwin left England, voluntarily or involuntarily, in consequence of some political disturbance. It will be noticed also that Folwin twice calls

Drowning
of Edwin
Etheling.

Legendary
develop-
ments.

Historical
basis.

him 'rex.' Iohannes Longus, *u. s.*, explains this by saying: 'licet non regnauerit, rex tamen nominatur, nam filii regum reges, filii ducum duces, &c. . . iure nominari possunt, ut notatur in glosa capituli . . . , et sic habent in usu Theutonici.' But is it not possible that Edwin may really have been under-king (? of Kent, see above on 924 C, D), that Athelstan, wishing to concentrate all power in his own hands, removed him, that Edwin resisted and went into exile? This would account for the later growth of legend; cf. Meyer, *Ann. Flandr. s. a.* 932; cited by Stubbs, *Dunstan*, p. cxxi. This later growth of legend is dealt with by Mr. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 1st series, pp. 10 ff. He does not mention Folcwin's account. There is a signature of 'Eadwine Cliton' to a doubtful charter of Athelstan, Birch, No. 648.

Athelstan's
expedition
to Scot-
land.

933 A, 934 E. Her for Æpelstan . . . Scotland] The later date is right. On his way north Athelstan made great offerings at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, P. & S. pp. 223, 242; H. Y. i. 263, 264, 294-298; of Ripon, W. M. II. lxiv; and of St. Cuthbert, which was then at Chester-le-Street. One of these last gifts, a MS. of Bede's Lives of St. Cuthbert, still exists, MS. C.C.C.C. No. 183; S. D. i. 211. The frontispiece represents a king offering a book to a monk at the shrine of St. Cuthbert. Another, a Gospel book, Otho B. ix, was destroyed in the great Cottonian fire of 1731. (On Athelstan's liberality to monasteries generally, see W. M. i. 142.) He also charged his brother Edmund, if he should fall on this expedition, to bury him in St. Cuthbert's Church, S. D. i. 75, 76, 210-212. He put to flight Constantine, King of the Scots, and Owen (Eugenius), King of Strathclyde. His land forces advanced as far as Dunfoeder (Dunfother) and Wertermor (? Kirriemuir), while his navy went as far as Caithness, *ib.* i. 76; ii. 93, 124; cf. H. Y. i. 263, 264; S. C. S. i. 352. Fl. Wig. says that the reason of the invasion was that Constantine had broken the oath of 926, and that, being defeated, he had to surrender his son as a hostage, i. 131, 132. Note that now, in these tenth century entries, we first begin to get 'Scots,' 'Scotland' used in the modern sense. See note on Bede, H. E. i. 1.

Ælfheah.

934 A. Ælfheah bīsp.] All the biographers of Dunstan represent him as the relative of Bishop Ælfheah, and as induced by him to become a monk, Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 13-15, 82, 171-173, 260, 261; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 132, 135. A life of Ælfheah is cited by Hardy, *Cat.* i. 560. His death is entered 951 A, below. A story about him will be found in Ælfric, *Lives*, i. 266.

Song on
the battle
of Brunan-
burh.

p. 106. 937 A] Of this poem there are many translations, *v.* Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 79, 339-342, 515. The one best known to English readers is the poetical version by Lord Tennyson. Most of the expressions in the poem will be found explained in the Glossary. A few notes on the text of the poem will first be given, and then something will be said on the vexed question of the site of the battle. H. H. has attempted a Latin translation in his *Chronicle*: 'pene de uerbo in uerbun,' which is

in some respects very fair, but contains some curious errors. He himself complains of the strange ('extranea') words and figures; but he has a real feeling for the strength of the old poem: 'ex grauitate uerborum grauitatem actuum et animorum gentis illius condiscamus,' p. 160.

beah gifa] The function of the lord as 'beahgifa' is illustrated by the cases in which the 'beah' occurs along with swords, horses, &c., as part of the heriot or war-equipment which, on the gesith's death, was paid to the lord, the theory being that it was originally his grant; *e. g.* K. C. D. Nos. 1173, 1222, 492; Birch, Nos. 819, 1012, 1132; and cf. Thorpe, Laws, i. 4; Schmid, p. 2.

Eadmund æpeling] He signs charters under Athelstan generally as 'clito,' once as 'frater gesi.'

bord weal] Cf. W. M. of the battle of Hastings: 'pedites omnes cum bipennibus, concerta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt,' ii. 302. The Shield-wall.

cnéo mægum] For 'cnéow,' knee, in the sense of a step in the genealogy, cf. Ducange, *s. v.* genu, and Irish glún; W. M.: 'Offa, quinto genu Pendae abnepos,' i. 84. 'cnéow.'

Scœotta leoda. 7 scip flotan] *i. e.* the Scotch and the Scandinavians; the two main elements of the hostile force.

feld dænnede, 7c.] See Glossary, *s. v.* dennian. I very much prefer the rendering and reading of Grein to that of Zupitza. 'The field was slippery with the blood of heroes,' yields a far more congruous sense than 'the field covered the brave heroes.' The burying of the dead would come much later.

guma norþerna] We must supply 'mæniġ.'

p. 108. Myrce ne wyrndon, 7c.] 'The Mercians refused not the hard handplay to any of the heroes,' &c.

mid Anlafe] A spurious grant of Athelstan to Worcester is represented as being made 'quo . . . tropheum ex Anolafō rege Norannorum, qui me uita et regno priuare disponit, possim armis superando adipisci,' K. C. D. No. 349; Birch, No. 700.

æra ge bland] Cf. 'snaŷgebland,' Oros. p. 186.

7 his sunu forlet] It does not seem to be anywhere recorded who this son of Constantine was who fell in the battle.

p. 109. Difelin] The only mention of Dublin in the Chronicle; cf. G. G. pp. lxxviii, lxxxi.

hira land] 'Íraland,' the reading of B, C, D, is unquestionably right.

earn æftan hwit] 'The name Erne still sticks to the Aquila albicilla of Jenyns, of which a marked feature is its white tail. It is seldom seen south of St. Abb's Head,' Earle.

p. 110. pæs þe us secgað béc] Note the air of literary reflexion, and cf. Introduction, § 110, note.

The battle of Brunanburh was the defeat of a confederacy which had for its object the destruction of the power of Wessex, at any rate north of

The lord
as ring-
giver.

The Shield-
wall.

'cnéow.'

Signifi-
cance of

the battle
of Brunan-
burh.

the Humber. H. H. calls it, not unjustly, 'praeliorum maximum'; Ethelwerd says: 'unde et uulgo usque ad praesens, bellum praeominatur magnum; tum superantur barbarae . . . turbae, nec ultra dominari, . . . uno solidantur Brittannidis arua, undique pax,' p. 520 B; Gaimar says: 'Crei ke parlé en ert tut dis,' v. 3528. The league consisted of the Danes of Northumbria, Constantine, King of the Scots, the Strathclyde Britons under their king, Owen or Eugenius, S. D. i. 75, 76; ii. 93; and the Danes of Dublin under the two Anlafs or Olafs. These last were cousins; one, Anlaf Cuaran, being the son of Sitric, Athelstan's brother-in-law, the other being the son of Guthfrith or Godfrey, Sitric's brother, expelled by Athelstan in 927. Both were kings of Dublin, and were endeavouring to recover the hold of their family upon Northumbria. Anlaf Sitricson was further son-in-law to Constantine, King of the Scots, who seems to have been the soul of the confederacy, Fl. Wig. i. 132; S. C. S. i. 152. It is not wonderful that the two are frequently confounded. The poem only mentions one, perhaps a compound of the two. Fl. Wig. and W. M. mention A. Sitricson, while S. D. i. 76 mentions A. Godfreyson. According to G. P. three bishops accompanied Athelstan to Brunanburh, pp. 21, 144, 178. See Addenda.

Two Anlafs.

Site,

The vexed question of the site of the battle has been needlessly complicated (Pearson, Hist. Maps, p. 39) by the introduction of the consideration of Athelstan's gifts to Beverley and St. Cuthbert. These belong to the campaign, not of Brunanburh, but of 934, *q. v.*

must be
sought for
on the
west side
of England.

The site of the battle must be looked for in a locality which would serve as a rendezvous for the Scots, the Strathclyde Welsh, and the Dublin Danes. It is obvious that such a spot must be sought on the west of England, and that Fl. Wig.'s statement that Anlaf Sitricson entered the mouth of the Humber must be an error, i. 132; though it has misled Mr. Skene and others.

Brom-
borough.

In 936 Athelstan appears to have been at York, no doubt preparing for the campaign. W. M. says that Anlaf Sitricson had advanced far inland, and that Athelstan had deliberately fallen back, 'reculé pour mieux sauter,' i. 142; and the poem states that the pursuit lasted the whole day, so that we must not place the site too near the sea. This is against Dr. Weymouth's view, contained in an interesting communication, that Brunanburh is Bromborough, on the Mersey. This might suit as a landing place of the Danes, but it is hard to see how the other members of the league could have got there, and this objection applies with yet greater force to many other suggestions which have been made. Dr. Weymouth's theory first appeared in the Athenaeum of August 15, 1885, and called forth an interesting correspondence which lasted into October. Mr. H. Murphy, in a striking letter, October 3, enforces the view, previously maintained by Mr. C. Hardwick in his book, Lancashire Battlefields, that the site is to be sought in the country round Bramber, south of the Ribble and

Bramber.

Preston. One great argument in favour of this view is the discovery of the great hoard at Cuerdale, on the Ribble, containing 975 oz. of silver in ingots, and over 7000 coins, none later than 930, which is supposed to be the military chest of the confederates. Mr. T. Hodgkin suggested Burnswark (cf. the name *Æt Brunanwerc, infra*), a hill in Dumfriesshire, which is possible, and is adopted by Mr. W. H. Stevenson in his map of England before the Conquest. The Roman station *Brouonacae* (Kirby Thore or Brough, in Westmoreland), on the Roman road from Carlisle to York, answers the conditions not amiss. That there was a fortification is shown, as Professor York Powell pointed out, by the three parallel forms, *Brunanburh* (here), *Brunandune* (Ethelwerd), and *Æt Brunanwerc* (S. D. i. 76). And to these might be added *Dunbrunde* (P. & S. p. 9), *Bruneswerc* (Gaimar, *u. s.*), and *Brunfort* (*Liber de Hyda*, p. 123). W. M. calls the place *Brunefeld*; cf. *Bruningafeld*, Liebermann, pp. 68, 88, and in two spurious charters, K. C. D. Nos. 1113, 374; Birch, Nos. 713, 727; cf. *ib.* II. viii. The Welsh Annals call it merely *Brune*. S. D. also gives it the name of *Weondune or Wendune*, i. 76; ii. 93. This recalls the name 'Vinheiði við Vinnskóga,' *i. e.* Winheath by Winwood, which the battle bears in *Egils Saga*, c. 52, though the *Saga* itself is too mythical to be used as evidence. These names in turn recall Bede's *Winwæd*, while *Brunanburh* has been compared with *Eddius' Brōnnis*. Unfortunately these give little or no help, cf. Bede, II. 183. But local research might discover a *Winheath*, &c., which would definitely fix the spot. Probably both the *Anlafs* retired to Dublin after the battle, though *Sitricson* may have returned to Scotland with his father-in-law; cf. *Ann. Ult. s. a.* 936-937; G. G. pp. 280 ff.; Robertson, E. K. S. i. 63-66; S. C. S. i. 352 ff.

There is a possible allusion to the battle of *Brunanburh* in the dedicatory verses in the Cotton MS. of the four Gospels, Tib. A. ii., presented by Athelstan to Christ Church, Canterbury, Birch, No. 710; and a certain one in *Ælfric's* epilogue to the *Heptateuch*: '*Æpelstan, þe wip Anlaf gefeaht, 7 his firde ofsloh, 7 aflynde hine sylfne,*' ed. Thwaites, p. 163; cf. the curious literary revenge taken on Athelstan by later Scotch legend, P. & S. pp. 183, 184, 248. About this very time Athelstan seems to have been furnishing help to the continental Bretons against the Normans, *De la Borderie*, *Nennius*, p. 100; *Bouquet*, viii. 276.

p. 107. 937 F] It looks as if F had at first copied E, had then found the poem in A and left a space for it (see critical note 18), and finally been content to add the passages in brackets as a sort of analysis of it.

pp. 110, 111. 941 A, 940 D, E. Her *Æpelstan . . . forð ferde*] The Ann. Ult., in recording Athelstan's death, call him 'cleithi n-ordain iarthair domain,' 'the summit [lit. ridge-pole] of the honour of the west of the world.' He died at Gloucester (D), and was buried at Malmesbury, Fl. Wig. i. 133; G. P. p. 397; where his cousins, *Ælfwine* and *Æthelwine*,

Burnswark.

Brough.

Wendon,
Winheath,
and Win-
wood.Literary
allusions.Death of
Athelstan.

slain at Brunanburh, had already been buried, W. M. i. 151, 152. All the biographers of Dunstan represent him as becoming at once a trusted counsellor (R. W. says 'chancellor,' i. 393) of the new king, Edmund. Osbern calls him, in this context, 'uenerandus pater'; W. M. says: 'Edmundus ut teneritudinem aetatis maturiori firmaret consilio . . . Dunstanum . . . praefecit palatio,' Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 90, 268; cf. *ib.* 21, 56, 180. Now at this time Dunstan was of the mature age of fifteen, three years younger than Edmund himself! Ethelwerd, like A, places Athelstan's death in 941; so Liebermann, p. 68. B, C, D, like E, place it in 940, and say that it was forty years after the death of Alfred. The original reading of A (followed by W) says that it was in 941, and forty-one years after the death of Alfred. This would throw Alfred's death into 900, though all these Chronicles place it in 901; *v. s.* pp. 112, 113. A charter, K. C. D. No. 1138; Birch, No. 766, seems at first sight conclusive for 941, being dated 'A.D. 941 . . . anno quo Eathelstanus . . . mortuus est.' But I do not think that this need mean more than that it was in the first year of Edmund's reign. And there are other charters which speak of 942 as Edmund's third year, 943 as his fourth, and 946 as his seventh, K. C. D. Nos. 394, 411; Birch, Nos. 771, 772, 781, 815, showing that his accession cannot have been later than 940. (K. C. D. No. 115; Birch, No. 801, is dated 944, in the third year of Edmund, but the indiction shows that this must be corrected to 942.) On the whole the balance seems greatly in favour of 940; so Liebermann, pp. 124, 125. On the difficulty as to the length of Athelstan's reign, see above, pp. 132, 133. The day of his death is given in the *Lib. Vit. Dun.* as here, 'vi Kal. Nou.' (Oct. 27), p. 147. Evidently his obit was a sort of standard of observance at Durham: 'obitus eorum [*i.e.* Malcolm and Margaret] festiue sicut regis Ethelstani celebretur,' *ib.* 72.

Day of
Alfred's
death.

butan anre niht] From this it has been argued that Alfred must have died on Oct. 28 (so *Fl. Wig. v. s.* p. 112). But Oct. 26 is certain for the day of Alfred's death; and 'butan' only means 'except' or 'within one night.' The difference may be on either side.

Accession
of Edmund.
Eadgyfu.

Eadmund æpeling] For his signatures as etheling, see above on 937. He and Edred were both sons of Eadgyfu, Edward's third wife, who signs all through their reigns as 'mater regis.' (It is a mere slip that in K. C. D. No. 1237; Birch, No. 1065, she is made the mother of Athelstan; this error is not in the original document, of which this is a Latin translation, K. C. D. No. 499; Birch, No. 1064; cf. *supra*, p. 134.) She signs as 'aua Regis' under both Edwy and Edgar, K. C. D. Nos. 1224, 1221; Birch, Nos. 1046, 1047; though the former charter is not free from doubt. That she should not sign under her step-son Athelstan is natural. But she does not sign under her husband Edward, and her predecessor Ælfæd signs only once, K. C. D. No. 333; Birch, No. 589. She signs one charter as 'Eadgeofu felix'; and three with the curious suffix 'Ædgyfu euax,'

K. C. D. Nos. 424, 433; Birch, Nos. 883, 909, 911, 1346. These are perhaps attempts to give the meaning of her name 'blessed gift' in Latin.

941 D. Anlaf] Cf. S. D. ii. 377; W. M. i. 157. It is hard to say which of the two Anlafs is meant here. Dr. Todd understands it to be Anlaf Cuaran Sitricson, G. G. p. 284; so Robertson, E. K. S. i. 63. Mr. Skene, however, C. S. i. 361, says Anlaf Godfreyson, whose death is entered by E and F at 942, *q. v.*

Anlaf in Northumbria.

942 A. Her Eadmund . . . Myrce ge eode] This reduction of Mercia was apparently necessitated by the fact that on the coming of Anlaf the Dane-law had risen against Edmund; cf. H. H. p. 171; F. N. C. i. 61; Green, C. E. pp. 270 ff. For the organisation of the Five Boroughs, here mentioned for the first time, cf. *ib.* 122, 123. We have the assembly of the Five Boroughs, 'fif burga geþincðu,' under Ethelred, Thorpe, i. 292; Schmid, pp. li, lii, 212.

Reduction of the Five Boroughs.

Dor] Dore, five miles from Sheffield. 'It is associated with "Hwitan wylles geat" = Whitewell's gate; and not far from Dore we find Whitewell, and both of them on the verge of the shire. Indeed, this word "dor" seems to have been used as a common noun for a mountain pass, as we see in K. C. D. No. 570, that in a description of bounds a "dor" occurs between two brooks, "of secgbroce to ðan hean dore; of hean dore to brydbroce," Earle.

scadep] Cf. 'Humbre stream toscadeð suðfolc . . . 7 norðfolc,' Bede, p. 56; 'neah þam sæ þe Englalond 7 Peohta toscadap,' *ib.* 358.

Dæne wæran . . . gebegde] It is hard to see what can be the sense of saying 'the Danes were subject under the Northmen.' M. H. B. adopts the reading of B: 'Denum,' which gives a good sense, 'Denum' being parallel to 'under Norðmannum,' as frequently in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The reading of A in the latter part of this annal is a mere slip due to the recurrence of the words 'Eadmund cyning.' The original of A was probably of the type of B or C, and after concluding the poem with the words 'Eadmund cyning' began the new annal: '943 Her Eadmund cyning onfeng.'

Readings.

Rægenolde] The Regnold or Ragnall mentioned here and in 944 is the younger of the two cited in the note to 923 D, E. For sponsors at baptism and confirmation, see Bede, II. 142, 179, 383.

Ragnall the younger.

The lacuna in a at the end of the annal should be filled up: '[Her forðferde Wulfhelm] arcebisceop.' Wulfhelm did die in 942.

Death of Wulfhelm.

942 E. Her Anlaf . . . forðferde] This is Anlaf Godfreyson. Anlaf Sitricson survived till 980. According to S. D. the former died in 941, after ravaging the church and lands of St. Balthere, at Tiningham, ii. 94. (On Balthere, a Northumbrian anchorite, who died in 756, cf. S. D. i. 48, 199; ii. 41; Alcuin de Sancti Ebor. *vv.* 1318 ff.; AA. SS. Mart. i. 448 ff.)

Death of Anlaf Godfreyson.

943 D] On the highly conflate character of this annal, see Introduction, § 80, note.

Victory of
the Danes.

pa Denan sigē ahton] S. D. places these events in the first year of Edmund. His annal is so important that it must be given in full: '939 . . . Edmundus . . . successit, quo [?cuius] anno rex Onlaf primo uenit Eboracum, deinde ad austrum tendens, Hamtonam obsedit. Sed nichil ibi proficiens, uertit exercitum ad Tameweorde, et uastatis omnibus per circuitum dum rediens ad Legraceastre perueniret, occurrit ei rex Edmundus cum exercitu. Nec erat pugna difficilis, quoniam duo archiepiscopi, Odo et Wlstan, placatis alterutrum regibus, pugnam sedauerant. Pace itaque facta, terminus utriusque regni erat Wetlingastre; Edmundus ad australem partem, Onlaf ad aquilonalem, regnum tenuerunt,' ii. 93, 94. R. W. has a further development that the survivor of the two should succeed to the whole, i. 395. If S. D.'s date were correct, it would be doubtful which of the two Anlafs was meant. And in S. D. ii. 377, 378, it is distinctly implied that it was Anlaf, son of Guthfrith, who submitted and was baptised, and, dying soon after, was succeeded by Anlaf Sitricson. But the mention of Odo as archbishop, who did not succeed till 942 (Stubbs, Ep. Succ.), shows that the chronology of the Chron. is correct, and that Anlaf Sitricson must be meant. This entry in S. D. has been strangely ignored. It did not escape Dr. Todd's diligence, G. G. p. 283, and it seems implied in Green, C. E. p. 272. Freeman says nothing of it. If it is correct, Wessex must for the moment have fallen back to the position of 878 (Wedmore), or at any rate of the frith of 886. For the effect of Anlaf's baptism, see Z. N. V. p. 211.

Wulfstan arcebiscep] On Wulfstan, and on the position of the Northern primate at this time, cf. Green, C. E. pp. 94, 221, 222, 271, 272.

Glaston-
bury en-
trusted to
Dunstan.

943 a. Her Eadmund . . . Dunstane . . . be tæhte] This 'entrusting of Glastonbury to Dunstan' is not identical with his appointment as abbot, which is expressly stated to have taken place later, 'syððan.' There is, therefore, nothing in this entry which conflicts with the conclusion drawn by Dr. Stubbs from the charters that Dunstan became abbot in 946. The statement in the life of Dunstan by Osbern (himself a Canterbury man) is very similar: 'Dunstanus accepta potestate super regiam mansionem quae Glestonia uocabatur, . . . ipse primus abbas effectus,' &c., Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 92; where the 'accepta potestate' answer to 'betæhte' here. Of course the statement in both authorities that Dunstan was first Abbot of Glastonbury is absurd; and it, as well as the statement of Osbern that Glastonbury was a royal manor, is vigorously refuted by W. M., *ib.* 251, 260, 271, 301. Glastonbury has a spurious antiquity going back to Joseph of Arimathea; but it has also a genuine antiquity going back at least to the beginning of the eighth century. But it is quite possible that there, as elsewhere, anything like genuine monastic life had become extinct, and that it was practically in the king's hands. Cf. what is said of Ely at the beginning of Edgar's reign: 'erat tunc destitutus et regali fisco

Glaston-
bury
antiquities.

deditus,' Chron. Ab. ii. 262; and see below, on 1129. Glastonbury may well have been 'entrusted' to Dunstan for restoration and reform in 943, and only when these preliminaries were accomplished would the formal appointment as abbot take place. This, if not earlier, was also not later than 946, as all the authorities agree that he was appointed by Edmund, who died in that year; see Stubbs, *u. s.* pp. lxxix ff., 25, 56. One of the charters signed by Dunstan as 'indignus abbas' was drawn up and written by him 'propriis digitorum articulis'; he signs another as 'Dunstan dogmatista,' K. C. D. Nos. 425, 451; Birch, Nos. 880, 937; 'dogmatista' is glossed by 'lareow,' Wülker, Glossaries, cc. 163, 390.

944*. Her Eadmund . . . ge eode . . . Norphymbra land] Under 943 Reduction of Northumbria. S. D. has the entry: 'Northumbri regem suum Onlaf de regno expulerunt,' while under 945 he has the expulsion of two unnamed kings by Edmund, ii. 94. It is possible that Edmund, in expelling Anlaf, was only completing what his subjects had begun. According to Ethelwerd, Anlaf and Ragnall, whom he calls 'quosdam desertores,' were expelled by Wulfstan, Archbishop of York and 'Dux Merciorum,' p. 520 C. It may have been now, or in 945, that Edmund made the offerings to St. Cuthbert recorded in S. D. i. 76, 212. It was on one of these northern campaigns, possibly that of 948 D, that Archbishop Odo translated what he believed to be the bones of the great Wilfrid, G. P. p. 22; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271; cf. Bede, II. 328.

945*. Her Eadmund . . . ofer hergode . . . Cumbra land] Several Reduction authorities place this ravaging in 946.

7 hit let to . . . Malculme, A] On the grant of Cumberland, *i. e.* not and grant of Cumberland. the modern county, but the kingdom of Strathclyde, see F. N. C. i. 62, 124, 571-573; Green, C. E. pp. 278 ff.; S. C. S. i. 361-363; iii. 3; P. & S. p. xxvi; N. & K. pp. 329 ff.; Robertson, E. K. S. i. 72; ii. 399; R. W. i. 398. The object of the grant was both to detach the King of the Scots from the Danes, and also to form Strathclyde into a barrier between the Danes of Ireland and Northumbria; cf. Z. N. V. pp. 170, 211. It marks the close of Cumbrian independence, *ib.* 171.

pp. 112, 113. 946 A, D, 948 E] 946 is certainly right for the death of Edmund and the accession of Edred; cf. 955 A, though S. D. follows E, i. 77; ii. 94. The first charter of Edred is dated very elaborately 'A. D. 946, contigit post obitum Eadmundi regis, qui regimina regnorum Angulsaxna 7 Edred. Norphymbra, Paganorum, Brettonumque septem annorum interuallo . . . gubernabat, quod Eadred frater eius uterinus [this does not mean that he was merely a uterine brother, but that he had the same mother as well as the same father] electione optimatum subrogatus, pontificali auctoritate eodem anno catholice est rex et rector ad regna quadripartiti regiminis [*i. e.* of the four peoples named above] consecratus . . . in uilla quae dicitur regis, Cyngestun,' K. C. D. No. 411; Birch, No. 815. The stress laid on the election and coronation should be noted; cf. Green, C. E. pp. 287, 288. It shows how rash it is to assume that these things were omitted because

they are not mentioned. Ælfric, writing about 991 (see Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 459), by using the case of a royal election as a popular comparison, shows how strongly the idea of it survived: 'We wyllað seegan eow sum bigspell. Ne mæg nan man hine sylfne to cyngge gedon, ac þæt folc hæfð cyre to ceosenne þone to cyninge, þe him sylfum licað; ac siððan he to cyninge gehalgod bið, þonne hæfð he anweald ofer þæt folc, 7 hi ne wagon his geoc of heora swuran asceacan,' *Hom.* i. 212; which also shows that, as Dr. Stubbs has pointed out, *S. C. H.* i. 136, the right of deposition does not necessarily follow from the right of election, as some have glibly stated.

With the date of 946 for Edred's accession agree the facts that 949 falls partly in his third, partly in his fourth year, that 951 falls partly in his sixth, and 955 partly in his tenth, *K. C. D.* Nos. 424, 433, 1167; *Birch*, Nos. 883, 884, 890, 893, 909. The only argument on the other side is that in *Birch*, No. 885, 949 is called the second year, but this is probably a mere slip. Edred had signed both under Athelstan and Edmund as 'frater regis.' Edmund's death is entered under 946 in the *Ann. Flodoardi*, *Pertz*, iii. 393.

forð ferde, A] Note that if we had only A, B, C before us, we should not know that Edmund's death was other than a natural one. There are, however, other similar cases; cf. 657 A, B, C with 656 E; 729 D with 731 D. The additional details here in D are clearly a later insertion, see *Introduction*, § 78; *Fl. Wig.* and *W. M.* also give additional details, that Edmund was killed in going to the help of his dapifer *or* discōegn, who was struggling with a robber ('cleptor'! cf. *Stubbs' Dunstan*, p. 29) whom Edmund had banished, *Fl. Wig.* i. 134; *W. M.* i. 159 f. According to *Dunstan's* biographers the saint had supernatural premonitions of the tragedy, *Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. 29, 44-46, 58, 94, 183, 184, 276, 277. According to the life by *W. M.*: 'data in inferias uilla in qua occubuerat, ut quae conscia fuerat homicidii, semper in posterum pro anima eius esset adiutrix beneficii,' *ib.* 277. He was buried at Glastonbury by *Dunstan*. *St. Augustine's* day is May 26. *Ethelwerd* says: 'in solennia Augustini minoris qui et apostolus Anglorum,' p. 520; cf. *W. M.*: 'quo die Angli festiue obsonari solebant pro praedicatoris sui memoria,' i. 159. On the observance of *St. Augustine's* day, see *Bede*, II. 81. Of *Edred*, *W. M.* says: 'annis . . . nouem in regno non tam uixit quam uitam traxit, totius corporis tormentis infractus et debilis,' *Stubbs' Dunstan*, p. 277; cf. *ib.* 31. *Hermann* calls him 'debilis pedibus,' *Liebermann*, p. 232.

æt Puclan cyrcan, D] *Edred* grants land at Pucklechurch to Glastonbury, 'pro animae ereptione fratris mei Eadmundi regis quem . . . ipse prius me annuente praedicto loco condouauerat,' *Birch*, No. 887. The first part of the name is probably 'pucl,' a derivative of 'puca,' *Icel.* 'púki,' an imp, a devil; a word known to us all from *Shakespeare's* 'Puck' (see *Napier in Academy* for June 2, 1894). It is a curious word to find compounded with 'church.' *R. W.* says that the murder took place 'in uilla

Manner of
Edmund's
death.

Puckle-
church.

regia, quae Micheleberi dicitur,' i. 398. Of course his authority is worthless against the Chronicle; but there is a place 'æt Michelau byrg' in Wilts, occurring in a charter, K. C. D. No. 436; Birch, No. 917. Thorn lays the scene at Canterbury, c. 1779.

[Æþelflæd æt Damerhame] Damerham was granted to Æthelflæd by King Edmund, possibly as her 'morning-gift'; and she leaves it in her will to Glastonbury. There is a grant of Edgar's to her, which shows that she survived at any rate to 962. Edred also leaves land at Damerham by will, K. C. D. Nos. 490, 685; Birch, Nos. 817, 912, 1082, 1288. Æthelflæd's father, Ælfgar, was an alderman and an East Anglian, and her sister Ælflæd was wife of the alderman Brihtnoth, see Crawford Charters, pp. 86, 87. Æthelflæd was not, however, Edmund's first wife. He had an earlier wife, Ælfgyfu. She signs a charter as 'concupina regis,' K. C. D. No. 409; Birch, No. 779. It is probable that this is used in no invidious sense, but as a literal translation of the A. S. 'gebædda,' which is a perfectly honourable word; and in a charter of Ethelred's of 984 she is called 'coniux,' K. C. D. No. 641. Ethelwerd says that she died in the same year as the expulsion of Anlaf and Ragnall, p. 520; *i.e.* 944 according to the Chron., though Ethelwerd's chronology is different: 'eodem . . . anno obiit et regina Elfyuu, Eadmundi regis uxor, postque sanctificatur [cf. '7 wæs syððan halig,' 1030 C] in cuius mausoleo, . . . usque ad praesens innumerosa . . . miracula fiunt in coenobio quod . . . Sceftesbyrig nuncupatur.' (The above is the only signature of Ælfgyfu, and there are none of Æthelflæd; though Edmund's mother signs regularly.) For Ælfgyfu's burial at Shaftesbury, cf. Hyde Register, p. 93. Her obit was May 18, *ib.* 270. She is called 'Sca Ælfgyfu,' 955 D, *infra*, and was the mother of Edwy and Edgar, *ib.*; cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 289. Her mother's name was Winflæd, for Edgar speaks of 'aua mea Winflæd,' K. C. D. No. 522; Birch, No. 1186; and of course his paternal grandmother was Eadgyfu.

[apas . . . eal þ he wolde*] Cf. the oath of allegiance taken to the Roman Emperor: "ὄμνυμεν . . . εὐνοήσειν Γαίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ . . . καὶ φίλους τε κρίνειν οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρήται καὶ ἐχθροὺς οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προβάλλῃται," Ephemera Epigraphica, v. 156, cited by Schürer.

947 D. alugon . . . apas] Cf. 'gif ge him ne alugen iowra wedd 7 eowre apas,' Oros. p. 122.

948 D] If we may put together the notices in D and E we get the following table (cf. G. G. p. 285):

- 947 × 948. Reception of Eric as king, D.
- 948. Desertion of Eric, submission to Edred, D.
- 949. Reception of Anlaf Cuaran (Sitricson) as king, E.
- 952. Expulsion of Anlaf and second reception of Eric, E.
- 954. Expulsion of Eric and reception of Edred, D, E.

But it is impossible to be sure that the chronology of E is absolutely identical with that of D. In S. D. ii. 378 the former election of Eric is

Æthelflæd
of Damer-
ham.

Edmund's
first wife,
Ælfgyfu

Oath of
allegiance

Chron-
ology.

omitted, and Edred's harrying of Northumberland (948 D) is made the consequence, not of that election, but of Anlaf's restoration (949 E), while Anlaf's expulsion is the result of this harrying, and not the work of the Northumbrians themselves (as 952 E), 'solita infidelitate utentes,' as H. H. says, p. 163. (In P. & S. p. 224, Eric seems to be regarded as a king of the Scots appointed by Edred!) In the *Liber Vitae Dunelm.* there is an 'Eric rex Danorum,' who may be this one, p. 78. Fl. Wig. omits the second expulsion of Eric, 954 D, E, perhaps regarding it as a doublet.

Eric Hiring. **Yryc to cyninge]** This is Eric Hiring, son of Harold Blue-tooth; cf. Adam of Bremen: 'Haroldus rex . . . Hiring filium cum exercitu misit in Angliam, qui subacta insula tandem proditus et occisus est a Nordumbris,' Pertz, vii. 313, 314. These last words must refer to his second expulsion, 954, *infra*; and, if true, add a fact not mentioned by the Chron. R. W. gives details of Eric's betrayal and death, i. 402, 403. See Addenda.

Ripon. **þ mære mynster . . . æt Rypon]** On the significance of this entry, see Introduction, § 68, note. On Wilfrid's buildings at Ripon, v. Bede, II. 323. The burning of Ripon is therefore due to Edred's army, and W. M. is hardly fair in saying, with reference to Odo's alleged translation of Wilfrid (v. s. p. 145, and Bede, II. 328): 'Wilfridi dirutam per Danos . . . ecclesiam,' G. P. p. 22.

Battle of Chesterford. **hindan æt Ceasterforda]** The affair of Chesterford was an attack on the king's rearguard: 'Northymbrenses adunati multos de extrema parte exercitus interfecerunt,' S. D. ii. 378.

gebeton þa dæde] 'pecunia non modica,' adds Fl. Wig. i. 135.

Anlaf Cuaran. **949 E. Anlaf Cwiran]** This is Anlaf Sitricson, v. s. pp. 140, 141, 143, 144. He is often called Anlaf Cuaran in Irish sources; cf. G. G. pp. ci, cxliv, cxlviii, clxxiv, 276-287; Robertson, E. K. S. i. 73. The meaning of the name Cuaran is very uncertain. I have sometimes wondered whether possibly it rests on a confusion with a later Anlaf, and is an attempt to represent in Irish the soubriquet of Ólafr hinn *Kyrri*, Olave the Peaceful, son of Harold Hardrada. Anyhow, the Irish form was transferred back into Scandinavian sources, as we get Ólafr Kuaran, or Kuaron, Flátey Book, i. 150, 218.

Death of Ælfheah. **951 A. Ælfheah . . . bisc]** See on 934, *supra*. According to several of Dunstan's biographers, Edred wished to make him bishop in succession to Ælfheah, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxxvii, 56, 95, 185, 278. The earliest of them, however, says that it was the see of Crediton, vacant in 953 by the death of Æthelgar, that was pressed on Dunstan, *ib.* 29. W. M. tries to reconcile the two accounts, *ib.* 278-289.

Arrest of Wulfstan of York. Iudanburh. **952 D. Her . . . het Eadred . . . Iudan byrig]** On the arrest of Archbishop Wulfstan, which shocked later clerical feeling, cf. W. M. i. 162; G. P. p. 247. The identification of Iudanburh is very difficult. The common view is Jedburgh. But, as Canon McClure remarks in an interesting communication to me, Jedburgh, in the neighbourhood of Scots and

Danes, is the last place where a northern primate would be in safe keeping, and the same objection applies to Mr. Bates' suggestion of Inveresk, Arch. Ael. xix. 184, 185. Mr. McClure is inclined to identify it with Bede's Ythancaestir, on the Pant or Blackwater in Essex, see Bede, II. 178. Certainly the mention of Thetford immediately afterwards suggests that it may have been somewhere in the Eastern Counties. R. W. connects the two events so closely that he makes the crime of Wulfstan to consist in his having slaughtered the people of Thetford in revenge for Eadhelm. This is of course a mere perversion of the Chronicle. He calls the place of Wulfstan's imprisonment 'Uithabiri,' i. 403. What Wulfstan was really charged with was probably alliance with the Danes of Northumbria. After Eric's expulsion and death he was released, 954 D, *infra*. Abbot Eadhelm signs a charter of Edred's in 949, K. C. D. No. 425; Birch, No. 880.

952, 954 E] See above on 948 D. H. H. says: 'gens patriae illius Extinction of royalty in Northumbria.
 . . . Hyrc filium Haraldi, ut leuiter acceperat, leuiter abiecerat,' p. 163.
 'Ab hoc tempore Northanhymbrorum prouincia proprium regem habere cessauit. Deinceps . . . per comitum procuracionem, una cum omnibus totius Angliae prouinciis, regi subiecta seruiuit,' S. D. ii. 378; cf. *ib.* 94.
 The first of these aldermen or earls was Oswulf, and the second Oslac, *ib.* 382; v. s. p. 132.

954 D. on Dorceceastre] This may mean either that the restoration took place at Dorchester, or that Wulfstan was made Bishop of Dorchester. Restoration of Wulfstan.
 Probably the latter; see Addenda.

955 A, D, E, 956 B, C. Her forþ ferde Eadred] Of Edred's death Death of Edred.
 also Dunstan had a supernatural warning, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 31, 58, 98, 99, 187, 188, 281, 282. The earliest biographer does not give the story of the king's corpse being deserted by all the attendants.

on Sõe Clementes mæsse dæg, A] November 23.

on Ealdan mynstere, D] 'requiescit Wintoniae in episcopatu,' *i. e.* in The Old Minster.
 the cathedral church, W. M. i. 162. His will is in Birch, No. 912.

feng Eadwig*] We have seen how on the death of Edred, the queen-mother Eadgyfu, who had played so great a part under her sons, was deprived of her property and position. In the document in which this is told Edwy is spoken of as 'þæt cild Eadwig þe þa gecoren wæs,' K. C. D. No. 499; Birch, No. 1064. Edwy and Edgar sign as 'clito' and 'æðeling' during the last year of Edred. But Edwy is associated in a grant in his father's first year, 941, when he can have been only an infant, K. C. D. No. 1138; Birch, No. 766. The evidence of the charters agrees with 955 for the date of Edwy's accession. His earliest charter is dated 955; 956 is in his first year, 957 in his second, his fourth year falls partly in 958, partly in 959, K. C. D. Nos. 436, 452, &c., 465, 1214, 1224; Birch, Nos. 917, 927, &c., 999, 1035, 1046. Edwy was crowned at Kingston by Archbishop Odo, Fl. Wig. i. 136. For the story of the coronation feast and its later developments, cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxxviii f.; Robert-

son, *Historical Essays*, p. 192. It should be noted that of the later writers H. H. is distinctly favourable to Edwy, saying: 'non illaudabiliter regni infulam tenuit,' and: 'eius . . . prospera et laetabunda exordia mors immatura perrupit,' p. 163; so the Hyde Register: 'flebilis occidit multis suorum lacrimis,' p. 7. Ethelwerd says of him: 'prae nimia . . . pulchritudine, Pancali sortitus est nomen a uulgo secundi. Tenuit . . . quadriennio . . . regnum amandus,' p. 520. The Chron. D seems to place the division of the kingdom immediately on Edred's death. This is certainly wrong; see below on 957 B, C. Dunstan's earliest life says of Edwy expressly: 'in utraque plebe . . . electus,' p. 32. On the share which the monastic movement (which has been both exaggerated and antedated) had in the opposition to Edwy, see *ib.* xvii ff.; Robertson, *Essays*, pp. 193, 194; cf. W. M. i. 163: 'coenobium . . . stabulum clericorum fecit.'

Numerous
charters
issued by
Edwy.

It is impossible not to be struck by the very large number of charters issued during Edwy's short reign. It suggests the consciousness of weakness, and the attempt to conciliate support by lavish grants. And though the influence of the monastic struggle under Edwy may have been exaggerated (*v. s.*), yet it is significant how few of Edwy's charters are signed by any abbots. Dunstan and Æthelwold sign occasionally. The only exceptions are K. C. D. Nos. 479, 1224; Birch, Nos. 1030, 1046, and of these the latter is possibly spurious. The same is true of the beginning of Edgar's reign. Generally only Æthelwold signs, but gradually other abbots make their appearance. On the other hand, there are twelve genuine grants to monasteries by Edwy. But these are few indeed beside the numerous grants and confirmations made by Edgar, frequently at the request of Æthelwold, Birch, iii, *passim*.

Sœe Ælfgyfe, D] On her, see note on 946 D.

Dunstan
in exile.

956 a, E, 957 D] 956 seems to be the right date both for Dunstan's exile and for Wulfstan's death; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 136; H. Y. ii. 340, and Addenda. Dunstan took refuge in the monastery of Blandinium at Ghent, under the protection of Arnulf, Count of Flanders, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 33, 34, 59 f., 101, 192, 193, 284-286. There is a letter probably from this Arnulf to Dunstan, *ib.* 359-361, and one from an unknown writer to Arnulf, praying for the restitution of a stolen MS. which the Count had bought, *ib.* 361, 362.

on xvii k† Ianuar', D] Fl. Wig. has vii. Kal., probably by an error.

Election
of Edgar
in Mercia.

957 B, C. Her Eadgar . . . Myrcna rice] There is an interesting reference to Edgar's Mercian election in a document of *circa* 961: 'æfter þam getidde þ Myrce gecuran Eadgar to cyng, 7 him anweald gesealdan ealra cyneriht,' Birch, No. 1063, first published by Kemble in *Archaeological Journal*, xiv. 58 ff. Fl. Wig. follows B, C in placing Edgar's Mercian election in 957, and this is proved to be right by a document in which 958 is spoken of as his second year, Birch, No. 1040; this document Edgar signs as 'rex Merciorum et Northanhymbrorum atque Bret-

tonum,' which shows that three parts of the 'quadripartite rule' had followed Edgar, *v. s.* on 946 A. Osbern gives Edgar the title of 'diarcha,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 103; while he and others of the later biographers of Dunstan speak of Edwy as driven across the Thames, as if something like a civil war had taken place, *ib.* 35, 36, 102, 103, 194, 290, 291, 337; the pedigree in Ord. Vit. V. liv goes further, and says that Edwy 'rebellantibus Anglis peremptus est.' Edgar signs under Edred as 'æðeling' and 'clito,' and under Edwy as 'frater regis' and 'clito'; his signature is 'Eadgar regulus,' K. C. D. No. 451; Birch, No. 937. His signatures to his brother's charters cease in 957, his own Mercian charters begin in 958.

958 D. Oda . . totwæmde Eadwi . . . 7 Ælgyfe] This seems the sole authentic record of an event which has given rise to a huge crop of scandalous and heated writing. The life of Oswald, Archbishop of York (who was nephew of Odo), makes Edwy's crime the keeping of a mistress in addition to his lawful wife, H. Y. i. 402, 403; cf. *ib.* xxxix f. Fl. Wig. combines the two accounts with a 'siue,' showing that he had Oswald's life before him, which, as Oswald was also Bishop of Worcester, was likely enough, i. 137; cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. xcii, 102, 283; H. Y. ii. 4, 63. Only one charter of Edwy is signed by 'Ælfgifu þæs cininges wif 7 Ælgyfu þæs cyninges wifes modur,' K. C. D. No. 1201; Birch, No. 972. In the Hyde Register she is enrolled without any question as 'Ælgyfu, coniunx Eadwigi regis,' p. 57. It may be due to a recollection of the scandals of Edwy's, and possibly of Edgar's, reigns, that in the exhortation appended to the coronation oath which Dunstan exacted from Ethelred it is laid down as one of the king's duties that he 'unrihtæmedu gebete, 7 siblegeru totwæme,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 356. There is also a law of Edmund's which sounds almost prophetic: 'wel is eac to warnianne þ man wite þ hy þurh mægsibbe to gelænge ne beon; þe læs þe man eft twæme þ man ær awoh tosomne gedydon (?-de),' Thorpe, i. 256; Schmid, p. 392.

958 A, 959 C, E. Her forðferde Eadwig] Edwy was buried in the New Minster at Winchester, Fl. Wig. i. 138; Hyde Register, p. 7. In Hyde Reg. p. 272 the day of his death is given as Oct. 2. It is probable that 959 is correct for the date of Edwy's death. But I cannot agree with Dr. Stubbs that 'the charters afford ample proof that Edwy was alive in 959,' Dunstan, p. xciv. The only charter of Edwy's belonging to 959 which has any pretensions to genuineness is K. C. D. No. 1224; Birch, No. 1046; and even this is suspicious, for (1) Edwy signs as 'Britannie Anglorum Monarcus,' which he could hardly do, and in other charters does not do, after the division of the kingdom; (2) it is signed by Eadgyfu, whom we know to have been in disgrace under Edwy. Genuine charters of Edgar giving regnal years are extremely rare. K. C. D. No. 1252; Birch, No. 1143, which makes 964 Edgar's fifth year, is in favour of 959. (K. 534, 536; B. 1197, 1201, in which 967 is made respectively the seventh and the thirteenth year of Edgar, must on

Divorce
of Edwy.

Death of
Edwy.

any view be wrong.) According to the later biographers Dunstan had a vision, in which he saw the soul of Edwy being carried off by devils, but rescued it by his intercessions, Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 104, 196, 286, 287.

Glories of
Edgar's
reign.

Of Edgar's future greatness Dunstan had also been divinely informed at the time of his birth, *ib.* 36, 56, 93. Across the troubles of the intervening years later chroniclers looked back upon the reign of Edgar, 'the peaceful,' as on a golden age, S. D. ii. 95; H. H. p. 164; G. P. pp. 27, 28, 403, 404; W. M. i. 164 ff. The last calls him the 'darling of the English,' 'deliciae Anglorum'; cf. H. Y. i. 425-427, 435; Ang. Sac. i. 223 (cf. above, p. 113). Fl. Wig.'s words are emphatic: 'Regnum . . . rex Mercensium Eadgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus, . . . suscepit, diuisaque regna in unum copulauit,' i. 138. The Laws of Edgar speak of a pestilence in his reign, Thorpe, i. 270; Schmid, p. 192; which may be that mentioned 926 A; a passage which Schmid has overlooked, p. xlix.

Poem.

p. 114. On his dagum, 7c., E] On the metre of this poem, which is also in D, there are some remarks by Professor Trautmann in *Anglia*, vol. vii, *Anzeiger*, pp. 211 ff. Professor Earle points out that there seems to be an echo of it in the epilogue to Ælfric's *Heptateuch* :

'Eadgar se æpela 7 se anræda
arære Godes lof on his leode gehwær,
ealra cininga swiþost ofer Engla þeode,
7 him God gewilde his wiþerwinuan
ciningas 7 eorlas, þ hi comon him to
buton ælcum gefeohte friðes wilniende,
him underþeodde to þam þe he wolde,
7 he wæs gewurþod wide geond land,' Ed. Thwaites. p. 163.

The words in which the resemblance consists are italicised; cf. also Ælfric's life of Swithhun :

'Eadgar cyningc
þone cristendom gefyrðrode, 7 fela munuclifa arære,
7 his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe,
swa þ man ne gehyrde gif ænig scyphere wære
buton agenre leode þe þis land heoldon.
7 ealle ða cyningas þe on þysum iglande wæron,
Cumera 7 Scotta comon to Eadgare
hwilon anes dæges eahta cyningas,
7 hi ealle gebugon to Eadgares wissunge,'

Lives, i. 468; cf. *ib.* 440.

hit godode georne] Cf. 'hit agann mid heom godian georne,' *Wulfstan*, Hom. p. 14; cf. Thorpe, *Laws*, i. 312, 318; Schmid, pp. 226, 276.

He arerde Godes lof] The same phrase occurs in a spurious charter of Edgar, Birch, No. 1267, *ad init.*

p. 115. He wearð wide . . . geweorðad] Foreign monasteries sought for, and received a share in his liberality, Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 363, 364, 366-368.

Ane misdæda] D, rightly, -de. Dr. Stubbs, speaking of the legend of Edgar's crime and penance, says: 'The words of the Anglo-Saxon poet, imbedded in the Chronicle, are a telling proof of Edgar's vices,' Dunstan, p. c. But the sequel shows that the 'one misdeed' alluded to is Edgar's love of foreigners and foreign customs; and so it is understood by H. H.: 'in hoc tamen peccabat, quod Paganos eos qui in hac patria sub eo degebant nimis firmavit, et extraneos huc adductos plus aequo diligens ualde corroboravit, nihil enim in rebus humanis perfectissimum est,' p. 164; while W. M. enumerates the points in which these foreigners corrupted the innocent English, 'homines antehac in talibus integri,' who learnt 'ferocitas' from the Saxons, 'mollities' from the Fleimings, and 'potatio' (!) from the Danes, i. 165. By making this Edgar's only (ane) fault, the writer, so far from 'proving,' rather discredits the traditional scandals about Edgar, which W. M. *u. s.* says rested mainly on ballads: 'ceteras infamias . . . magis resperserunt cantilenæ,' though they may have had some historical basis. On Edgar's and Dunstan's policy towards the Danes settled in England, see Thorpe, *Laws*, i. 272 ff.; Schmid, pp. 194 ff.; and Stubbs and Robertson, *u. s.*

p. 112. 959 a. Her he sænte . . . Lundene] There is considerable diversity in the authorities as to the date of Dunstan's recall, and his appointment to the sees of Worcester and London. The earliest life of Dunstan agrees with the Chron. in placing these events after Edwy's death, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 36, 37. Fl. Wig., on the other hand, places the recall and appointment to Worcester immediately after the revolt of Mercia in 957, and the appointment to London 'anno sequenti,' *i. e.* 958, all before the death of Edwy. Osbern's life puts the appointment to Worcester before, and that to London after, Edwy's death, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 103-105; and so apparently Eadmer, *ib.* 195-197. Malnesbury seems to put the recall before Edwy's death, but the actual arrival and promotion to the bishoprics afterwards, *ib.* 291-293. Adelard's life is indistinct, *ib.* 60. On the whole, Florence's view seems the most likely, and he had special means of knowing about Worcester; cf. Stubbs, *u. s.* pp. xc ff. As regards London, however, the charters show that Dunstan cannot have succeeded till 959, as his predecessor, Brihthelm, continues to sign till that year, K. C. D. No. 1224; Birch, No. 1046; though this charter is somewhat doubtful, *v. s.* p. 151. Apparently Brihthelm did not survive Edwy, for a charter issued by Edgar merely as 'Merciae . . . gubernator' is signed by Dunstan as Bishop of London, K. C. D. No. 480; Birch, No. 1052 (Kemble does not question this charter, but the use of the territorial expression, *Mercia*, seems to me suspicious). This also shows that in the division of the kingdom London went with Mercia. The words of F Lat.: 'dedit ei episcopatum Wigornensis ecclesiae, insuper et pontificatu Londoniae cumulauit,' indicate that Dunstan held the two sees together.

p. 114. 961 a. Odo . . . Sêc Dunstan] It is curious to find the two Succession

Legends of
Edgar's
crime.

Dunstan's
appoint-
ment to
Worcester
and
London.

Succession

of Arch-
bishops of
Canter-
bury.

Canterbury scribes, a and F, wrong as to the successions of Archbishops of Canterbury, but so it is; 961 is correct neither for the death of Odo nor for the accession of Dunstan; nor did Dunstan succeed Odo immediately. The latter mistake was made easy by the fact that Ælfsige, *or* Ælfsin, of Winchester, who succeeded Odo, died on his journey to Rome for his pallium, and that Brihthelm, who was nominated to succeed him, was deposed and sent back to his former see, which seems to have been Wells (so Fl. Wig. i. 136, 138), probably in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of Edwy. (Ælfsige and Brihthelm are omitted also in the lists, Ang. Sac. i. 4, 87.) See the whole subject discussed by Stubbs, Dunstan, pp. xcii ff. His conclusion is that Odo died in 958 (so Fl. Wig. i. 135), and that Dunstan succeeded in Oct., 959, immediately after, and in consequence of, Edgar's accession earlier in the same month; cf. *ib.* 37, 38, 107-109, 293-295. Of Odo some interesting notices will be found in the life of his nephew, Oswald of York, H. Y. i. 401-411, 419, 420; cf. ii. 3. To him Fridegoda dedicated his life of Wilfrid, *ib.* i. 105-107; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 400, 401. For Eadmer's life of Odo, cf. *ib.* 566-568; G. P. pp. 20-26. On Dunstan's reverence for Odo, see Eadmer's life of Dunstan: 'Cognomine quoque boni in materna lingua . . . eum semper nominare consuevit, uidelicet, "Odo se gode" [cf. se goda arb. F]. . . Quo cognomine ex eo tempore usque ad hanc nostram aetatem solet ab Anglis, maxime tamen a Cantuaritis nuncupari,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 203; cf. *ib.* 109, 299; G. P. p. 30; Bede, II. 377. On Odo's alleged translation of Wilfrid's relics, v. s. pp. 145, 148. Dunstan seems to have gone to Rome for his pallium in 960, Stubbs, *v. s.* pp. xcvi, 38; Fl. Wig. i. 139. He stayed at the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer, Pertz, xxv. 777.

962 A. Ælfgar] This is not Ælfgar the father of Æthelflæd of Damerham, wife of King Edmund, 946 D; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 86.

Sigferð cyning hine of feoll] I cannot certainly identify this king Sigferth, who committed suicide. There is a Syferð, who signs a genuine charter of 955, immediately after the Welsh princes, K. C. D. No. 433; Birch, No. 909; and there is a Sigefrið subregulus who signs a charter of 973, K. C. D. No. 519; Birch, No. 1185. This is a rank forgery based on Florence's mythical account of Edgar's being rowed on the Dee, but some of the signatures seem taken from the charter of 955. The title subregulus probably gives his position correctly, whereas the date affords no presumption that he did not die in 962. He may have been a relic of the Dano-Northumbrian princelets, among whom this name is not uncommon, and his burial at Wimborne would be accounted for if the tragedy occurred when he was attending Edgar's court. A council was held at Andover in this reign, Schmid, p. xlvi.

man cwealm . . . man bryne . . . on Lundene] A plague followed by a great fire in London affords, as Earle remarks, a singular parallel to the events of 1665, 1666; *v. s.* p. 152.

Suicide of
King Sig-
ferth.

Plague and
fire of
London.

963*. Apelwold] On the lives of Æthelwold, see Hardy, *Cat.* i. 585 ff. Æthelwold's life is printed in *Chron. Ab.* ii. 253 ff.; Wulfstan's in *AA. SS.* Aug. i.; cf. also for notices of him, *Chron. Ab.* i. 121 ff., 162, 343 ff.; ii. 277 ff., 378, 394. The fact that he was Abbot of Abingdon accounts for his prominence in this *Chron.* Like St. Dunstan, he was a worker in metal: 'fecit duas campanas propriis manibus, ut dicitur, quas in hac domo posuit cum aliis duabus maioribus, quas etiam beatus Dunstanus propriis manibus fecisse perhibetur,' *ib.* i. 345. (Edward I had a sapphire ring 'qui fuit de fabrico Sci. Dunstani ut credebatur,' Hampson, i. 292, from *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* i. 397.) Æthelwold's position even as abbot is illustrated by the fact that constantly he is the only abbot who signs charters. It is curious that his promotion is not mentioned in the Abingdon MS. of the *Chron.* (C). The date 963 is confirmed by three charters of that year, two of which he signs as abbot, and one as bishop, *K. C. D.* Nos. 501, 504, 1243; *Birch*, Nos. 1113-1115. Mr. Birch has placed the episcopal one first of the three. There is a high tribute to him in a charter of Ethelred's, *K. C. D.* iii. 265, 266; which, though starred by Kemble, 'is obviously authentic,' *Crawford Charters*, p. 121; *Chron. Ab.* ii. 520; cf. also Ælfric's *Lives*, i. 454, 456, 470. He notes Æthelwold's occupations at court, 'se bisceop was bysig mid þam cyninge,' which the Winchester monks took advantage of to neglect their duties. Ælfric says that he had often conversed with Æthelwold, *ib.* 264. For his importance in the monastic revival of Edgar's reign ('muneca fæder,' *infra*, 984; 'pater monachorum et sidus Anglorum,' *H. H.* p. 168), cf. *Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. lxxxvii, xcvi ff.; *H. H.* pp. xxvi, 164, 165; *Fl. Wig.* i. 140, 141; *H. Y.* i. 425-427, 446; *G. P.* pp. 165-169, 191; *W. M.* i. 166, 167; *Hardy, Cat.* i. 373, and the references given under 964 A.

p. 115. þe fyrste . . . Aduent . . . Decemb., E] The first Sunday of Advent was on Nov. 29 in 963, *i.e.* the vigil of St. Andrew (A).

draf út þa clerca] We have a case of hereditary priests at Bury St. Edmund's about this time, *K. C. D.* No. 946; *Birch*, No. 1015; the monastic reform did not take place at Bury till Cnut's time, *Liebermann*, p. 237.

Élig . . . S. Ætheldrið] See *Bede*, *H. E.* iv. 19, 20, and notes. It was at this time deserted and in the king's hands, *Chron. Ab.* ii. 261, 262; *v. s.* pp. 144, 145. Its restoration by Edgar and Athelwold is alluded to in a charter of Edward the Confessor, *K. C. D.* No. 907. Spurious charters connected with this restoration are *K. C. D.* No. 563; *Birch*, Nos. 1266, 1267.

Modeshamstede] On this restoration of Peterborough, cf. *Chron. Ab.* ii. 262; and with these alleged grants, cf. the documents *K. C. D.* Nos. 568, 575; *Birch*, Nos. 1128-1130, 1258, 1270, 1280; some of which are of very doubtful genuineness. Perhaps the most interesting is *B.* 1128, which contains a list of books said to have been presented by Æthelwold.

fordon fra heðene folce] *v. s.* 870 E.

fand þa hidde, 7c.] 'This is enough to set criticism on the alert,'

- Manufacture of documents. Earle. On the manufacture of documents (not necessarily fraudulent in intention) necessitated by the ravages of the Danes, cf. Bede, II. 217. With the alleged finding of these documents, cf. the story in Hardy, Cat. i. 5.
- Headda. Headda a5b] Dr. Stubbs says of Headda that he is not to be treated as a myth simply because he is found in Ingulf, Arch. Journal, 1861, p. 207. p. 118. hu Wulfhere kyng, 7c.] v. s. 656 E.
- Egleswurðe] See the very interesting document K. C. D. No. 591; Birch, No. 1131, which shows that this land had belonged to a widow and her son; but was forfeited because they practised pin-sticking magic. The son escaped, and was outlawed, but the mother was drowned at London Bridge. This form of magic is expressly forbidden in Canons issued under Edgar, Thorpe, Ancient Laws, ii. 274.
- Magic. cwede ic scyr] In the Glossary I have taken 'scyr' as a substantive, = shire. I am not sure now that this is right. I think it is the adjective 'scir,' = pure, in the sense of exempt or free. A collateral form occurs in this same phrase, in Layamon, ii. 108, of the Romans refusing to help the Britons (Bede, H. E. i. 12),
- 'heo habbeð iqueðen us scere,
nu and æuere mare';
- cf. *ib.* Glossary, and Stratmann, ed. Bradley, s. vv. schir, and skere.
- pa twa dæl of Witlesmere] The remainder was acquired by Abbot Ælfsige, K. C. D. No. 733.
- 'Hackle.' p. 117. messe hacel] 'Mass-hackle, i. e. mass-vestment. In the West of England the word *hackle* is specially used of the conical straw roofing that is put over bee-hives. Also, of the "straw covering of the apex of a rick," says Mr. J. Yonge Akerman, Glossary of Wiltshire Words, v. Hackle,' Earle.
- Io Oswald arebiscop] He was not archbishop till 972, Stubbs, Ep. Succ., and that is the date assigned to this charter below.
- Aldulf . . . Oswald . . . Kenulf] On this cf. *infra*, 992.
- 7 he macode . . . Burch] 'Though the language here is of the twelfth century, yet this statement is apparently authentic. The great fortifying era in England had been initiated by Edward, the son of Alfred. Fortified monasteries became common, and Peterborough was probably one of the earliest instances. Fortification changed the character and the moral aspect of the monastic institution, and the change of name was a natural consequence. The irregular cluster of humble edifices, which showed like any other "*homestead*" of the open country, was now encircled with a *wall*, like one of the fenced cities. Henceforth it is no more *Medeshamstede* or the *Meadow-homestead*; but *Burh* or *Burch*, the garrison and capital of a dependent region. The fortified place became also the market-place of its district, and hence it reaped commercial advantages, direct and incidental. Laws of Edw. i. 1; Athelst. ii. 12; K. C. D. No. 575,' Earle. Cf. G. P.: 'Burch olim Medehamstede dicebatur; sed postquam
- Fortification of Peterborough.

Kenulfus abbas locum muro cinxit, a similitudine urbis Burch uocatus est,' p. 317.

Sca Kyneburh 7 S. Kynesuið] v. Bede, II. 175, 176; and on them and S. Tibba, cf. H. H. p. xxvi; Hardy, Cat. i. 370.

7 heold . . . wæs] The construction is loose. Gibson understood it to mean 'kept possession of (the relics)'; M. H. B. 'observed it,' i. e. the anniversary of their translation. Earle agrees with Gibson, probably rightly. That relics were sometimes used as a means of raising the wind is shown by 1013 E, *ad fin.*, where the purchaser is this very abbot, Ælfsige, v. notes a. l. Relics bought and sold.

964*] On the revival of monasticism and the previous decline which rendered it necessary, see Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxxxiii and reff., lxxxvi, xcvi ff, ci, cii, cix, cx, 74, 110-114, 272, 273, 290, 300, 303; G. P. pp. 27, 178, 404, 405; Ord. Vit. i. 164; ii. 202-205; H. Y. i. 411, 425-427, 434; ii. 8, 20-22; K. C. D. Nos. 512, 514; Birch, Nos. 1135, 1147, 1168; Green, C. E. pp. 342 ff. Even though most or all of these documents are spurious, they yet witness to the tradition. Monastic revival.

In some places the old tendency was too strong for the new, e. g. at Worcester, Stubbs, *u. s.* p. 197; Birch, iii. 535, note. Even in his own cathedral Æthelwold's success seems to have been less complete than is commonly supposed, Ang. Sac. ii. 125. Possibly the Hyde Register guides us to one source of the strength of the opposite party, viz. their family connexions: 'inertem *nobilium* clericorum turbam penitus eliminavit,' p. 7. At Evesham the introduction of canons was due to 'quidam nefandissimus princeps,' Chron. Evesh. p. 77. 'It is doubtful,' says Dr. Stubbs, 'whether any of the cathedrals were quite cleared of secular canons before the Conquest,' Waltham, p. vii.

Ceastre, A] Winchester; see note on 685 E. In Ælfric's Lives, i. 466, where the printed text has 'on Winceastre,' it is worth noting that in both MSS. the 'Win' is inserted above the line. It is in fact necessary to the alliteration, but the scribes' tendency was to call the place simply 'Ceaster'; cf. Earle's Swiðhun, p. 17. Winchester.

of Ealdan mynstre] 'Sci. Petri coenobium quod nuncupatur uetustissimum,' Lantfrid, in Earle's Swiðhun, p. 60. Eadmer gives a highly dramatic account of the way in which Æthelwold effected the change, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 211 ff. For this he obtained through Edgar the special permission of Pope John XIII, *ib.* 364, 365; Birch, No. 1275, if the letter be genuine. The name of one of the extruded priests, Eadsige, a relative of St. Swithun, is preserved. Naturally he was not 'au mieux' with the prelate who expelled him:—

þa onscunode se Eadsige Aðelwold þone bisceop,
7 ealle þa munecas þe on þam mynstre wæron,
for þære utdræfe þe he gedyde wið hi.'

However, after two years, he became a monk, and died in his old home, and

this was probably the history of others also, Ælfric, *Lives*, i. 442, 446. For this reform of the Old Minster, cf. also K. C. D. No. 610; Birch, No. 1159. Both into the Old and New Minster Æthelwold is said to have brought monks from his own monastery of Abingdon, which is probable enough; cf. K. C. D. No. 523; Birch, No. 1191, a doubtful charter, though not starred by Kemble. The *Liber de Hyda* places the reform of the Old Minster in 967, and that of the New Minster in 968, pp. 179, 180; and it is of course possible that the chronicler has placed under one year movements which were spread over several. The *Ann. Wint.* place them in 964 and 965 respectively.

The New
Minster.

of *Niwan mynstre*] What purports to be the charter of this refoundation is in K. C. D. No. 527; Birch, No. 1190. The original (MS. Cott. *Vespasian A. viii*) is written in letters of gold; see *Palaeographical Society*, *Plates* 46, 47; and cf. *Ann. Winton.* 966: 'Hic Eadgar rex priuilegium quoddam totum aureis litteris scriptum in nouum contulit monasterium,' Liebermann, p. 69.

Chertsey.

of *Ceortse ige*] On this restoration of Chertsey, and its original foundation, see *Bede*, II. 217, 218; and add thereto K. C. D. iv. 151-154; Birch, ii. 196, 203, 396; iii. 469; *infra*, 1084, 1110.

Milton.

of *Middel tune*] Milton is said to have been founded by Athelstan in expiation of the death of his brother Edwin; see on 933 E, *supra*. If so, its degeneration into a 'stabulum clericorum' must have been very rapid.

7 *sette hy mid munecan*] For similar cases on the continent, cf. *Pertz*, x. 526; xxv. 780; *Ord. Vit.* i. 172; ii. 10, 21, 22; iii. 36. For the influence of Fleury and other foreign monasteries on English monasticism, cf. *Chron. Ab.* i. 129; ii. 259; K. C. D. iv. 80; Birch, No. 1168; *Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. cxx, cxxi; *Ord. Vit.* ii. 202-205.

Æthelgar.

Æpelgar] He was a pupil of Æthelwold, *Chron. Ab.* ii. 261. He, Ordberht, and Cyneweard all sign as abbots in 966, K. C. D. No. 526; Birch, No. 1176, so that they must have been appointed before that year. Æthelgar afterwards became Bishop of Selsey and Archbishop of Canterbury, *infra*, 980, 988. He died Feb. 13, 990. There are letters to or relating to him in *Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. 383-389; cf. also *Hyde Reg.* pp. 8-10.

Ordberht.

p. 118. *Ordbirht*] He is probably the Ordberht who succeeded Æthelgar as Bishop of Selsey in 988 or 989, *Fl. Wig.* i. 148, note; *Stubbs, Ep. Succ.* p. 17; ed. 2, p. 30.

Cyneweard] On him see below, 975 A, note.

Vacant
annals.

965-970 A] On these 'vacant pages in the Chronicles,' cf. *Stubbs' Dunstan*, p. civ. There were, however, troubles with the Welsh, *Ann. Camb.* 965; *Brut y Tywys.*

Edgar's
wives.

p. 119. 965 D. Her . . . Eadgar . . . *genam Ælftryðe*] This is Edgar's second marriage; his first wife was Æthelflæd, 'Ægelfleda Candida, cognomento Eneada' (*Fl. Wig.*), daughter of Alderman Ordmær, *W. M.* i. 180; and mother of Edward the Martyr; though, according to others,

Edward was the son of the veiled lady at Wilton whom Edgar was said to have seduced; *v. Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. lxvii, xcix, c, 163. The life of Oswald, though so nearly contemporary (it was written between 995 × 1006), is clearly wrong in making Ælfthryth the mother of Edward, *H. Y. i. 428, 429*. She was the mother of Ethelred, and also of Edmund, whose death is mentioned 970 E, 972 C. To her popular tradition assigns the guilt of the murder of her stepson; see below on 978 A, 979 E. If the charter, *K. C. D. No. 1252*; *Birch, No. 1143*, is correct, the marriage really took place not later than 964. She signs constantly both under Edgar and Ethelred. Her last signature is in 997, *K. C. D. iii. 303*; and she was certainly dead in or before 1002, *ib. 323, 324*. She had been previously married to Æthelwold, alderman of East Anglia, who seems to have died about 962, and was the eldest son of Athelstan 'half-king,' *Fl. Wig. i. 140*; *Crawford Charters*, pp. 83-85. The curious legend of Edgar's slaying of Æthelwold is examined by Mr. Freeman, *Historical Essays, 1st Series*, pp. 15 ff. The account of Æthelwold in the life of Oswald, *u. s.*, is worth quoting, because it shows Æthelwold's position to have been 'one short only of royalty,' *Freeman, u. s.*: 'Athelwoldus . . . principatum Orientalis regni acquisiuit a rege; . . . qui accipiens filiam Ormeri [this is a confusion with the father of Edgar's first wife, *v. s.*] ducis Occidentalium Anglorum, perduxit secum ad suum regnum, quae uocitata erat Ælfritha; quam post mortem eius rex Eadgar . . . accepit, ex qua duos habuit filios, . . . Eadwerd, [*v. s.*] . . . [et] . . . Æthelredum,' *H. Y. u. s.* Her father Ordgar is called by *Fl. Wig.* 'dux Domnaniae,' *i. 140*; *Ordgar. so K. C. D. No. 520*; *Birch, No. 1178*, a doubtful charter, though passed by Kemble; cf. *ib. No. 1247*. He is 'Dux Occidentalium Saxonum' in *Stubbs' Dunstan*, p. 423. He died in 971, *Fl. Wig.*, and had a son named Ordwulf, founder of Tavistock, *infra, 997*, *Crawford Charters*, p. 122; *W. M. i. 180*; *G. P. pp. 202, 203*; *Dunstan*, p. 210.

966 E. Her pored . . . West moringa land] On this ravaging of Westmoreland, cf. *F. N. C. i. 64*; *H. & S. ii. 11*; the former regards it as done by Edgar's orders, the latter as an incursion of the Northmen, remarking also that this is the first occurrence of the name Westmoreland. If Mr. Robertson, *E. K. S. ii. 441*, is right in identifying Thored's father with the Gunner dux who signs a charter of Athelstan's of the year 931, *K. C. D. No. 353*; *Birch, No. 677*, this is in favour of Mr. Freeman's view; cf. *Green, C. E. p. 327*. Both Mr. Robertson, *u. s.*, and *F. N. C. i. 646*, identify Thored Gunnarsson with the Þureð dux who signs under Ethelred in 979, 983, and 988 (*K. C. D. iii. 171, 198, 237*; cf. *Hyde Reg. p. 22*); and with the Thored eorl mentioned below under 992. This is possible, though, in view of the length of time, 966-992, it cannot be regarded as certain. It is also assumed that Thored was earl of part of Northumbria, and this seems confirmed by a grant of lands in Yorkshire to St. Cuthbert by Þureð eorl, *Birch, No. 1255*; but the succession is

Æthelwold
of East
Anglia.

Ordgar.

Ravaging
of West-
moreland.

extremely hard to determine, Freeman and Robertson, *u. s.* According to Green, *u. s.*, in 961 Thored Gunnerrson was 'praepositus' of the royal household, but he gives no authority. If this were so, it would be conclusive that the ravaging was done by Edgar's orders; cf. Ethelred's ravaging of Cumberland, 1000 E, *infra*.

Oslac, earl in North-umbria.

Oslac feng to ealdor dome] On the extinction of royalty in North-umbria, see on 954 D, *supra*. According to S. D. this appointment of Oslac represents a division of the province, Oswulf having the district north of the Tyne, and Oslac 'Eboracum et fines eius'; *i. e.* Bernicia and Deira respectively, ii. 197. According to the De aduentu Saxonum, S. D. ii. 382, followed by S. C. S. i. 369, the division was made after, not under, Oswulf. In neither place is there any mention of Thored.

Ravaging of Thanet.

969 E. Her . . . Eadgar . . . het ofer hergian . . . Tenet land] H. H. gives as the reason for this ravaging of Thanet, 'quia iura regalia spreuerant,' p. 166; and it may have been due to some local rising, F. N. C. i. 64. If there were any danger of invasion at this time it may have been done as a precautionary measure. Edward the Confessor did the like through fear of the Danes, Hardy, *Cat.* i. 380. What with the Danes, 980 C, *infra*, and fear of the Danes, Thanet seems to have suffered severely.

Death of Oscytel of York.

971 B. Her forðferde Oskytel] Oscytel had been consecrated to Dorchester in 950, and subsequently translated to York, Stubbs, *Ep. Succ.* p. 15; ed. 2. p. 28. His 'twenty-two years as b'ishop' date therefore from his appointment to Dorchester. He was ultimately succeeded at York by Oswald of Worcester, his kinsman, H. Y. i. 420, who had accompanied him to Rome when he went for his pallium, *ib.* ii. 14. Both his own name and that of his kinsman, Abbot Thurcytel, seem to point to a Danish origin. Fl. Wig. puts Oscytel's death in 972. See Addenda.

Death of Edmund.

pp. 118, 119. 971 A, 970 E. Her forðferde Eadmund] C places this in 972; see above on 965 D.

æt Rumesige, A] In a grant of Edgar's to Romsey, there is mention of 'Edmond æpeling þe on þære minstre ligh,' Birch, No. 1187. It cannot therefore be earlier than 970, though Mr. Birch places it among charters of 966; cf. Hyde Reg. pp. xvii, 14.

Coronation of Edgar.

973 A, 972 E. Her Eadgar wæs . . . gehalgod] C places this in 974; but the data given by D, E, F, Pentecost = Mav 11, shows that A alone has given the year correctly, for only in 973 did Whit-Sunday fall on May 11. Of the ceremony of the coronation a most interesting and minute account is given in the life of Oswald of York, one of the officiating archbishops, H. Y. i. 436-438. Constitutionally, the most important point is the oath exacted by Dunstan from the king (cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 355; S. C. H. i. 146 ff.). Some form of election seems to have been gone through, as the account speaks of Edgar as 'coronatum atque electum.'

Theories as to the cause

The reason for the occurrence of Edgar's coronation so late in his reign has been much discussed. Mr. Freeman calls it 'one of the most puzzling

things in our history,' F. N. C. i. 626. Popular tradition connects it with the story of Edgar's seduction of a nun at Wilton and the seven years' penance imposed for it, Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 112, 209, 210, 341. But seven years from 973 only takes us back to 966, whereas Edgar's accession as sole king was in 959. We want not a seven, but a fourteen, years' penance to make the theory account, even superficially, for the facts. There is not a word of this in the life of Oswald, and W. M. pronounces that the story 'omni historiarum testimonio careat,' *ib.* 252. Nicolas of Worcester says that Edgar voluntarily delayed his consecration till he should have outgrown the passions of his youth—at 30 (!), *ib.* 423. The theory worked out with great learning and ingenuity by Mr. Robertson, *Essays*, pp. 203-215, and on the whole approved by Dr. Stubbs, is, 'that Edgar's coronation at Bath was a solemn typical enunciation of the summation of English unity, an inauguration of the king of all the nations of England, celebrated by the two archbishops, . . . possibly as a declaration of the imperial character of the English crown,' *ib.* ci; cf. Gaimar, *rv.* 3568, ff.:

It symbolised Edgar's imperial position.

'Cil tint terre come emperere, . . .

Unc pis ke Arthur s'en fu alez,

N'en out un rei tel poestez.'

A charter of Edgar's to the Old Minster at Winchester is dated: 'euolutis xvii annis postquam totius nationis Anglice regimen suscepi, attamen primo meae regie dedicationis,' K. C. D. No. 595; Birch, No. 1307. (Here xvii is evidently a mistake for xiiii; it was fourteen full years from Edgar's accession to the whole kingdom, *i.e.* it was after Oct. 1, 973, but it was within the first year from his coronation, *i.e.* before May 11, 974.) Note also that D, E, F, which have previously called Edgar king, call him only etheling with reference to his coronation.

on . . . Acemannes ceastre, A; æt Hatabaðum, E] For the baths Bath. at Bath, the foundation of which was ascribed to Julius Caesar, see G. P. p. 194; cf. Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. 46, 305; and the curious legend in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 105, 123, 406; which rests on a basis of physical fact. Of the name Acemannesceaster, A, B, C, Acemannesburh, F, no satisfactory account has been given (cf. H. H. p. 9: 'Episcopatus Badhe, uel Acemanestriae'). The corresponding Latin form is 'Aquamania' in a charter of 972, K. C. D. No. 573; Birch, No. 1287; it is 'urbs Achumanensis,' *ib.* No. 1164; K. C. D. No. 516. From these names an eponymous founder 'Akemannus' has been manufactured, Liebermann, p. 19; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 142; K. C. D. No. 519; Birch, No. 1185; Liber de Hyda, p. 179. It is possible that the first part of the name contains the Latin 'aquae.' E's form of the name occurs in K. C. D. No. 566; Birch, No. 1257: 'ciuitas quae . . . æt Hatum Baðum nuncupatur.'

micel muneca ðreat, A] On the monastery at Bath, cf. H. & S. iii. 348, 349.

pa agan wæs] Read: 'ða get wæs,' B, C.

pæs ðe gewritu seogað] Note the air of literary reflexion, and the ecclesiastical tone. The verses are poor and mechanical.

pis geworden] Read: 'ða pis, 7c.,' B, C.

Submission
of princes
to Edgar at
Chester.

pær him comon ongean .vi. cyningas, E] The account of the meeting and alliance of Edgar with six other princes at Chester, D, E, F, has been much exaggerated by later writers; they increase the number of the princes to eight, give lists of their names and territories, and make them row Edgar on the Dee while he holds a golden rudder, Fl. Wig. i. 142, 143; W. M. i. 165, 177; P. & S. p. 224; cf. K. C. D. No. 519; Birch, No. 1185. It is an easy task to demolish these lists and refute these exaggerations, Robertson, E. K. S. i. 91; ii. 386 ff. But it must again be remarked that this is no refutation of the sober statement of the Chronicle. That six princes of the British Isles should have made an alliance with Edgar is nothing improbable. Scotland, Strathclyde, and Wales would easily furnish the number; though the statement that the Danish lord of Dublin was one of them (Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 423) is, in view of Brunanburh, by no means impossible; cf. the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 514; Birch, No. 1135, *ad init.* And Chester, confused with Caerleon on Usk by Brut y Tywys. 971, would be an excellent rendezvous for all these princes.

efen wyrhton] Cf. 'æfenwyrhend' = co-operator, Bede, p. 464.

Death of
Edgar.

975*. Her Eadgar ge for, E] July 8. All the chroniclers burst out into panegyrics: 'rex admirabilis,' Ethelw. p. 520; 'incomparabilis Eadgarus,' K. C. D. iv. 41; and Fl. Wig. gives a very mythical description of his power, and of his fleet of 3,600 ships which cruised round Britain. He was buried at Glastonbury, where he seems to have been treated very much as a saint, undergoing translation and working a miracle in 1052, W. M. i. 180, 181; G. P. 198; H. H. p. 166; Fl. Wig. i. 143, 144; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 307; Hyde Register, pp. 8, 9. According to B and C, Edgar was sixteen in 959; he was in his thirtieth year in May 973*; he was therefore thirty-two when he died; yet Ethelred in a charter says of him: 'pater meus . . . senex et plenus dierum migravit ad Dominum,' K. C. D. No. 1312. (This charter is interesting because it shows that there was a special endowment in land available for princes of the royal house.) His death is mentioned both in the Irish and Welsh Chronicles, Tigh.; Ann. Ult.; Chron. Scot.; Ann. Camb.; Brut y Tywys. According to the Vita Sancti Iluti, his death was due to his having, in an invasion of Glamorgan, sacrilegiously carried off a bell belonging to that saint; and a legend is told exactly similar to that told of Swegen and St. Edmund, *infra*, on 1013, Cambro-Brit. Saints, pp. 179, 180.

oßer leoht, A] See the examples of this use of 'leoht' in Bosworth-Toller, *s.v. ad fin.*

Relation of
Edgar to

West Seaxena wine 7 Myrcene mundbora, E] Note the closer relation in which Edgar stands to the West Saxons as compared with

the Mercians; he is the 'protector' of the latter, but the 'friend' of the former. Wessex and Mercia.

p. 121. *cyningas . . . side, E]* Cf. on 959 E.

cyne stol] Used of a capital city, Orosius, p. 128.

pp. 120, 121. *feng . . . Eadweard*]* According to the author of the life of Oswald, followed by Osbern, Fl. Wig., and others, there was a regular contest for the succession between the parties of Edward and Ethelred; the former, however, prevailed, H. Y. i. 449; Fl. Wig. i. 144, 145; W. M. i. 181; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. cii, 114, 214, 307. Yet the charter of Ethelred, cited above, says: 'Omnes utriusque ordinis optimates . . . fratrem meum Eaduardum unanimiter elegerunt.' He was crowned by Dunstan and Oswald at Kingston, H. Y. ii. 341. In Chron. Ab. i. 349, the halo of his martyrdom is reflected back upon his life: 'in terra positus uitam angelicam actitabat.' Accession of Edward the Martyr.

of Brytene *gewât . . . Cyneweard, A]* This is the Cyneweard who had been Abbot of Milton, 964 A. He became Bishop of Wells in 973, Fl. Wig. i. 143. Fl. Wig. understands the present entry of his death, *ib.* 145. So Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 16 166 [ed. 2, pp. 29, 228]; but it need mean no more than that he departed from Britain, possibly to Rome. Professor Earle, p. xxi, thinks that Cyneweard may be the author of the three poems, 937, 942, 973. Cyneweard.

Ælfere . . . het to wurpon . . . ge staðelian, E] Cf. the curiously close parallel, Oros. p. 270: 'Valens . . . sende on Egypte, 7 het toweorpan eal þa munuclif þe his broðor ær gestapelade; 7 sume þa munecas he het ofslean sume on elpiede fordrifan.' 'Manuclif,' in the sense of monastic life, occurs, Bede, pp. 172, 224, 364. The concrete sense which we have here = monastery, has probably influenced the Latin phrase of Eddius: 'monachorum uita quae ad ecclesiam B. Petri Apostoli dedicata est,' H. Y. i. 70. For this anti-monastic reaction in Mercia under Alderman Ælfhere, 'consul nequissimus,' H. H. *u. s.*, see the very interesting account in Vita Oswaldi, H. Y. i. 443-449 (on which Fl. Wig. i. 144 is based; cf. W. M. i. 182, 184): 'expelluntur abbates cum monachis suis, introducuntur clerici cum uxoribus suis, et erat error peior priore.' Ælfhere is said to have been bribed; yet the movement was thoroughly popular, 'cum consilio populi, et uociferatione uulgi,' H. Y. i. 443. It was opposed by Æthelwine, the alderman of East Anglia, with his brother Ælfwold, and Brihtnoth, alderman of Essex and hero of Maldon, *ib.* 445, 446. On all these see F. N. C. i. 621 ff.; Crawford Charters, pp. 84 ff. and the reff. there given. In the Chron. Evesh. pp. 78, 79, we see Ælfhere's plan of operations, which was to seize a large part of the monastic estates and distribute them to his relations and partisans, in order to interest as many as possible against any monastic reaction. Henry VIII's policy was not dissimilar. Ælfric seems to allude to this movement; and regards the later Danish invasions as a judgement for it: 'man towearp munuclif, . . . Anti-monastic reaction.

7 siððan hæðen here us hæfde to bysmre,' Lives, i. 294. The letter in Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 372, may refer to these troubles, or to those which followed the murder of Edward. Gaimar attributes the troubles of Edward's reign to the foreigners whom Edgar introduced, *vv.* 3977 ff.; see above, on 959 E.

Oslac
banished.

þa wearð eac áðræfed . . . Oslac, A] To the same effect, E on p. 122. Fl. Wig. adds 'iniuste.' On Oslac, see 966 E, and note. His banishment seems to be connected with the anti-monastic reaction; so F. N. C. i. 264. It is noteworthy that by Edgar's last code the execution of its provisions is specially entrusted to the three great men of whom we have been speaking: 'Ðonne fyrðrige Oslác eorl 7 eal here þe on his ealdordome wunað [*i. e.* the Danes settled in Northumbria] † þis stande; . . . 7 write man manega gewrita be þissum 7 sende ægðer ge to Ælfere ealdormen ge to Æþelwine ealdormen, 7 hy gelwider, † þæs ræd cuð sy,' Thorpe, i. 278; Schmid, p. 198. Ælfhere, Æþelwine, and Ælfþryð occur together in K. C. D. No. 593; Birch, No. 1174; Ælfhere, Æþelwine, and Bryhtnoð in K. C. D. No. 1278.

Ælfhere's
position.

Ælfhere's position stands out strongly in the charters, and he seems to have retained something of that semi-royal position which Ethelred enjoyed. In the Worcester charters, which are exceptionally numerous, his consent is generally specified, along with that of the supreme overlord. The same is true of Edric and Leofric; cf. K. C. D. iv. 59, 69, 71. Ælfhere is called 'dux' and 'comes' in the Latin charters, and 'heretoga' and 'ealdorman' in the Saxon charters. In Chron. Evesh. he is called 'potentissimus huius patriae dominator,' p. 78.

Comet and
famine.

cométa . . . hungor*] Professor Earle says: 'The "hunger" which followed the death of Edgar (to which C gives a separate annal, 976, though it is mentioned also in the verse of A, B, C, and the prose of D, E, F, under 975), was very widespread ("wide gefrege"). The coincidence with the comet would no doubt help to fix it. Dr. Vigfússon used to say that it was the only tenth century date in Icelandic history which is absolutely certain.' On the comet, cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 307; W. M. i. 181, 182; H. H. p. 166; C. P. B. ii. 34, 35, 38.

mynstra tostæncton, D] Cf. 'þæt se wulf Godes scep ne tostence,' Ælf. Hom. i. 36, 238.

Decline
after
Edgar's
death.

æfter þam hit yfelode swiðe] Contrast the 'hit godode georne' of the opening reign of Edgar, 959 E. W. M. *u. s.* says: 'post mortem eius res et spes Anglorum retro sublapsæ'; cf. Bede on Egfrid's death, H. E. iv. 26. This decline is strongly marked in the Laws of Ethelred: 'æfter Eadgares lífdagum Cristes lage wanodan, 7 cyninges lage lytledon; . . . 7 á hit wearð þe wyrse for Gode 7 for worlde . . . Ac . . . uton niman us to bysnan . . . Æðelstán, 7 Eadmund, 7 Eadgar,' Thorpe, i. 348, 350; Schmid, p. 248. So in the Institutes of Polity: 'ac nu hit is geworden . . . syððan Eadgar geendode, . . . † ma is þæra rypera þonne rihtwisra,' Thorpe, ii. 320. So in charters: 'obeunte rege Eadgaro . . . infelicissima

nobis occurrerant,' Birch, iii. 604; cf. *ib.* 694; and in the *Vita Osw.*: 'Cumque decus ducum et totius Albionis imperator ex huius turbine mundi . . . esset raptus, . . . coepit post tempus laetitiae, quod in eius tempore pacifice stabat, dissensio et tribulatio undique aduenire, quam nec praesules nec duces ecclesiarum et saecularium rerum poterant sedare,' H. Y. i. 448.

p. 122. 977 C. þ myccle gemôt] In *Matth.* xxvi. 4, 'micel gemót' is used of a meeting of the Sanhedrin.

Sidemann bisceop] He had been tutor to the young King Edward, who 'erat doctus Diuina lege, docente episcopo Sidemanno,' *Vita Osw.*; H. Y. i. 449. He became bishop in 973, *Stubbs, Ep. Succ.* p. 16 [ed. 2, p. 29]; and was succeeded by Ælfric, *Fl. Wig.* i. 145. His sudden death at Kirtlington caused his burial at the neighbouring abbey of Abingdon, and this notice appears appropriately in the *Abingdon Chron. C.* Cf. the addition in the *Abingdon MS.* of *Fl. Wig.* i. 145, note; *Chron. Ab.* i. 356. This is the only mention of Crediton in the *Chron.* On the history of the History of monastery and see some additional light has been thrown by the publica- Crediton. tion of the *Crawford Charters* (Clarendon Press, 1895). The see was transferred to Exeter in 1050. There is a letter of Leo IX to Edward the Confessor, authorising the transfer, dated 1049, *R. P.* p. 371. There is a curious document relating to the building of Crediton Minster, Birch, No. 732.

p. 123. 978 E] This story appears in all the later biographers of Legend. Dunstan, *Stubbs' Dunstan*, pp. 113, 114, 231, 307, 308, 343. All except W. M. place it in Edgar's reign, and all represent it as a victory of Dunstan and the monastic party over the party of the secular clergy. H. H. regards it as a presage of coming troubles, p. 167; cf. Ælf. *Hom.* ii. 164: 'hwæt ða, se preost stod on his upflora, . . . ac seo upflering to-bærst þærrihte under his fotum, 7 hine egeslice acwealde'; this is of an opponent of St. Benedict.

þa yldestan . . . witan] Ine legislates 'mid þæm ieldstan witum 'þa ylde-minre þeode,' *Thorpe*, i. 102; *Schmid*, p. 20; cf. *Oros.*: 'x hiera ieldstena wietena' = 'decem principes,' p. 182; 'monege . . . þara ieldstena wietena,' *ib.* 196. So: 'hwa is yldra on heofena rice?' *Matth.* xviii. 1; and cf. *infra*, 1004, 1012, 1015. On the connexion of the idea of age with that of high office, *v. F. N. C.* i. 581, 582. The phrase 'þa yldestan ðegnas' occurs, *Judith*, l. 10, and at l. 242 the idea of age is duplicated in the phrase 'þa yldestan ealdorþegnas'; in the wapentake 'þa yldestan xii þegnas' form with the reeve a definite legal body, *Thorpe, Laws*, i. 294; *Schmid*, p. 212; *K. C. D. Nos.* 804, 1302. So in a monastery we have 'þa yldostan munecas,' *ib.*

upfloran] Ælfric uses 'upflorē,' 'upflering,' of the upper room where 'upflorē' the Apostles assembled after the Ascension, *Hom.* i. 296, 314; cf. *ib.* 222-224, 404; and the passage cited in the last note but one. In the glossaries 'upflor' glosses 'solarium,' *Wülker*, cols. 331, 549.

Murder of Edward.

978 A, 979 E. Her wearð Eadweard . . . of slegen] A and C place Edward's death in 978; so Liebermann, p. 69; Hyde Reg. p. 276; Fl. Wig. i. 145; D, E, F under 979; so Liebermann, p. 44. D and E place Ethelred's coronation also in the latter year, F in 980 (so Liebermann, p. 70). C mentions the coronation both under 978 and 979. Fl. Wig., adopting the former year, gives the indiction and the date of the coronation 'a fortnight after Easter' to suit that year, viz. April 14, Easter being March 31 in 978. But this is merely his own deduction from the Chronicle which he followed, and cannot be regarded as independent authority. Among all the charters of Ethelred's reign I have only found three in which a regnal year is given, K. C. D. Nos. 645, 662, 692. In the first, 984 is called Ethelred's fifth year; in the second, March 23, 988, is said to be in his ninth; in the third, 995 is called his seventeenth. This last is indecisive; on either view *part* of 995 would fall into Ethelred's seventeenth year. But the first is decisive in favour of 979; while the second, taken strictly, is in favour of even a later date. For if Ethelred's accession were reckoned from his brother's death, March 23, 988, calculated from March 18, 979, would strictly fall in the tenth year. But it is possible that his accession is dated from his election or coronation.

Accounts of Edward's murder.

Of the murder of Edward the earliest independent account is in the Vita Oswaldi, H. Y. i. 449, 450. According to this it was a conspiracy of the party which had previously supported the claims of Ethelred (as against Stubbs' Dunstan, p. ciii.; cf. W. M. i. 176, where the same view is implied), though the narrative makes it possible, if not probable, that the queen mother was cognisant of the plot. Later versions throw the blame mainly upon her, the highest point being reached in the Icelandic Dunstan Saga, c. 7, which makes her the actual murderess (H. H. gives this story with a 'dicitur,' p. 167); and she is said to have founded the monasteries of Wherwell and Amesbury in expiation of her crime, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 114, 308, 309; Fl. Wig. i. 145; W. M. i. 183; G. P. pp. 175, 188; Gaimar, *vv.* 3975 ff. (a very romantic account). In Capgrave's life of St. Edith there is a wild story that the crown was offered to her on Edward's murder, Hardy, Cat. i. 593. For lives of Edward, cf. *ib.* 579-582.

Regarded as a martyr.

gemartyrad, C] This indicates a later point of view. On the tendency to regard every one who is cruelly and unjustly put to death as a martyr, *v. s.* pp. 22, 61; cf. Bede, II. 49, 164. From the day of his translation miracles seem to have begun, H. Y. i. 450 ff.; Archbishop Ælfric, who sat from 995 to 1005 or 1006, being cited as a living witness of them; a document of 1001 speaks of these 'multiplicia signa,' K. C. D. iii. 318, and a law of the Witenagemót of 1008, re-enacted under Canute, orders the observance of his mass-day 'over all England,' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 308, 370; Schmid, pp. 224, 264; cf. F. N. C. i. 310, 311, 334, 341. There is a curious allusion to Edward's death in Wulfstan's famous sermon 'ad

Anglos': 'Eadwerd man forrædde 7 . . . acwealde, 7 æfter þam forbærnde,' ed. Napier, p. 160. This last statement that his body was burned is flatly against the witness of the Chron.

æt Corfes geate, E] 'The name Corfes geat or Corfgeat (F) signifies the singular cut or cleft in the line of chalk hills, wherein Corfe Castle has since been pitched, on a minor eminence,' Earle. There must have been some residence there, however, even at this time, as the Vita Osw. says that Edward had gone to visit his brother and step-mother when he was murdered. 'Corfget' is mentioned in a charter of Cnut's, K. C. D. iv. 31. Corfesgeat.

æt Wærham] For the burial of Edward at Wareham, and his subsequent translation to Shaftesbury, 980, *infra*, see H. Y. i. 450-452; W. M. i. 184, 185; G. P. pp. 187, 188; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 309; H. H. p. 168; Fl. Wig. i. 146. Edward's burial.

butan . . . wurðscipe] W. M. understands this of burial in unconsecrated ground: 'inuidentes . . . mortuo cespitem ecclesiasticum, cui uiuo inuiderant decus regium,' i. 183; Gaimar says that he was buried first in a moor, v. 4047.

Ne wearð . . . ge sohton] Cf. 'ne wæron her æfre seoþðan Ongolcyn Breotone gesohte gesæligran tide,' Bede, p. 258. W. M. says that the evils which followed were popularly regarded as a punishment for Edward's murder, i. 184; cf. 1036 C.

nolden his . . . magas wrecan] Note the primitive duty of the kin to prosecute the blood-feud.

ac hine . . . ge wreccen] For the calamities which are said to have overtaken the murderers, see H. Y. i. 451.

979 C. gehalgod] Ethelred speaks of himself as 'natiue iureque dedicatus,' i. e. by birth and election, K. C. D. No. 1279. The phrase in D, E that he was crowned 'swiðe hrædlice' makes it clear that we must place the coronation in the same year as Edward's death. See on it, H. Y. i. 455; ii. 341; Chron. Ab. i. 356. Dunstan exacted from him the same oath that had been exacted from his father in 973; cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 355, 356 with H. Y. i. 437. He is said to have prophesied the disasters of this reign as he had previously done at Ethelred's baptism; cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, *u. s.*; H. H. pp. 167, 168; Milman, Latin Christianity, ii. 368. If so, his prophecies were abundantly fulfilled. Cf. the reflexion in F Lat. (i. 122, note 9). But these are afterthoughts. The feeling of the moment is given by E's 'mid mycelum gefean.' Coronation of Ethelred

æt Cinges tune, C, E] See note on 925 A. Gaimar makes him crowned at Winchester before the altar of St. Vincentius, *vv.* 4080 f. There were relics of this saint at New Minster, Hyde Reg. pp. 91, 147, 149, 154. at Kings-ton.

blodig wolcen, C] This is one of the signs of Doomsday: 'þonne astigeð blodig wolcen from norðdæle,' Blickling Hom. p. 91; cf. on 926 D.

on oft siðas] Cf. 'hwæt he hæfde . . . on oftsiðas gedón,' Oros. p. 290.

Translation of Edward. 980 E. Her . . . Ælfere . . . ge fette, 7c.] For the translation of Edward, see the references given above, p. 167. In all these authorities, as in D, E here, the translation is ascribed to Ælfere alone. F (see i. 122, note 10) is the only authority for the co-operation of Dunstan with Ælfere; and even there, in the Saxon, Dunstan's name is an insertion. The argument founded by Dr. Stubbs on this alleged co-operation (Dunstan, pp. cii, ciii) is therefore very precarious; and we cannot exclude the possibility, that in the murder of Edward ecclesiastical motives may have been combined with political and personal motives. We have seen how, at the beginning of Edward's reign, the anti-monastic party gained the ascendancy, at any rate in Mercia. Yet monasticism, like everything else, declined under Ethelred, Thorpe, Laws, i. 346; Schmid, p. 246.

Shaftesbury. p. 125. to Scæftes byrig] Shaftesbury was founded by Alfred, Asser, p. 495 A; not by Edgar, as Osbern asserts, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 111, 112; a mistake which W. M. corrects, *ib.* 252. We find an Abbess of Shaftesbury, *infra*, 982 C. Part of Edward's relics were subsequently translated to Abingdon and Leominster, Lib. de Hyda, p. 207; Chron. Ab. i. 442, 443; ii. 157.

Selsey. p. 122. 980 C. Æpelgar] On him, see 964 A, note. æt Seoles igge] The only mention of Selsey in the Chron. See on it, Bede, H. E. iv. 13, 14; v. 18, *ad fin.* and notes.

Ravaging of Southamp-ton. p. 124. Suðhamtun for hergod] This is placed by D and E under 981. We see the fulfilment of Dunstan's prophecies; the days of Edgar the Peaceful were over. H. H., expanding E's 'ærest' (itself the fruit of later experience), says: 'vii puppes, quasi prænuntiae futurae uastationis,' p. 168. W. M. says: 'multus sermo apud Anglos fertur de his ratibus,'

Ethelred's character. i. 186. Most writers connect the change with the character of Ethelred: 'ad externinium Angliæ pene propter inertiam suam natus,' G. P. p. 190; 'imbellis quia imbecillus, monachus potius quam militem actione prætendebat,' Osbern in Ang. Sac. ii. 131. His surname, 'the Unready,' is rightly explained by Rudborne by 'inconsultus,' *i. e.* devoid of *rede* or counsel, Ang. Sac. i. 225. In several of his charters Ethelred speaks of 'the sins and offences of his youth.' These seem to consist in the unlawful detention of ecclesiastical property. One Ethelsinus is said to have misled him, K. C. D. iii. 281, 300, 306; vi. 160, 173; cf. Chron. Ab. i. 356, 358.

The change not wholly due to him. It is fair, however, to remember that the difference between the reigns of Edgar and Ethelred is not wholly due to the difference between the two monarchs, but is in part owing to the change in the condition of the continent after the death of Otho the Great in 973. We must also make allowance for the tendency to find scapegoats for the national failures; see below, on 992, 993, 998, 999, 1001, 1003 E, 1016 C. Some later writers are more favourable to Ethelred, cf. Chron. Evesh. p. 41: 'Æielredo . . . regnum deuote gubernante, uiro plurimo uirtutum flore redimito'; so Ailr. Riev. 'rex strenuissimus,' 'gloriosus rex,' c. 741; cf.

St. Edw. p. 29; C. P. B. ii. 111. This is due largely to the glamour thrown backward from the sanctity of his son Edward the Confessor.

Tenetland] See on 969 E, *supra*.

fram Norðscipherige] This is interpreted by Fl. Wig., probably rightly, 'a Norwegensibus piratis deuastata,' whereas of Southampton he says: 'a Danicis piratis deuastatur'; cf. F. N. C. i. 268.

981 C. Sêc Petroc's stow forhergod] This ravaging is said to have Bodmin caused the removal of the Cornish see from St. Petroc's stow (Bodmin) to St. German's. The matter is doubtful; and was St. German's less exposed? Certainly the removal of the united see of Devon and Cornwall to Exeter was due to the fear of piratical attacks, H. & S. i. 683, 691, 694, 702 ff.

on Wealum] 'in Cornubia,' Fl. Wig., rightly.

Ælfstan] There is a curious story about him in Ælf. Lives, i. 264. He had been monk and Abbot of Abingdon. Hence his burial there, G. P. p. 181, appropriately entered in the Abingdon Chron.; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 146, note. The lists at the end of Fl. Wig. call Ælfstan's successor Ælfgar, instead of Wulfgar, i. 236; while the text of Fl. Wig. makes Siric succeed Ælfstan immediately, placing Ælfgar before Ælfstan, i. 141, 146. So G. P. *u. s.* But the evidence of charters is conclusive in favour of the order Ælfstan, Wulfgar.

Womær. abbod on Gent] Ingram alone of the translators rightly 'Abbot of Ghent'; the others, M. H. B., Thorpe, Stevenson, have 'died . . . at Ghent.' He resigned his abbacy and retired to the New Minster at Winchester; cf. the entry in the Hyde Register: 'Domnus abba Uuomarus, qui olim coenobio Gent praelatus, hanc deuotus adiit gentem, huiusque se familie precibus humillime commendauit,' p. 24.

982 C. twegen ealdormenn] Æthelmær, alderman of Hampshire, buried at the New Minster, is naturally mentioned in the Hyde Register, pp. 21, 54. His obit was on April 18, *ib.* 270. Edwin is also mentioned, *ib.* 22.

Herelufu] See Hyde Reg. p. 58.

for Odda . . . casere to Greclande] This is Otho II, son of Otho the Great, by his second wife Adelheid. By 'Greekland' is meant either the Eastern Empire generally, or specifically Magna Graecia, *i. e.* southern Italy, which Otho wished to free from the Saracens, who were encouraged by the Byzantine court, which preferred to see Italy under the Saracens, to seeing it under the Western Emperor. On Otho's luckless expedition, see Weber, *Weltgesch.* vi. 100 ff.; Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, ed. 1. i. 556 ff.; ed. 2, i. 596, 597; Dümmler, *Otto d. Grosse*, pp. 288-292. It is very far from being true that 'se casere alte wælstowe gewæld'; he was totally defeated in a great battle near Squillace, July 13, 982, and only escaped as by a miracle. He died Dec. 7, 983. On the Saracens, cf. Bede, II. 338, 339.

his bropor sunu . . . Odda] This is Otho, Duke of Swabia and Bavaria, son, as the chronicler says, of the emperor's half-brother Liudulf, the son of Swabia.

of Otho the Great and his English wife Edith; cf. Dümmler, *u. s.* He was slightly older than his half-uncle Otho II, and was his bosom-friend. He died Nov. 1, 982, at Lucca, from the effects of the battle. See on 924 D, above.

Death of
Ælfhere.

pp. 124, 125. 983*. Her forðferde Ælfhere] On him, see 979, 980, *supra*. According to W. M. i. 181: 'uermibus quos pediculos dicimus consumptus est.' His last signature is in 983, K. C. D. No. 639.

Succession
of Ælfric.

feng Ælfric to, C, E] Fl. Wig. says that he was Ælfhere's son; which, though probably true, may be only an inference from the Chron. Ælfric was exiled in 985, *infra* ('*crudeliter exulauit*,' says H. H. p. 168); an act which perhaps indicates a policy of breaking up the great aldermanries. If so, the policy was reversed in 1007, when Edric (Streona), the notorious traitor, was 'geset to ealdormen geond [ouer eal, F] Myrcna rice,' *infra*, *s. a.* This Ælfric must not be confounded with another notorious traitor, Ælfric, alderman of Hampshire, of whom we shall hear only too often. H. H.'s identification of them is probably only a wrong inference. See Crawford Charters, pp. 84, 112, 120, 121; Green, C. E. pp. 372 ff., 401; Robertson, Essays, p. 182; F. N. C. i. 266, 627, 628. We find Ælfric also consenting, as alderman, to Worcester charters, K. C. D. iii. 207, 216, 246, 263. There is an 'Ælfwine bearn Ælfrices' in the battle of Maldon, lines 209 ff., who says:

'ic was on Myrcum nicles cynnes
was min ealda fæder Ealhhelm haten
wis ealdormann, woruldgesælig.'

If this is the Mercian alderman Ælfric, then his father was not Ælfhere, but Ealhhelm; an Ealhhelm signs as dux or comes from 940 to 951, K. C. D. Nos. 424, 426, 1136, 1163, 1175; Birch, Nos. 763, 865, 882, 883, 888, 891. Whether these are all the signatures of the same person, I cannot say.

Death of
Æthelwold.

984*. Her forðferde . . . Aðelwold] C alone gives the day, Aug. 1. According to the biographers of Dunstan, that saint not only foretold the death of Æthelwold, but also had a divine revelation as to the appointment of Ælfheah. Eadmer's life further says that on the death of Æthelwold the secular clerks tried to get possession of the see once more, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 61, 62, 115, 116, 215-217, 311-313. Æthelwold died at Beddington and was buried in the crypt of Winchester, whence he was translated to the choir twelve years later, Hardy, Cat. i. 589; AA. SS. Aug. i. 97; Liebermann, p. 89.

Ælfheah.

seo halgung . . . Ælfheages, A] He had taken the monastic habit at Deerhurst; thence he went to Bath, where he became an inclusus, and ultimately abbot, G. P. pp. 169-171; Fl. Wig. i. 147. According to W. M. i. 225, he was also Prior of Glastonbury, but the authority is suspicious. He became Archbishop of Canterbury, *infra*, 1006. For lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 619-623. Chron. A is the only authority, as far as I have found, which gives his other name of Godwine. Both Æthelwold and his successor are mentioned, Hyde Reg. pp. 22, 23.

985 C, E. Hér wæs Ælfric . . . ut adræfed] Fl. Wig. dates this 986 Ælfric
There is an interesting allusion to the outlawing of Ælfric in a charter of banished.
Ethelred (unfortunately not dated): 'Ælfric cognomento puer . . . cum
in ducatu suo contra me et contra omnem gentem meam reus existeret,
. . . ad synodale concilium ad Cyrneceastre uniuersi optimates mei . . .
eundem Ælfricum maiestatis reum de hac patria profugum expulerunt,'
K. C. D. vi. 174. See above on 983, 984.

7 . . . Eadwine to abbode gehalgod, C] E has already given this Edwin,
under 984. C, as the Abingdon Chron., is likely to be correct. He Abbot of
succeeded Osgar, who died in 984, Fl. Wig. i. 147, note 4. His appoint- Abingdon.
ment was simoniacal: 'erat tunc maior domus regiae Ælfricus quidam
praepotens, fratrem habens Edwinum institutione monachum; hic apud
regem pretio exegit ut frater eius Abbendoniae abbas praeficeretur, quod
et factum est,' *ib.* note 5. (This Ælfric is not the alderman of Mercia,
but the traitorous alderman of Hampshire; see Crawford Charters, p. 121,
as against Robertson, Essays, p. 182.) In a charter of 993, already cited
as genuine, in spite of Kemble's asterisk, Ethelred denounces this simoniacal
transaction as one of the evil deeds into which he had been led by wicked
counsellors, Bishop Wulfgar and Alderman Ælfric being specially named,
and restores liberty of election to the monastery, K. C. D. iii. 266,
267. On these Abingdon entries in E, see Introduction, § 63.

986 C, E. Hér se cyning . . . Hrofe ceastre] Osbern, in his life of Ethelred
Dunstan, says: 'Rex . . . propter quasdam dissensiones ciuitatem obs[edi]t ravages
Rofensem, et facta capiendi illam difficultate, patrimonium beati apostoli Rochester.
[Andreae] deuastando inua[sit],' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 117. Fl. Wig.'s
account is based on this; and it is copied by W. M., Stubbs, *u. s.*, p. 310.
Osbern further adds that Dunstan tried to persuade Ethelred to retire, and
on his refusal bribed him into acquiescence with a hundred pounds of
silver, and then pronounced against him the usual prophecy of coming
ills; cf. H. H. p. 168.

yrf cwealm] 'lues animalium quae Anglice Scitta uocatur, Latine Murrain.
autem fluxus interaneorum,' Fl. Wig. s. a. 987; cf. Bosworth-Toller, s. v.
scitte.

987 E. Wecedport] C places this in 988.

988 C, E. Goda . . . mid him] There is an account of this action in Goda slain.
the Vita Oswaldi: 'Factum est durissimum bellum in Occidente, in quo
fortiter resistentes nostrates, qui dicuntur Deuinysee, uictoriam sancti
triumphi perceperunt, acquisita gloria. Ceciderunt plurimi ex nostris,
pluriores ex illis. Nam occisus est ex nostris miles fortissimus nomine
Stremwold, cum aliis nonnullis, qui bellica morte magis elegerunt uitam
finire, quam ignobiliter uiuere,' H. Y. i. 455, 456; Fl. Wig. combines this
account with that of the Chron., mentioning both Stremwold and Goda
among the slain. He calls the latter 'satrapa Domnaniae,' a title often
given to the lesser aldermen, but also often equivalent to 'minister,' or

'þegen,' so that it probably here implies no more than the 'þegen' of the Chron., Crawford Charters, p. 150; cf. F. N. C. I. xxxiii. 268, 311.

Death of
Dunstan.

Her gefor Dunstan] Of the death of Dunstan the account in the life by Adelard is so beautiful and simple that it must be given here in full. Dr. Stubbs says of it, 'I have no doubt that the record . . . is derived from authentic tradition': 'Die ergo Ascensionis Dominicae . . . coepit columna [? columba] Dei lente uiribus destitui; languore autem praeuolente, lectulo suscipitur, in quo tota sexta feria cum nocte sequenti coelestibus intendens, aduenientes et recedentes in Domino confortabat. Mane autem Sabbati hymnis iam matutinalibus peractis, sanctam adesse iubet fratrum congregationem. Quibus iterum spiritum commendans, uaticium sacramentorum Christi coram se celebratum, ex mensa coelesti suscepit. Unde gratias agens Deo psallere coepit "Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator Dominus; escam dedit timentibus se" [Ps. cx. (cxi.) 4, 5]. Inter quae uerba spiritum in manibus Creatoris reddens, in pace quieuit. O nimis felicem quem Dominus inuenit ita uigilantem,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 66; cf. *ib.* lxii. Of the later biographers, W. M. is the only one who has the good taste to use this beautiful and touching record, *ib.* 320; it is used also, somewhat abridged, in the lections of the York Breviary, *ib.* 448. For other accounts, cf. *ib.* 52, 120-128, 221; for ritual matter relating to Dunstan, *ib.* 440-457. On the shameless myth of a translation of Dunstan's relics to Glastonbury, which called forth Eadmer's indignant protest, see *ib.* 352, 353, 412-422, 426-439; H. Y. I. xlvi. The death of Dunstan is mentioned in the Irish Annals, Tigh., Chron. Scot. By many it is regarded as a great turning-point: 'post cuius mortem . . . omnes res contrarium motum sumpsere; . . . a summa quippe pace fit commutatio ad bellum intolerabile, ab immensa laetitia ad enormem tristitiam, ab omnium rerum abundantia ad omnium rerum indigentiam' (Osbern), Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 127. But in truth it did but make apparent a change which had begun thirteen years before. With the death of Edgar the Peaceful, Dunstan was already politically dead, *ib.* ciii. There is a fine character of Dunstan in Ang. Sac. ii. 126. How soon he acquired saintship is shown by a charter of 997 x 1001, K. C. D. No. 704. From Adelard's account it is plain that Dunstan died on the Saturday after the Ascension. Ascension Day in 988 was on May 17, and May 19 is rightly given by Fl. Wig. as the day of Dunstan's death, and it is his day in the Calendar.

His death
not a land-
mark.

Succession
and death
of Æthel-
gar.

Æthelgar] *v. s.* on 964. If Stubbs is right (Dunstan, p. 383) in giving Feb. 13, 990, as the date of Æthelgar's death, and if he sat a year and three months (C, D, E), his translation would be fixed to Nov. 988. F, however, deliberately alters the three months of the other MSS. into eight, which would bring the translation to June 988. And as F is a Canterbury book it may have some independent authority; but it may be only an inference from the fact that Dunstan died in May. Æthelgar's

mother was named Æthelflæd, Hyde Reg. p. 58; cf. *ib.* 270, which gives the day of his death. The Chron. Ab. notes the rapid successions of the archbishops of Canterbury at this time, i. 430, 431.

989 E, F. 990 C. p. 126. Hér Sigeric wæs gehalgod] The date of 990 Accession of Siric. for Siric's accession, C, D, is to be preferred to 989 E, F. S. D. places it in 991, ii. 134. All the MSS. are wrong in saying that he was 'consecrated' to Canterbury; so Liebermann, p. 70. He was translated from Ramsbury, to which he had been consecrated in 985, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 17 [ed. 2, p. 30]. There are letters to him in Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 388, 389, 399-403; the last, from Ælfweard, Abbot of Glastonbury, to Siric, on his elevation to Canterbury, is an admirable letter, and may be compared with Bede's well-known letter to Egbert of York. F is the only MS. which mentions the journey of Siric to Rome for his pallium (probably in 990, under which year it is given, Liebermann, p. 3). Of this journey we possess a most interesting itinerary, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 391-395. Fl. Wig., in his notice of Siric's accession, says: 'clericis a Cantuaria proturbatis, monachos induxit.' If this is true, it shows how little of a monastic bigot Dunstan was. To Siric Ælfric dedicated both series of his homilies, ed. Thorpe, i. 1-3; ii. 1-5. At the end of the second preface is a curious little admonition against drunkenness. As it is pointed by a reference to the Levitical ordinance: 'dixit Dominus ad Aaron: Vinum . . . non bibes tu et filii tui, quando intratis tabernaculum testimonii [Levit. x. 9],' it is difficult to avoid the inference that the archbishop was thought to be addicted to this failing.

Eadwine abb forðferde] v. s. 984, 985. According to the Abingdon MS. of Fl. Wig., Wulfgar, his successor, successfully protected the monastery during the Danish inroads. His death is given below, 1016 C, E. Fl. Wig. u. s. gives it under 1017, i. 182, note. He it was who recovered the liberties of Abingdon as stated in the charter cited above, where Ethelred calls him 'abbas meus Wlfgar tota mihi deuotione benignus,' K. C. D. vi. 174. Death of Edwin, Abbot of Abingdon. Succession of Wulfgar.

pp. 126, 127. 993 A, 991 E, F] A is independent of the other MSS., and seems to be made up of events which the other MSS. distribute between 991 (Ipswich, Maldon) and 994 (Invasion of Anlaf with 93 ships, confirmation of Anlaf). The account in A rests on a confusion of two separate invasions, and the other is to be preferred. That Anlaf, who is no other than the famous Olaf Tryggvason (on whom see C. P. B. pp. 83-86), was, however, a leader of the earlier invasion also, is shown by the terms of peace which are preserved, Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 284 ff., Schmid, pp. 204 ff.: 'ðis synd þa friðmal 7 þa forword þe Æðelred cyng 7 ealle his witan wið þone here gedon habbað þe Anlaf 7 Justin (Jósteinn) 7 Guðmund Stegitan sunu mid wæron.' These two last are mentioned also as leaders of the expedition of 991, by Fl. Wig., who probably had the document before him, as he copies its further statement that the treaty was made by the advice of Danish invasions. Olaf Tryggvason.

Peace
purchased.

Siric (who is called Siricius Danegeld in Ang. Sac. i. 4), and the two aldermen, Æthelweard and Ælfric, who besought the king that they might purchase peace for their respective districts. It is right, however, to add that Anlaf's name is not in Fl. Wig.; and Schmid, p. li, thinks that it is interpolated in the document. Ælfric is the treacherous alderman of Hampshire, v. s. pp. 170, 171. Æthelweard is the chronicler, who, as we know, was of the royal house of Wessex, and in Wessex his aldermanry is to be sought, Crawford Charters, pp. 118 ff.; cf. Introduction, § 99. To him Ælfric dedicated both his Lives of Saints, and also his translation of the Heptateuch; see the Prefaces to those works. Clearly then the lay lords must share with the archbishop the responsibility for the treaty. The Chron. is further unjust to Siric in saying that this was the first time that peace had been purchased from the Danes. Alfred himself had had to pay this 'scandlice nydgyld,' as Wulfstan calls it, Homilies, p. 162; v. s. on 865, 872, 876; and, as Freeman himself shows, F. N. C. i. 275, note, Edred had left money for this purpose as for a charitable and recognised object, Birch, iii. 75 (this provision is omitted in the later versions of the will, *ib.* 76, 78). In the earlier invasions on the continent this policy, or impolicy, of buying off the invaders was constantly adopted, v. Dümmler, Ostfränk. Reich, ed. 1, ii. 205, 231, 233, 272, &c.; ed. 2, iii. 203, 229, 231, 272. There is a most interesting charter of 995, which tells how the Danes, furious at the delay in paying the sums which Siric had promised them, threatened to burn the Cathedral, how Siric in his distress sent to borrow money of Æscwig, Bishop of Dorchester, pledging him an estate at Risborough in return, K. C. D. No. 689. (In the following charter this estate is restored to Siric's successor, Ælfric. The signatures have, however, been mechanically copied from the preceding charter, as, though the restoration is made to Ælfric, the deed is signed by Siric!) I cannot say certainly whether this transaction is connected with the invasion of 991 or that of 994, as a comparison of 993 A with 994 E makes it probable that Kent was ravaged in both. In a spurious charter of Ethelred's, the king is similarly represented as pledging land to the Abbot of St. Alban's to raise money for the Danes. But no doubt from this time the payment became more systematic, and from this reign dates the hated Danegeld; which, imposed like the income-tax originally as a war measure, was continued, like the income-tax, as an ordinary financial expedient: 'Regibus namque nostris modo persoluimus ex consuetudine, quod Dacis persoluebatur ex ineffabili terrore,' H. H. pp. 168, 169; cf. Hermann, Mirac. S. Edm.: 'Sueyn lugubre malum ubique ponit tributum, quod infortunium hodie luit Anglia,' Martene et Durand, vi. 825; Liebermann, p. 204; cf. W. M. i. 187; G. P. p. 411; and the date, as Earle says, 'tallies exactly with the dates of Anglo-Saxon money found in Denmark and Sweden; in both which countries it has been exhumed in large quantities, especially in Sweden. The dates range from Æðelred to Edward Conf.; and coins of some of the intermediate reigns

The lay
lords partly
responsible.

Siric
borrows
money to
pay the
Danes.

The Dane-
geld.

have been found in Denmark and Sweden in larger numbers than in England. *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet* af Bror Emil Hildebrand, 4to., Stockholm, 1846.' The amount of this Danegeld given by E and F, £10,000, is only half the amount stated in the actual document already cited: 'twa 7 twentig þusend punda gold 7 seolfres mon gesealde þam here of Ænglalande wið friðe,' Thorpe, i. 288; Schmid, p. 208; cf. *ib.* li. In the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor, the Danegeld is defined as 'XII denarios de unaquaque hida . . . ad conducendos eos qui piratarum irruptioni resistendo obuiarent,' Thorpe, i. 446; Schmid, p. 496. In the Laws of Henry I it is 'denagildum quod aliquando þingemannis dabatur,' Thorpe, i. 526; Schmid, p. 446; *i. e.* the bodies of Danish housecarls maintained in England, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 140. (Thorpe's proposed emendation is worse than needless.) From a charter, nominally of Alfred, really a later forgery, it would seem that land was sometimes surrendered because it could not bear these heavy imposts, K. C. D. No. 1069; Birch, No. 565. (On a point like this a forged charter is as significant as a genuine one.) For the story of Edward the Confessor abolishing the Danegeld, see Ailred R., col. 753; Lives of St. Edward, pp. 51, 52. It was one of the abuses which Stephen promised to abolish, H. H. p. 258; cf. also Maitland, Domesday, pp. 3 ff.

to Stane, A] Folkestone, not Staines, as Mr. Thorpe says in his index.

Mældune . . . Byrhtnoð] Of Brihtnoth we have heard before as the champion of the monks against Ælfhere, *v. s.* p. 163. Accordingly, in the *Battle of Maldon*.

Vita Oswaldi, we have a notice of the battle with a long panegyric on Brihtnoth's bravery; but perhaps the most eloquent panegyric is contained in the brief sentence: 'Byrihtnothus cecidit, et reliqui fugerunt,' H. Y. i. 456. On Brihtnoth and the battle of Maldon, and the poem in which they are celebrated, see F. N. C. i. 268 ff., 623, 624, 772; C. P. B. ii. 84; on the *Song on the battle of Maldon*. payment to the Danes, *ib.* 275, 276. The poem has been frequently printed, see Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 334 ff. A convenient edition is in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, where a remark of Kieger's is quoted that 'it was composed so immediately after the battle that the poet does not know the name of a single one of the enemy, not even of their leader Anlaf.' The remark is interesting, but, as the poem is incomplete, a little hazardous.

On Brihtnoth, cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 85-88. As no signature of his is found after 990, 991 is doubtless right for the date of Maldon. The day was Aug. 11, Hyde Reg. p. 271. He was buried at Ely. His widow, Ælfæd, leaves property to Ely, 'þer mines hlaforðes lichoma rest.' Ælfæd was a sister of Æthelwulf of Damerham, Edmund's second queen, who in her will leaves considerable property to her and her husband, K. C. D. No. 685; Birch, Nos. 1288, 1289. Brihtnoth is called 'dux praeclarus' in a charter of Ethelred of 1005, K. C. D. iii. 341. *Brihtnoth*.

992 E, F. Her Oswald . . . forlet þis lif] The chief authority for the life of Archbishop Oswald is the anonymous life printed in H. Y. i. 399-
Death of Oswald of York.

475, and already frequently referred to. As it speaks of Archbishop Ælfric as still living (p. 452) it must have been written 995 × 1006, and is therefore an almost contemporary authority of the highest value. Oswald had learnt the monastic life at Fleury, pp. 413 ff. (he is also said to have been a pupil of Frigidoda, the author of the *Metrical Life of Wilfrid*, H. Y. ii. 5). He returned to England at the time of his uncle Archbishop Odo's death, p. 419; succeeded Dunstan as Bishop of Worcester, p. 420; founded a school for the training of monks at Westbury, p. 424 (the church was restored by Wulfstan, *Ang. Sac.* ii. 262). On the death of Oscytel (to whom he was related, p. 420), Edgar 'in capite [eius] duas coronas imposuit, hoc est ipsi prius episcopatum Merciorum gentis, et postmodum Northanhymbrorum,' p. 435 (this position of Worcester as the specially Mercian see should be noted). See *Addenda*. He went to Rome for his pallium, p. 435 (where he also acted as the king's ambassador, H. Y. ii. 27); assisted at the coronations of Edgar in 973, pp. 436 ff., and of Edward and Ethelred, p. 455 (cf. ii. 341); and died on the Monday following the third Sunday in Lent, Feb. 29, 992, after washing the feet of the poor, and passed away, like Bede, in the act of saying the Doxology, pp. 469 ff. He was buried at Worcester (where he died), p. 475. On other lives of him, cf. Hardy, *Cat.* i. 609-614. And there is a notice of him in Hugo of Fleury, *Pertz*, ix. 384, which shows that he was not unmindful of the scene of his monastic training, whence also he brought the famous Abbo of Fleury to teach in his monastery of Ramsey, 985 × 987, Hardy, *Cat.* i. 594, 618; cf. also G. P. pp. 247-250; Birch, iii. 208; Hyde *Reg.* p. 92.

Oswald's relics were translated by his successor, Ealdwulf, in 1002, just before his own death, H. Y. ii. 46; *Fl. Wig.* i. 156. For Wulfstan of Worcester's reverence for Oswald, see the interesting story in *Ang. Sac.* ii. 262, 263.

As late as 1139 Oswald and Wulfstan were still invoked at Worcester as patrons and protectors of the city, *Fl. Wig.* ii. 118. Oswald's mitre was preserved at Beverley in the twelfth century, H. Y. ii. 341. An extraordinary number of charters by him granting leases for three lives of lands belonging to the see of Worcester will be found in Birch, iii.; K. C. D. iii. These embody a deliberate territorial policy, on which, see Maitland, *Domesday*, pp. 302 ff.

Æthelwine . . . ge for, E] He was the son of Athelstan 'half-king,' and succeeded his brother Æthelwold as alderman of East Anglia. The monks whom he protected called him 'the friend of God.' There was a pathetic fitness in his dying so soon after his great friend Oswald. With him he had founded the monastery of Ramsey, where he was buried; and he is said never to have smiled after his death, H. Y. i. 428-430, 445-447, 465-469, 474, 475; G. P. pp. 318-320; Crawford *Charters*, pp. 85, 118. (The pretended foundation charters of Ramsey are obvious forgeries, K. C. D. No. 581; Birch, Nos. 1310 f.) *Fl. W. g.*'s account both of Oswald and

Death of Æthelwine, 'the friend of God.'

Æthelwine is clearly taken from the *Vita Oswaldi*, of which there would naturally be a copy at Worcester.

þorode eorl] See on 966 E, *supra*.

Ælfstane ð.] This, though in all the MSS., is a mistake for Ælfric, Bishop of Ramsbury, who succeeded Siric at Canterbury. Ælfstan of Ramsbury died 981 C.

Æscwige ð.] Bishop of Dorchester; he was present at the consecration of Ramsey, H. Y. i. 463.

Da sende . . . Ælfric] See F. N. C. i. 277, 278. The 'long series of National inexplicable treasons' ascribed to Ælfric first, and then to Eadric Streona, awake, I confess, the question whether the chroniclers have not selected certain scapegoats on whom to throw the blame of the national failures.

Ealdulf . . . to Eoferwic stole 7 to Wigera ceastre] His appointment to York seems, however, to have been delayed till 995. In 993, 994, and 995 he signs as 'episcopus' or as 'Wigoracensis eccl. episc.', K. C. D. Nos. 684, 687, 1289. Later in 995 he signs as 'Eboracensis eccl. electus episc.', *ib.* Nos. 688, 692. This does not imply (as Mr. Stevenson thought, *Chron. Ab. ii.* 521) that he had not been consecrated, for he had already been consecrated to Worcester. By 996 he is 'archipraesul' and 'archiepiscopus,' K. C. D. Nos. 695, 696.

Kenulf] He became Bishop of Winchester in 1005; simoniacally, according to G. P. p. 170; his death is entered 1006 E, *infra*. Some have wished to identify him with the poet Cynewulf, see above on 779 E. To this Cenwulf the life of Athelwold by Ælfric is dedicated, Hardy, *Cat. i.* 586. For Ealdulf and Cenwulf as abbots of Peterborough, see above, 963 E, i. 117.

993 E, F. þa heretogan, 7c.] 'Heretogan' means the leaders of this particular army. It does not imply the official rank of aldermen. Fl. Wig. explains their conduct by saying: 'ex paterno genere Danici fuerunt.' But this again sounds rather like an attempt to gloss over the national failure; cf. on these leaders, F. N. C. i. 281, 624, 625.

het se cyng ablendan Ælfgar, E] 'unde odium et infamia eius [*sc.* Blinding of Edelredi] crudelitatis adaucta est,' H. H. p. 169; it was, no doubt, in revenge for his father's treachery in 992: 'et quamuis pro culpa perfidiae filium eius rex excaecari iusserit, iterum rediit iterumque defecit,' W. M. i. 187.

994 E, F. Her . . . com Anlaf 7 Swegen] On this great invasion of Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, and Swegen, King of Denmark, the ultimate conqueror of England, see above on 993 A; and F. N. C. i. 285 ff. A document in K. C. D. No. 704 seems to point to an earlier unrecorded invasion of Swegen. It is a writ of Ethelred's confirming the will of Ætheric of Bocking. It is there stated: 'hit was manegon earon ár Æðeric forðferde, ðæt ðám kincge was gesæd 7æt he wære on ðám unráde, ðæt man sceolde on Eást-Saxon Swegen underfón ðá he árest þider mid flotan com.' The writ is undated, but from the signatures it must have been issued 997 x 1001. Ætheric was then dead, and the charge of com-

plicity with Swegen was brought 'many years' before his death. The invasion of 994 seems hardly far enough back to satisfy these conditions. There is a very curious notice in the Chron. Ab. i. 280, with reference to this invasion, the origin of which I do not know: 'Rex Norwegiae, Anlaf, baptizatus est, et reuersus est in patriam suam. Dani uero regem suum Suein regem Cantiae constituerunt, et regnauit in Cantia xxxiii annis.' In Ælfric's Homilies, written just about this time, there are many interesting references to these troubles, i. 578; ii. 1, 370, 432; so in the Lives, written only a little later, i. 258-260, 294-296.

pp. 128, 129. Gode þang, F] This note of triumphant feeling is noteworthy in a MS. so late as F. It is not in E.

Payments to the Danes.

hi man þær fædde, 7c., E] 'quibus de tota Westsaxonia stipendium dabatur, de tota uero Anglia tributum,' Fl. Wig. i. 152; *i. e.* according to Fl. Wig. the promised 'metsung' was levied exclusively from Wessex, the 'gafol' from all England.

Ælfeach b 7 Æðelward] Ælfheah had advised and Æthelward had negotiated the former treaty, 993 A and note. They were naturally employed again.

Confirmation of Olaf Tryggvason.

his anfeŋg æt þes handa] *i. e.* acted as his sponsor at confirmation, cf. Eede, II. 142, 383; 'tenens eum ad confirmationem episcopi,' H. H. p. 170; 'quem rex . . . confirmari ab episcopo fecit,' Fl. Wig. *u. s.* Olaf had been previously baptised, though accounts vary as to the manner and place of his conversion.

Death of Siric and succession of Ælfric.

pp. 126, 129, 131. 994 A, 995 E, 996 E. Sigeric . . . Ælfric] Ælfric had previously succeeded Siric as Bishop of Ramsbury in 990 ('Wiltunscire,' A, F). Hence C, D, E are wrong in speaking of him as 'consecrated' to Canterbury. A, F (F a Canterbury MS.), express the fact correctly. He had been a monk of Glastonbury, and Abbot of Abingdon, Fl. Wig. *u. s.*; G. P. p. 32. The earliest life of Dunstan is dedicated to him, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 3. Fl. Wig., like F, places both the death of Siric and the translation of Ælfric in 995; and this is right, for a charter of that year is signed by Siric as archbishop, and by Ælfric as 'Wiltunensis presul'; while another charter of the same year is signed by Ælfric as 'electus ad archiepiscopatum,' K. C. D. Nos. 691, 692. Against the old identification of Ælfric the homilist with the archbishop, see Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 453 ff.

Ælfric and the secular clerks.

p. 128. 995 F. Des Ælfric, 7c.] For the Latin of this document, see App. B, i. 285-287. On this story of Ælfric having expelled the secular clerks from Christ Church, Canterbury, and restored the monks, W. M. says: 'uerisimile non uidetur; constat enim monachos in ecclesia S. Saluatoris fuisse a tempore Laurentii archiepiscopi,' G. P. p. 32; as if institutions never changed their character in the course of 400 years! A more serious objection is that, according to Fl. Wig., the change had already been made by Siric. See above on 990 C. Whether F has any better authority for

saying that the secular clerks came in under Ceolnoth, 833 × 870, in consequence of plague and other troubles, I do not know. The same account is given by F under 870, see App. B, i. 283-285; according to which Ceolnoth's successor, Ethelred, attempted to expel the clerks. No plague is recorded in the Chron. during those years. On the consecration of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the alleged correspondence of Ethelbert and the Pope, see Bede, H. E. i. 33, and my notes. It is Bede's Hist. Eccl. which is here referred to as 'Ystoria Anglorum.' The spurious charters, K. C. D. No. 715, seem connected with this pretended reform.

heafod burh] Cf. Bede, p. 60: 'In Cantwarabyrig, seo wæs ealles his 'heafod rices ealdorburg'; and Oros. p. 132: 'he geeode Nisan, India heafodburg.' burh.'

p. 131. 996 F. Wulstan . . . Lundenberi] In Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 404, 405, there is a letter from an unknown correspondent to Wulstan, Bishop of London, appointed to London.

pallium

997 F. æfter his arce] I feel pretty certain that 'pallium' is meant 'arce.' to be a gloss on 'arce,' and not to be taken in composition with it as Bosworth-Toller; there is no such thing as an 'arch-pallium.' But how did 'arce' come to mean pallium? I believe it to be a pure abstraction of the writer. An 'arcebisceop' is a bishop with a pallium, therefore 'arce' must mean pallium, Q. E. D.; cf. 995 F, i. 130 m., 'æfter þinon ærce' (= 'pro pallio uestro,' i. 287 t.); 'gifan heom þone erce,' *ib.* The word occurs nowhere else as far as I know. In Bouquet, x. 431, there is a letter of this very year from Pope Gregory V to Abbo of Fleury, asking to be informed 'de Cantuariorum archiepiscopi incolumitate.'

997 E. on Norðwalum] *i. e.* our Wales. Fl. Wig.'s translation, 'septentrionalis Brytannia,' is misleading; and in 1000 A. D. it has misled Mr. Thorpe, Lappenberg, E. T. ii. 162; see F. N. C. i. 634.

Penwithsteort] Penwið- C, Penwæð- D. The Land's End. The Penwith- hundred of the Land's End is still called Penwith; cf. S. D. ii. 392: steort. 'Anglia habet in longitudine 800 miliaria a loco Penwithstert uocato . . . usque ad Catheness trans Scotiam.'

in to Tamer muðan] 'in ostium fluminis Tameræ Domnaniam et Cornubiam sequestrantis,' Fl. Wig.

Ordulfes mynster æt Tefingstoce] Ordwulf was the son of Ordgar, and consequently brother of Ælfthryth, Edgar's second wife, *v. s.* on 965 D. W. M. makes his father, Ordgar, the founder of Tavistock, G. P. pp. 202, 203; so H. & S. i. 701. The spurious charter of foundation, K. C. D. No. 629, dated 981, makes Ordwulf the founder, and calls him, rightly, Ethelred's uncle. Ordwulf signs charters from 980 to 1006. Fl. Wig. calls him 'Domnanizæ primas,' which probably means 'heahgerefa,' Crawford Charters, p. 122; but may also mean that he succeeded his father as alderman of Devon, though possibly in a lower position; but the fact that he never signs with any higher title than 'minister' is against the latter

Ordwulf,
the founder
of Tavi-
stock,

view; moreover, that 'primas' means high-reeve is shown by a charter cited below on 1002 E, in which Æfic, whom the Chron. calls 'heah-gerefa,' is called 'primas inter primates.' I believe that E's reading, 'æt Ætefingstoce' (see critical note), is an extreme instance of the tendency to regard the preposition 'æt,' before place names, as part of the place name, so that a second (in this case an identical) preposition is put before the compound phrase; see Bede, II. 103, 104. H. H., misreading the Saxon *f*, gives 'apud Esingstoce.'

998 E. þurh sum þing] 'aut insidiis, aut aliquo infortunio,' Fl. Wig. i. 154.

National
excuses.

999 E. for þam þe . . . sceoldan] This sentence is *only* in E. It marks the growth of that tendency to make excuses which reaches its culminating point in Fl. Wig. On the prevailing disorganisation, see F. N. C. i. 295 ff.

p. 133. mid scip fyrde . . . mid land fyrde] Cf. 'sy hit on scyppyrde, sy hit on landfyrde,' Thorpe, Laws, i. 420; Schmid, p. 314. So, exactly, K. C. D. vi. 51, where the universal obligation of the fyrd as part of the 'trinoda necessitas' is subdivided into 'scip fyrd' and 'land fyrd.'

Misread-
ing.

þa elkede man] Fl. Wig.'s rendering, 'duces exercitus . . . moram . . . innectentes,' shows that he followed C or a sister MS. But C's reading, 'þa ylcodan þa deman,' is probably a mere error. The scribe may have had a MS. in which the syllables 'þa ylco' came at the end of a line, and 'de man' at the beginning of the next. The scribe took 'deman' for a single word, and then pieced out his own error as best he could. I owe this suggestion to Prof. Earle. 'Dema,' 'a judge,' is an impossible word to use of a military leader.

Invasion of
Cumber-
land.

1000 E. Her . . . se cyng ferde in to Cumerlande] On this invasion of Cumberland, cf. F. N. C. i. 298, 299, 633, 634; I cannot, however, go with him in attributing much weight to Fordun's statement that Ethelred's invasion was owing to the refusal of Malcolm of Strathclyde to pay Dane-geld. H. H.'s explanation (which Mr. Freeman also accepts) seems much more probable: 'Cumberland . . . ubi maxima mansio Dacorum erat,' p. 170. Strathclyde would be a convenient rendezvous for Scandinavian forces; and a similar motive would account for the ravaging of Man. Mr. Skene thinks that Ethelred was trying to wrest Strathclyde altogether from the Scots, C. S. i. 382.

unfriðflota] Cf. 'unfrið scip,' i. 168 h., *infra*, 1046 E; 'unfrið land,' 'unfrið mann,' Thorpe, Laws, i. 286; Schmid, pp. 204, 206.

Ricardes rice] 'Danorum classis . . . Nortmanniam petit,' Fl. Wig. i. 154.

pp. 132, 133. 1001*] The account in A is independent of, and fuller than, that of the other MSS., but quite consistent with it. See F. N. C. i. 306 ff.

Troubles.

micel unfrið, A] There is a charter of this year in which Ethelred

speaks of himself as 'dirissimis hostium grautier nos depopulancium creberrime angustiatu flagellis,' and cites the 'multiplicia signa' wrought at his brother's tomb, K. C. D. No. 706.

Æpelweard . . . heah gerefa] Probably of Hampshire; cf. K. C. D. No. 642; Crawford Charters, p. 119.

Ælfsiges bisceopes sunu] This is noteworthy. The bishop meant is Odo's short-lived successor at Canterbury. See on 961 F. A bishop's son.

Pallig] A Danish Jarl, brother-in-law of King Swegen, whose sister Gunhild he had married. His name may be assimilated from Palning, and he was possibly connected with, or even a son of, the famous Palnatoke, Crawford Charters, p. 144; F. N. C. i. 306. He had evidently taken service with Ethelred under one of the previous treaties, and now deserted. According to W. M. i. 207, he, his wife, and their child were victims of the massacre of St. Brice in 1002.

ofer . . . ge trywða] Cf. 'ofslegen . . . ofer aðas 7 treowe,' Bede, p. 148.

foran . . . tó Exan muðan] Mr. Freeman, following Fl. Wig., supposes that the fleet which the other MSS. mention as coming to Exmouth was the one which had gone to Normandy in the previous year, and now effected a junction with Pallig, &c. This is very possibly right, though probably it is only Fl. Wig.'s inference from the Chron. On the change in *Æ* after this annual, see Introduction, § 95. Movements of the Danes.

to ċære byrig, E] Exeter; 'there was no need to mention what borough,' F. N. C. i. 307.

swa hi be wuna wæron] So Oros. p. 116: 'swa hi ær bewuna wæron.'

þa beah, 7c.] 'pro militum paucitate, Danorum multitudinem non ferentes,' Fl. Wig. i. 155, with his usual tendency to make excuses. Excuses.

þær him . . . woldon] 'modo in ea [Vecta insula], modo in Suthamtonia, modo in Dorsetania,' explains Fl. Wig.

ne eodon hi swa feor úp] 'Went they never so far up,' *i. e.* however far inland (Greek *ἀνω*) they might go.

1002 E] On the treaty of this year, v. F. N. C. i. 311, 312.

grið . . . ge sætte] 'grið' is a Scandinavian word, and only comes in with the Scandinavian contests. It does not occur in MS. *Æ* at all. Treaty of 1002.

of sloh Leofsig . . . earde] Leofsig was alderman of Essex and probably succeeded Brihtnoth, F. N. C. *u. s.*; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 135. There is an allusion to his exile in a charter of 1007: 'Leofsinus dux . . . culpa sua exigente patria pulsus,' K. C. D. No. 1304; but in a charter of 1012 not only his punishment but his crime is detailed: 'Leofsinus quem de satrapis . . . tuli ad celsioris apicem dignitatis . . . ducem constituendo, [which shows that 'satrapa' is not a mere synonym for 'dux' but indicates a lower dignity, v. s. pp. 171, 172] . . . praefectum neum Æticum, quem primatem inter primates meos taxavi, non cunctatus in propria domo eius eo inscio perimere, quod nefarium et peregrinum opus est apud christianos et gentiles. . . . Itaque . . . inii consilium cum Leofsig banished.

sapientibus regni mei, . . . placuitque nobis in commune eum exulare . . . cum complicitibus suis, *ib.* No. 719.

Marriage of Ethelred.

p. 134. seo hlæfdige] 'regina binomia . . ., scilicet Ælfgiua Imma,' Chron. Ab. i. 434. On the significance of Ethelred's marriage with Emma of Normandy, which 'led directly to the Norman Conquest,' F. N. C. i. 301 ff., cf. H. H. p. 173; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 322.

Death of Ealdwulf of York; succession of Wulfstan.

Ealdulf arċb forðferde] He died May 6, Fl. Wig. i. 156. He was succeeded by Wulfstan, the author of the Homilies. Mr. Freeman, F. N. C. i. 312, identifies him with Wulfstan, Bishop of London, but apparently only because Bishop Wulfstan ceases to sign in 1003, and Archbishop Wulfstan begins to sign in 1004. But this seems to me hazardous in the face of Fl. Wig.'s assertion that the archbishop was only abbot before his appointment to York, i. 156. As Wulfstan was, like his predecessors, also Bishop of Worcester, Fl. Wig. had special means of knowing. Dr. Stubbs, Ep. Succ., seems to know nothing of any translation of Wulfstan of London. In the Latin version of one of Ethelred's codes, it is not only stated that the laws were passed on the advice of the two primates Ælfheah and Wulfstan, but that they were reduced to writing by Wulfstan: 'ego Wulfstanus . . . eadem . . . literis infixi,' Schmid, pp. 236, 239. If this can be relied on, it would account for the similarity between the moral reflexions contained in the laws, and in the homilies attributed to Wulfstan; but the question is an intricate one. Some complimentary verses addressed to Wulfstan are printed in Stubbs' Dunstan, p. liv, from MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xiv.

Massacre of St. Brice.

se cyng het ofslean] On the massacre of St. Brice and the subsequent embellishments of the story, see F. N. C. i. 182, 312 ff., 634 ff. According to a tale which H. H. says that he heard as a boy from 'uetustissimi quidam,' the king sent secret letters to every town ordering the simultaneous murder of all the Danes, p. 174. The so-called laws of Edward the Confessor profess to give the law under which Ethelred acted, Schmid, p. 510. In a spurious charter of 1004 it is said that the Danes of Oxford took refuge in the church of the monastery of St. Frideswide, which was burnt in the conflict, K. C. D. No. 709.

p. 135. be syrewian æt his life] Cf. 'Sume eac ymbe his lif syrwdon,' Ælf. Hom. ii. 112.

1003 E, F] On this annal, see F. N. C. i. 315-319.

Excuses.

purh pone . . . Hugon, E] 'per insilium, incuriam et traditionem Nortnannici comitis Hugonis,' says Fl. Wig., expanding the excuse after his wont; and turning the 'ceorl' of the Chron. into an 'eorl'; possibly his MS. read 'eorl,' i. 156; H. H., translating 'gerefa,' gives 'uicecomes,' p. 174.

far . . . ŋingan, F] Cf. Oros. p. 240; 'hie for his þingun adræfde wæron,' *ib.* 258.

Emma's rights over Exeter.

þe seo hlefdige . . . gerefan, E] The royal rights over Exeter had probably been given to Emma as part of her morning-gift.

ge bræd he hine seocne] Cf. Layamon, i. 284: 'þe king hine breid seac,' Earle; so in Icel. 'bregða sér sjúkum,' 'bregðaz sjúka.'

Donne . . . ge hindred] A very similar saying is found in one of A proverb. Alcuin's letters: 'si dux timidus erit, quomodo saluabitur miles,' H. & S. iii. 535; Mon. Alc. p. 621.

Da Swegen ge seah, 7c.] Of course if his sister were among the victims Swegen. of St. Brice, *supra*, p. 181, he would have ample motive for revenge, F. N. C. i. 314.

1004 E] On this annal, see F. N. C. i. 319-322.

Ulfkytel] See below on 1010 E.

þa witan on East Englum] This may indicate, as Freeman thinks, Local some survival of the independence of the old East Anglian kingdom. Witan. 'Witan' is, however, used of a meeting of the shire: 'gebete þæt swa scire witan ceosan,' Wulfstan, p. 172; cf. *ib.* 73.

ac hi abruðon] 'þæt teoðe werod abreað' (of the rebellious angels), Ælf. Hom. i. 10.

þa ðe he to pohte] Not 'those whom he trusted to,' M. H. B., Thorpe; cf. 'to hopode,' 1009, *infra*, i. 139 h.; but 'those whom he destined for the work'; 'illi uel non audebant, uel iussa perficere negligebant,' Fl. Wig. i. 157. It is strange that E has omitted the racy conclusion of C and D (see i. 136, note 1). For the numerous compounds of 'plega,' *v.* Bosworth-Toller, *s. v.*

p. 136. 1005 E] On the events of 1005, 1006, see F. N. C. i. 323 ff.

hungor . . . swa grimne] Cf. 'Se grimnesta hungor þæt folc wæs Famine. wæcende,' Bede, p. 302.

7 se flota, 7c.] 'quapropter . . . Swein Denemarciam reuertitur,' Fl. Wig. i. 158.

1006 E. Her forðferde Ælfric] Stubbs, Ep. Succ., places the death of Ælfric and the translation of Ælfheah in 1005. So Liebermann, p. 3. A (above i. 134) puts Ælfric's death in 1005 and Ælfheah's succession (wrongly *consecration*) in 1006. Fl. Wig., whom Dr. Stubbs cites, agrees with E, as does Ælfheah's life, Ang. Sac. ii. 129, from which it appears that Ælfheah was born in 954. To him Adelard dedicated his life of Dunstan, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 53. He is said to have taken the head of St. Swithun with him to Canterbury, H. Y. I. xlvi.

Brihtwold . . . Wiltunscire] This is an addition by E(ε), followed Error. by F, but not by H. H. or Ann. Wav. I am inclined to think it is an error of the scribe who fancied Ælfheah was Bishop of Wilton instead of Winton; whereas it was Ælfric's promotion to Canterbury in 995 which vacated the see of Ramsbury, and it is there that Fl. Wig. places Brihtwold's appointment, i. 152. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 165 [ed. 2, p. 227], follows E approximately. In any case Brihtwold had a very long episcopate; his death is entered 1045 C, 1043 E.

Wulfgeate] According to Fl. Wig. his father was Leofeca, and he him- Forfeiture of Wulfgeat. self was a prime favourite of Ethelred, but was deprived for 'iniusta iudicia'

et superba . . . opera,' i. 158. I do not know whence Fl. Wig. got these details, and till their source is identified I regard them with some suspicion. There is a reference to Wulfgeat's forfeiture in a charter of 1015, and in that his crime is made to be 'quia inimicis regis se in insidiis socium applicauit,' K. C. D. vi. 170. Wulfgeat signs as 'minister' from 986 to 1005.

Wulfeah 7 Ufgeat . . . ablende] At Cookham, according to Fl. Wig., who makes them sons of Ælfhelm.

Ælfhelm . . . wearð of slagen] By Edric Streona, according to Fl. Wig. But the details sound wholly mythical. Ælfhelm seems to have held part of Northumbria. On all these names, cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 121, 122; F. N. C. i. 325, 643-645.

Kenulf biscop] On him, see on 992 E.

ne inn here ne ut here] Cf. 'fram utgefohte . . . on ingefohtum' = 'exteris . . . ciuilibus bellis,' Bede, p. 8.

to his fryð stol . . . to heora garwan feorme] There is 'a bitter pleasantry' about these phrases: 'to their inviolable sanctuary, . . . to their ever furnished quarters.' H. H. well expresses the return which they made for such hospitality: 'quocunque . . . pergebant, quae parata erant hilariter comedentes, cum discederent, in retributionem procurationis, reddebant hospiti caedem, hospitio flammam,' p. 176.

p. 137. beotra gylpa] Out of mere bravado; cf. 'ungebeta þinga,' without having mended matters, Earle, Charters, p. 202. So in modern German, 'unverrichteter dinge' = re infecta. There is an article in American Journal of Philology, x. 316 ff., on the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon. The author, Mr. M. Callaway, regards it as a mere exotic, imported from the Latin. This is certainly true of the dative absolute. I do not think it is true of the genitive absolute.

forþon oft man cwæð] The 'oft' shows that this was a popular threat, not the 'prediction of some unknown seer,' F. N. C. i. 329.

Cwicchelmes hlæwe] See Bede, II. 95. In the reign of James I a market used to be held there for which no charter could be produced, and so it was suppressed and transferred to Ilsley (Private communication to Prof. Earle from Mr. C. J. Eyston of East Hendred). From a writ, K. C. D. No. 693, it appears that Cwichelmeshlæw was the meeting-place of the shire-moot. The writ is undated, but from the signatures must be 990 x 992. Cwichelmeshlæw occurs also in the boundaries of a charter of 995, *ib.* No. 1289.

æt Cynetan] This may be the river Kennet. Mr. Freeman says, 'Kennet, now Marlborough,' F. N. C. i. 329. Prof. Earle suggests Kintbury, Berks, which occurs in the form 'æt Cynetan byrig,' K. C. D. No. 353; Birch, No. 678, from which it appears that there was a monastery there.

þær mihton geseon] Cf. Wulfstan's Sermon: 'oft twegen sæmen oððe þry hwilun drifað þa drafe cristeura manna fram sæ to sæ ut ðurh þas

tion.

peode gewylede togædere us eallum to woruldscome,' Homilies, p. 163. From an obscure notice in S. D., Mr. Freeman inferred an invasion of the Scots in 1006, F. N. C. i. 325-328. This is entirely confirmed by Ann. Ult. 1005-6; cf. S. C. S. i. 385.

p. 138. 1007 E. xxx. þusend punda] So F, H. H., and Ann. Wav. xxxvi; C, D, Fl. Wig.

Ædric . . . on Myrcenarice] 'ad perniciem Anglorum factus est Edric made Edricus dux super Merce, proditor nouus sed maximus,' H. H. p. 176; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 160, and F. N. C. i. 640 ff., where the authorities are collected. alderman of Mercia.

Her for Ælfæah . . . to Rome, D (note 3)] Only in D. Cf. Ang. Sac. ii. 129, 130; G. P. pp. 170, 171; in Liebermann, pp. 3, 71, it is placed in 1006; here again a year behind the Chron. Ælfæah goes to Rome.

1008 E] This is rightly termed by Prof. Earle 'a tantalising annal.' If I could feel with him that the text of D (given in note 4) 'is probably the nearest to the source,' it might be possible to emend it thus: 'of þrim hund hidum scip, and of tynum ænne scegð.' But there are two objections to this; (1) the fact that textually D is the least reliable of our MSS. (see Introduction, § 81); (2) the enormous disproportion between the 'scip' and the 'scegð,' the latter being only $\frac{1}{30}$ of the former. Now, though the 'scegð' was a light and swift vessel, it was not necessarily a very small one.' In Crawford Charters, p. 23, we have one which has sixty-four oars, and some of Alfred's 'longships' had no more than sixty; see 897, *supra*. Fl. Wig. translates it by 'trieris,' and so it is glossed in Wülker, cc. 165, 289; though in the former gloss the explanation 'litel scip' is also given. It is borrowed from the O. N. skeið, *q. v.*; and 'pirata' is glossed 'wicing oððe scegðman,' *ib. c. 111*, which seems to show that it was the ordinary craft used by the Scandinavian invaders; cf. Thorpe, Laws, i. 228; Schmid, p. 208; and note F Lat. here: 'unam magnam nauem quae Anglice nominatur scegþ.' However this may be, the view of Prof. Earle that we have here a glimpse of a unit of assessment made up of a group of three hundreds is fully borne out by a charter which, though not wholly genuine, probably represents the custom correctly; in this Edgar grants to Oswald and the monks of Worcester, 'ne cum regis ministris aut eius centuriatus, id est hundredes, exactoribus naumachiae expeditionem, quae ex tota Anglia regi inuenitur, faciant; sed . . . ut ipse episcopus cum monachis suis de istis tribus centuriatibus, id est hundredis . . . constituent unam naucupletionem, quod Anglice dicitur scyppfilleð oððe scyppsocne,' K. C. D. No. 514; Birch, No. 1135; cf. S. C. H. i. 105. Other instances of the grouping of hundreds by threes are given by Canon Isaac Taylor in Domesday Studies, i. 72-75, one of the groups being none other than our familiar friend the Chiltern Hundreds; cf. S. C. H. i. 108. E, F, Fl. Wig., H. H., all follow C in making the unit of assessment a district of 310 hides. We have instances of a 'scegð' bequeathed by will by Ælfhelm to the abbot and monks of Ships Naval assessment.

The 'scegð.'

Assessment by groups of three hundreds.

bequeathed
by will. Ramsey, K. C. D. No. 967; Birch, No. 1306; by Ælfwald, Bishop of Crediton, to the king, Crawford Charters, p. 23, and note. But the most interesting case is the will of Archbishop Ælfric, whose death was noted 1005 A, 1006 E; he leaves his best ship to the king, and two others to the folk of Kent and the shire of Wilton (note the difference) respectively, K. C. D. No. 716; the object, as Prof. Earle pointed out, being obviously to lighten the pressure of the local burdens on the two districts of which he had been prelate. A code of this very year, 1008, is preserved, the 27th article of which is that a naval force shall be ready every year after Easter; unfortunately, no details are given. Thorpe, i. 310; cf. *ib.* 322, 324, 380, 382; Schmid, pp. 224, 232, 239, 276. For the 'helm and byrnie,' cf. Thorpe, i. 188; Schmid, pp. 398, 667; S. C. H. i. 109. Probably they also were for the equipment of the fleet; for with the ship which Archbishop Ælfric bequeathed to the king, *u. s.*, he bequeathed also sixty helms and sixty byrnies.

Naval
legislation.

National
fast.

1009 E] It is probable that to this year belongs an ordinance of king and witan, ordering a national fast on the three days next before Michaelmas, 'et . . . ut in omni congregatione cantetur cotidie . . . missa . . . quae inscripta est contra paganos. Et ad singulas horas decantet totus conuentus extensis membris in terra psalmum, "Domine qui multiplicati sunt" et collectam contra paganos,' Thorpe, i. 336-339; Schmid, pp. 240-243; who adds an Anglo-Saxon version which is not in Thorpe. For the date, see *ib.* p. liv. In the canons of Ælfric it is ordered that the mass 'Contra Paganos' shall be said every Wednesday, Thorpe, Laws, ii. 362.

pes ƿe us bec secgað] Note the literary allusion, possibly to earlier chronicles; cf. *supra*, p. 139.

Brihtric
accuses
Wulfnoth.

Brihtric . . . Wulfnoð cild] Fl. Wig. i. 160, places this incident under 1008, 'a little before' the assessment for the fleet, instead of 'a little before' the actual assembly of the fleet. Under 1007 he gives a list of Edric's six brothers, the first being this Brihtric, to whom he gives a character nearly as bad as that of Edric himself. The last on the list is Æthelmær, whom Fl. Wig. makes father of Wulfnoth, the father of Earl Godwine. Now it will be seen from the critical notes that MS. F of the Chron. makes the 'Wulfnoth child the South Saxon' of the present annal father of Earl Godwine. Fl. Wig. does not identify Wulfnoth, the son of Æthelmær, with Wulfnoth the South Saxon, though later writers have commonly assumed that he regarded them as the same. Mr. Freeman has shown, F. N. C. i. 701 ff., that it is extremely unlikely that Godwine should have been the great-nephew of a man so nearly his own contemporary as Edric; on the other hand, he is inclined to accept the statement that he was the son of Wulfnoth the South Saxon, adducing some (not quite conclusive) documentary evidence in its favour. On 'Wulfnoth cild,' cf. *ib.* 648 ff.; on the events of this year, *ib.* 340 ff.; C. P. B. ii. 121, 122, 125, 126, 588.

for wregde] *'iniuste accusavit,'* Fl. Wig.

p. 139. se . . . unfrið here] 'Je we heton Ðurkilles here,' adds C; and Fl. Wig. says further that later in the year, in August, another Danish fleet came to Thanet under Heming and Eglaf, that the two fleets then proceeded to Sandwich, and attacked Canterbury, i. 160, 161. On Thurkill, see F. N. C. i. 651 ff.; Liebermann, p. 205. Heming, one of the leaders of the second fleet, was Thurkill's brother, while Eglaf was a brother of Gytha, the wife of Earl Godwine, Crawford Charters, pp. 139 ff. Eglaf signs as 'dux' and 'comes' under Cnut, 1018-1024.

swa heora gewuna wæs] E has here obliterated an interesting mark of contemporary writing in C and D: 'swa heora gewuna is' (there is a precisely similar instance in 1016, i. 150, 151, *infra*); lower down is another such mark, which E has preserved, 'si Gode lof . . . heo gyt . . . stent.' This latter sentence must have been written before the submission of London to Sweden in 1013.

æfter middan wintra] Florence, beginning the year with January 1, places these events in 1010, 'mense Januario.' The Chron. here seems to begin the year either with March 25 or with Easter, for the first date under 1010 is 'ofer Eastron.' Yet, in 1014, Feb. 3 is placed at the beginning of the year; while in 1016 the year begins with 'midwintertide,' i. e. either Dec. 25 or Jan. 1. See Appendix to Introduction.

namon hit . . . to scipan weard] 'praedam agunt,' Fl. Wig. i. 162, and this is probably the right explanation of the indefinite 'hit.'

p. 140. ge wendon . . . Stane] i. e. as the careful Fl. Wig. explains, the part of the army which was ravaging on the northern bank, crossed at Staines.

lencten] Not 'Lent,' as Fl. Wig. i. 162 and F. N. C. i. 343, but 'Spring,' Germ. Lenz, as Prof. Earle rightly takes it.

1010 E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. i. 344-347.

ofer Eastron] Easter in 1010 was on Apr. 9.

æt Gipes wic] 'ad Gippesuuich uersus solis ortum cum quodam Turkillo appulsis nauibus confinia S. Eadmundi exterminantibus,' S. Edm. Mirac., Martene et Durand, vi. 829; Liebermann, p. 205.

eodon . . . Ulfcytel . . . fyrde] 'ad locum qui Ringmere dicitur,' Ulfcytel. Fl. Wig. i. 162; cf. C. P. B. ii. 98, 125, 153. On Ulfcytel, see F. N. C. i. 639 f. He seems to have been alderman of East Anglia, and son-in-law of the king, *ib.* 671. W. M., in his sketch of the disorganisation of Ethelred's reign, says of him and this battle: 'solus ex omnibus . . . impigre contra inuasores restitit; ita ut . . . multo plus afflicti qui uicerant, quam qui uicti erant, aestimarentur. Nec . . . piguit barbaros ueritatem confiteri, cum multotiens illam uictoriam deplorarent,' i. 190; cf. *ib.* 217: 'primus omnium piratas adortus, spem dedit posse illos superari.' He fell at Assandun, *infra*, 1016, i. 152. There is a bequest of his to Bury St. Edmund's, K. C. D. No. 1349; Birch, No. 1013.

prima ascensio Dni] i. e. May 18, in 1010; but Fl. Wig. gives May 5.

Bravery of the men of Cambridge-shire.

þa stod Grantabrycgscir] 'unde, dum Angli regnauerunt, laus Grantebrigiensis prouinciae splendide floruit,' H. H. p. 117. Into his account of these ravages of the Danes in the Eastern Counties, taken mainly from the Chronicle, H. H. inserts from local sources a tradition of a man of Balsham (Cambridgeshire) who held the steps of the church tower against the Danes, and a description of his own shire of Huntingdon, p. 178.

Æthelstan, the king's relative.

Æðelstan þes cynges aðum] 'Aðum' may be either son-in-law, 'gener,' Fl. Wig., or brother-in-law, 'sororius,' H. H. *u. s.*; Ann. Wav. Freeman assumes the former to be right, F. N. C. i. 671. There is nothing to show either way.

Wulfric, son of Leofwine.

Wulfric Leofwines sunu] Freeman, F. N. C. i. 656, 657, attempts an identification of Wulfric, on which doubt is thrown, Crawford Charters, p. 123. It is possible that his father was Leofwine, the son of Wulfstan, who (Wulfstan) was one of the heroes of Maldon, *ib.*

Thurecytel Myran heafod.

Æfices broðor] Probably the Æfic of 1002 E, i. 134.

Purcytel Myran heafod] Not, of course, to be confounded with the great Danish leader; though his name shows that Fl. Wig. is right in calling him '*Danicus* minister.' A gloss in Fl. Wig. explains his nickname 'equae caput'; but H. H. 'caput formicae,' adding: 'et opprobrium meruit sempiternum.' If this derivation is correct, the first part of the word is the 'mire' or 'myre' which we get in 'pismire,' an ant.

æst nyxtan, 7c.] Cf. Lib. de Hyda, p. 212.

p. 141. to Hamtune] 'Northamtuniam,' Fl. Wig. i. 163.

1011 E] On this year, see F. N. C. i. 348-350.

Ravages of the Danes.

Hi heafdon þa ofergan] Of this list of counties W. M. says: 'quorum nomina propter barbariem linguae scribere refugio,' i. 188.

Hastings.

Hæstingas] The name of a district, or, more strictly, of a tribe; and not merely of a town; though later it was loosely used as such, 1052 C, D, *ad init.*; 1066 E; 1094 E. The name of the town is properly 'Hæstingaport,' 1066 D, i. 199, or 'Hæstinga ceaster,' 1050 D, i. 170; Laws, Thorpe, i. 208; Schmid, p. 140; and in the Bayeux tapestry, a fact which has been thought to indicate that the tapestry was wrought in England, F. N. C. iii. 571. C has merely 'Hæsting' without any termination. Fl. Wig., not recognising the force of the term, has omitted it.

gafol bedan] 'opþe wið gefeohtan,' adds C more patriotically.

folc mælum] For 'flocmælum,' C, D, cf. 'hie wæron flocmælum hiderweard,' Oros. p. 200; Ælf. Hom. i. 142.

Siege of Canterbury.

hi ymbe sætan Cantwara burh] According to Osbern, the city was ill provisioned, which is likely enough, Ang. Sac. ii. 133.

Misreading.

Leofwine aþþ] So F; H. H.; and Ann. Wav.; a mistake due to the following 'Godwine'; the true reading is that of C, D, 'Leofrune abbt,' *i. e.* 'Leofruna abbatissa monasterii S. Mildrythæ,' Fl. Wig. i. 164.

Godwine þ] 'Hrofensis episcopus,' Fl. Wig.

Ælismær,

Ælsmær aþþ hi lætan aweg] 'abbas monasterii S. Augustini,' Fl. Wig.

If he were the traitor who admitted the Danes, his release would be accounted for; but Fl. Wig. calls the traitor 'Ælmarus archidiaconus.' Thorn calls him 'Almericus archidiaconus.' Ælfræd of St. Augustine's became Bishop of Sherborne in 1017, cc. 1781 ff. Abbot of St. Augustine's.

p. 142. *pa burh ealle asmeade*] 'That the Cathedral was sacked and burned is a matter of course for which we hardly need any evidence,' F. N. C. i. 350. Eadmer, who had at least as good means of knowing, says the direct contrary as to the burning: 'ecclesia ipsa in passione beatissimi martyris [Ælfege] nec igne consumpta, nec tecto aut parietibus diruta fuit,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 418. (By the time he reached F. N. C. iv. 125, Mr. Freeman had discovered this passage.) It was during this desolation of Canterbury that the Glastonbury monks were said to have stolen the body of Dunstan for their own monastery, a myth which Eadmer wrote an indignant letter to refute, *ib.* 412-422. There seems to be an allusion to the sack of Canterbury and the capture of Ælfheah in Wulfstan, p. 163; cf. F. N. C. i. 669. From this time Eadmer dates a great decline of monasticism at Canterbury, *u. s. p.* 236. Canterbury plundered.

Wæs ða ræpling, 7c.] Eadmer seems to catch an echo of this dirge: 'Ecclesia, totius Britanniae insulae mater, in occisione sui patris ac filiorum afflicta,' &c., *ib.* 414; cf. H. H. p. 179. Harrowing details in Fl. Wig. from Osbern, Ang. Sac. ii. 135. Dirge.

swa lange] Between six and seven months, September—April. W. M. thinks it shows the extremity of Ethelred's degradation that he should have made no attempt to rescue the archbishop, G. P. p. 34. Perhaps he was too busy with the Welsh expedition of this year, on which see F. N. C. i. 348, 349. According to Osbern, one of the torments of the primate's imprisonment was the 'ranarum importunitas,' Ang. Sac. ii. 136. Captivity of Ælfheah.

1012 E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. i. 350-354; and on the martyrdom of Ælfheah, *ib.* 658-663.

pa yldestan witan] For the phrase, *v. s.* on 978 E. It is curious that no mention is made of the king.

Idus Aþr.] April 13. This is right for the Easter of 1012.

viii. pusend punda] This is a mere slip for C and D's £48,000; it is, however, followed by F, H. H., W. M. i. 207, and Ann. Wav.

he nolde heom nan feoh be haten] These words are express and emphatic (cf. Ang. Sac. ii. 138). Mr. Freeman, who says: 'the witness of the Chronicles I of course accept unhesitatingly,' nevertheless prefers Thietmar's story, which he had from an Englishman named Sewald (though he calls the archbishop *Dunstan I*), that Ælfheah first promised a ransom, and then recanted, Pertz, iii. 849. Thietmar adds that Thurkill endeavoured vainly to save the archbishop's life. Fl. Wig. gives various details which, so far as they come from Osbern, are not wholly reliable. Ælfheah's refusal to ransom himself.

hine . . . oftorfodon] Cf. 'hiene oftyrfdon his agene geferan' = 'lapidibus coopertus interiit,' Oros. p. 172. His martyrdom.

sloh hine þa an] 'Ad ultimum quidam, Thrum nomine, quem confirmavit pridie, impia motus pietate securim capiti illius infixit,' Fl. Wig. i. 165. Mr. Freeman accepts this. With the exception of the name it comes from Osbern, *u. s.* p. 141. Osbern expressly says that he omitted proper names, 'quoniam dicendi primitias barbaricis appellationibus decolorare nolo,' *ib.* 122. Osbern's life is printed in Ang. Sac. ii. 122 ff. It is very hagiological and unhistorical, but it was authorised by Lanfranc, Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, lib. i. p. 11. It is, as W. M. says, 'plena uirtutibus et miraculis,' G. P. p. 33. 'The scene of the martyrdom was Greenwich (whither Ælfheah had been conveyed from Canterbury by Sandwich), and probably the very site on which Greenwich church stands;—they would no doubt have wished to plant the church on the identical spot, and would have taken pains to ascertain it. The church is dedicated to St. Ælfheah. . . . An old triforium window in the north aisle of Canterbury Cathedral represents the story,' Earle.

Ælfhun,
Bishop of
London.

þa biscopas Eadnoð 7 Ælfhun] The latter was Bishop of London. He attempted to get possession for his own church of the relics of St. Edmund of East Anglia, which for three years (1010–1013) were deposited in St. Gregory's church in London, for fear of the Danes, Liebermann, pp. 205, 206. Eadnoth was Bishop of Dorchester, 1006–1016. He fell at Assandun, *infra*, 1016, i. 152. Fl. Wig., by an anachronism, calls him Bishop of Lincoln, i. 165, 178. The see was not moved to Lincoln till 1094. He was a pupil of Archbishop Oswald, and bursar, 'dispensator,' under him of the monastery at Worcester; and was sent by him to superintend the construction of the monastery of Ramsey, H. Y. i. 423, 430; ii. 20; where he subsequently became provost or prior, Fl. Wig. i. 178.

Eadnoth,
Bishop of
Dorchester.

p. 143. 7 þær nu, 7c.] Note the touch of contemporary writing, for the relics were translated to Canterbury in 1023, *infra*.

Ða bugon . . . -xlv. scipa] With Thurkill at the head of them, F. N. C. i. 353, 652; see next annal.

1013 E] On the events of this year and Swegen's invasion, see F. N. C. i. 354–360; C. P. B. ii. 102 ff., 577.

Contem-
porary
writing.

Lifing ð] 'qui et Athelstanus, Wellensis episcopus,' gloss in Fl. Wig. i. 166; H. H. calls him Lefwing, p. 180; he is called Ælfstan, *infra*, 1019 D. He is not mentioned again in the Chronicle till his death, 1019 D, 1020 E. At some time between 1016 and 1020 he went to Rome and brought letters and messages from the Pope to Cnut, Earle's Charters, p. 229.

Living.

Gegnes burh] See above on 902 C.

Uttred.

Uhtred eorl] He had played a valiant part in the invasion of the Scots in 1006 (*v. s.* p. 185), and Ethelred had made him Earl of all Northumbria (both Bernicia and Deira). His marriage relations were complicated, but ultimately he married Ælfgyfu, a daughter of Ethelred, S. D. i. 215, 216. His death is narrated below under 1016; cf. Robertson, E. K. S. i. 92–95.

pet folc of Fif burhingan] 'into Fifburgum,' D. The people of the

The Five
Boroughs,

five Danish Boroughs. This shows, as Freeman remarks, that they must still have retained something of their special organisation, p. 356; cf. on 942 A.

eall here be norðan Wætlinga stræte] *i. e.* all the Danish-settled part of England. 'Wætlinga stræta, id est strata quam filii Weatlae regis, ab Orientali mare usque ad Occidentale per Angliam strauerunt,' Fl. Wig. *u. s.*; cf. H. H. p. 12, on the four great roads; and Dr. Guest's Essay, *Origines Celticae*, ii. 218 ff. Lower in this annal we have the form 'Wæclinga stræt,' and this is the form in Bede, H. E. i. 7, where see note; cf. C. P. B. i. 420.

Watling Street.

his here metian . . . mid fulre fyrde] From this it appears, as Mr. Freeman points out, that Swegen forced the regular levies of the north-eastern shires to accompany him on his progress southward, their hostages, who were left with Cnut, acting as security for their fidelity. (For the fate of these hostages, *v. infra*, 1014, *sub fin.*) Later in this annal, i. 144, we find Swegen at Bath, 'mid his fyrde.' The phrase 'mid fulre fyrde' occurs again in 1014 of Ethelred. The districts which submitted were spared, but as soon as Watling Street was crossed, 'hi wrohton þ mæste yfel þe ænig here don mihte,' a hint which Fl. Wig. *u. s.* luxuriantly expands.

English troops in Swegen's army.

p. 144. Æþelmer ealdor man] 'Comes Domnaniae,' Fl. Wig. i. 167. In K. C. D. No. 708 is a letter of Æthelric, Bishop of Sherborne, to him, complaining that some lands belonging to his see were wrongfully kept from him.

Alderman Æthelmær.

eall peodscipe hine heafde for fullne cyning] This seems to point to some form of deposition of Ethelred and election of Swegen, *v. F. N. C. i.* 358, 663 ff.; and to the passages there cited add, Hermann, *Mirac. S. Eadm.* 'praesens habeatur Anglorum cronica, in qua per annos dominicales regum Anglorum repperiri possunt annales, inter quos et Sweyn,' Liebermann, p. 234. That Ethelred's departure was not wholly voluntary seems to be shown by the words of Wulfstan in his famous homily, 'ad Anglos,' 'Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde,' ed. Napier, p. 160; the vote of the witan inviting him to return, 1014, *infra*, perhaps implies something of the same kind. W. M. gives a very imaginative description of Ethelred's departure, and his speech on the occasion, i. 207-210.

Election of Swegen as king.

þam here . . . on Grenawic] *i. e.* the forty-five ships, the remnant of the Danish force which had come over to Ethelred, 1012, *ad fin.* They seem from what follows to have been scarcely less fatal to the English now than in the days of their avowed hostility; and Fl. Wig. expressly understands the words which follow, 'hi hergodan,' &c., as including Thurkill.

Danish ships in English service.

Ælfun þ] On him, see above, 1012. W. M. turns him into a Bishop of Durham, confusing him with Aldhun.

byre] Only here in the Chronicles; and Earle and Bosworth-Toller 'byre.' can only produce one other instance in Anglo-Saxon literature, *viz.* the Lay of Brihtnoth, l. 121, ed. Grein, 'þa he byre hæfde,' 'when he had oppor-

tunity.' A third instance will be found in Wulfstan, p. 123: 'ær þam byre, þe he wite eal.' Of the compound 'gebyre' only one instance is cited.

Peterborough addition.

7 Ða hwile, 7c.] This is peculiar to E, and is the ninth of the Peterborough insertions. In reference to this purchase, Hugo Candidus, in his history of Peterborough, says: 'unde monachi . . . monasterii S. Florentini . . . gemunt per saecula, sicut nobis retulerunt quidam ex ipsis qui eum requirere et orare uenerunt in Anglia,' in Sparke's *Scriptores*, p. 32. On the relic-mongering of the Middle Ages something has been said in Bede, II. 157, 158. To the references there given may be added S. D. i. 88, 89; Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. cxv-cxvii; W. M. i. 181; G. P. pp. 311, 329, 419 f. (who professes horror at the traffic); Hardy, *Cat.* i. 631, 669.

Removal of relics owing to Scandinavian inroads.

The ravages of the Northmen on the continent caused many translations and sales of relics: 'piratis . . . omnem oram . . . infestantibus corpora Sanctorum de Britannia Minori et . . . Normannia translata, et ad tutiora loca delata, facile cuilibet pro penuria baiulorum uenum patebant, praesertim Ethelstano, regi . . . talium rerum appetentissimo,' W. M. i. 154, 155; cf. G. P. pp. 397-400. Of the relics given by Athelstan to Exeter it is said: 'he sende men ofer sæ, . . . 7 hig ferdon swa wide landes swa hig faran mihton, 7 mid þam madmun begeaton þa deorwurðestan madmas þe æfre ofer eorðan begitene mihton beon, þ was haligdom se mæsta of gehwilcum stowum wydan 7 sydan gegaderod, 7 hig þone þam . . . cyninge brohton,' Birch, ii. 389.

St. Florentinus.

Boneual] Bonneval in dep. Eure-et-Loir. St. Florentinus was martyred, c. 406, D. C. B. ii. 538; AA. SS. Sept. vii. 404 ff.; cf. Hyde Reg. p. 91. For other purchases by Abbot Ælfsige, cf. K. C. D. No. 733.

Legends as to Swegen's death.

1014 E. Her . . . Swegen ge eodode his dagas] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. i. 360-369, 666, 667. The legend that Swegen was miraculously slain by St. Edmund of East Anglia, whose honour he had insulted and whose franchises he had violated, is given by Fl. Wig. i. 168, 169, from some Passion of St. Edmund; cf. G. P. p. 155; W. M. i. 212, 213. There is a similar legend about Julian the Apostate, Ælf. Hoin. i. 452; to which legend reference is expressly made in S. Eadm. Mirac., Martene et Durand, vi. 827, according to which Swegen's body was salted and taken back to Denmark, *ib.* 829. But according to S. D. ii. 146, a passage added to the text of Fl. Wig., he was buried at York; to which Gaimar adds that 'after ten years or more' the body was translated to Norway, *rv.* 4161 ff.

Candelmas.

to candel mæssan] Cf. Ælf. Hom. i. 150: 'we sceolon on ðisum dæge beran ure leoht to cyrcan, 7 lætan hi çær bletsian; 7 . . . gan siððan mid þam leohte betwux Godes husum, 7 singan ðone lofsang ðe þerto geset is.'

Consecration of Ælfwig, Bishop of London.

man hadode Ælfwig . . . on Eoforwic (note 7)] This is only in D, and is obviously a later insertion, interrupting the context. Why Ælfwig was consecrated to London, at York, by Wulfstan, is not mentioned;

probably Living had gone to Rome for his pallium. There are several St. Juliana's mass-days in the calendar; Stubbs decides for that on Feb. 16. Ep. Succ. p. 18 [ed. 2, p. 33].

p. 145. *þa witan ealle*] 'þe on Englalande wæron,' adds C. Several no doubt had left England under the stress of the Danish invasions. Recall of Ethelred.

ge hadode ge læwede] Cf. 'ge bescorene ge læwede,' Bede, p. 160, and *ib.* 406. On Ethelred's return, cf. C. P. B. ii. 116, 152, 588.

ælc þæra þinga betan] The code of 1014 is obviously an attempt to fulfil this promise; cf. especially § 39; '7 git mæg þeah bót cuman; wille hit man georne on eornost áginnan,' Thorpe, i. 340 ff.; Schmid, pp. 242 ff.; cf. *ib.* liv.

þe hi[m] gedon oððe ge cweðen wære] Perhaps a reference to the decree deposing Ethelred. See p. 191.

æfre ælcne] This is a compound, = Mid. Eng. 'everich,' modern 'every'; see Napier, Dissertation on Wulfstan, p. 66. In S. D. ii. 373, this seems to be understood of a general expulsion of the Danes.

innan þam lenctene] Here 'lencten' probably does mean Lent.

sætt Cnut . . . on Gegnes burh] It is therefore very unlikely that he returned to Denmark to consult his brother after the death of Swegen, as the Encomium Emmae says, Pertz, xix. 514, 515. Movements of Cnut.

to Sandwic] 'qui est omnium Anglorum portuum famosissimus,' Encomium Emmae, *u. s.*, 'portus . . . ad receptionem nauium habilis,' Ang. Sac. ii. 133.

þa gislas] *i. e.* the hostages of the shires north of Watling Street, see p. 191. Mutilation of hostages.

7 cearf of . . . heora nosa] Fl. Wig. follows the reading of C, D (*v.* critical note), H. H. that of E; W. M. adds details of his own, i. 213; cf. Oros. p. 218: 'he het him eallum þa honda of aceorfan'; cf. *ib.* 68, and Adam Bremensis, Pertz, vii. 317.

xxi. þusend punda] So C, D, and H. H.; but Florence says, 'xxx millia'; probably a mere slip.

pet mycele sæ flod] 'Addidit Dominus malis solitis malum insolitum,' Flood. H. H. p. 181.

It may be noted that 1014 is the date of the famous battle of Clontarf Clontarf. which broke the power of the Danes in Ireland. Danes from England possibly took part in it; cf. G. G. pp. clxvii ff.

1015 E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. i. 369-374.

Sigeferð 7 Morcær] 'filios Earngrimi,' Fl. Wig. i. 170.

p. 146. *þa yldestan þægenas*] See above, on 978 E.

in to Seofon burgum] Freeman, following Lingard, says, 'the Five Boroughs with the addition of York and Chester,' *u. s.* p. 371. For additional details, *v.* W. M. i. 213, 214. Freeman accepts them, *u. s.*, saying: 'he professes to have read them in the local annals of St. Frithswyth's.' I am not sure that W. M.'s words mean as much as this; they run thus:

'legi ego scriptum quod in archiuo eiusdem ecclesie continetur index facti.' This *may* mean, 'I have read a document which exists in the archives of that church as a record of the event'; but it may only mean, 'I have seen it somewhere stated that in the archives of that church a record of the event exists,' *or*, 'that in the record room of that church, traces of the event may still be found.'

Edmund
Ironsides.

Eadmund æðeling] The first mention of Edmund Ironside. On the question of his birth, which is very obscure, *v. F. N. C. i. 669-673*. A document relating to him as Etheling is in *K. C. D. vi. 154*.

Malmes-
bury.

Mealdelmes byrig] 'Ealdelmes byrig,' *C. D. Malmesbury*; on the various forms of this name, *v. Bede, II. 310, 311*.

Edmund's
marriage.

ge nam þ wif] Fl. Wig. calls her Ealdgyth, and Gaimar makes her sister of a Welsh king, and says that the Welsh helped Edmund on this account, *vr. 4221 ff.* Ealdgyth is an impossible name for a Welsh princess. I suspect Gaimar confused her with Ealdgyth, *widow* of Gruffydd, and wife of Harold II. For laws against the abduction of widows, see Thorpe, *i. 324, 406*; Schmid, *pp. 232, 300*. If a widow voluntarily married within a year she forfeited her 'morning-gift' and any property which she had from her first husband, *ib. 310*; Thorpe, *i. 416*.

com Cnut . . . to Sandwic] 'rediit a Dacia in Sandwic,' *H. H. p. 181*.

Eadmund be norðan] *i. e.* in his new lordships, 'Sigeferðes are 7 Morcares,' as Freeman points out, *u. s. p. 374*.

Defection
of Eadric.

Eadric . . . beah . . . to Cnute] The Encomium Emmae places here also the desertion of Thurkill, Pertz, *xix. 514, 515*. Certainly either now or a little later he reverted to the Danish side, *F. N. C. i. 374, 652*. For an ingenious theory as to the motive of Thurkill's defection, *v. Crawford Charters, p. 141*.

Distribu-
tion of the
English
and Danish
forces.

1016 E] On this annal, *v. F. N. C. i. 374-397*. Mr. Freeman remarks that at the beginning of the campaign, contrary to the usual rule, England, north of the Thames, was held by the English Etheling, while England, south of the Thames, was held by the Danish invader. However, the northern march of Cnut and the death of Ured soon altered this, and at the time of Ethelred's death, London almost alone held out for the national cause. On the other hand, Wessex returned to its allegiance soon after Edmund's accession, *infra, i. 149*. Florence's account of this eventful year seems at first sight to differ considerably from that of the Chronicle, especially after the death of Ethelred. But when the two narratives come to be compared in detail the differences between them are not so great. Florence makes several additions to the Chronicle. Some of these, such as the election of Cnut, evidently rest on good authority. Others are mere inferences, generally correct, from the language of the Chron., and are inserted to give greater clearness to the narrative. Others are of a more doubtful character; and the speeches are quite imaginary, being based on

Fl. Wig.'s
version.

Sallust, as Mr. Petrie pointed out, M. H. B. p. 591. The only point in which the two authorities really conflict is as to the date of Edric's submission to Edmund, for an explanation of which, see below, p. 197.

clx. scipa] These words are only in E, F, followed by H. H. and Ann. Wav.; H. H. understands them to mean that Cnut, with 160 ships, and Edric, with the 40 ships which he had seduced, sailed up the Thames together, p. 182. But the phrase 'ofer Temese' seems certainly to refer to the passage of a land army, and the words 'clx scipa' are wrongly inserted in E(ε).
Wrong in-
sertion in
E(ε).

But the phrase 'ofer Temese' seems certainly to refer to the passage of a land army, and the words 'clx scipa' are wrongly inserted by a scribe who fancied that a *here* must imply ships. It is like the absurd mistake which Livy makes, iv. 34 *ad fin.*, through fancying that *classis* can only refer to a naval force. Fl. Wig. says distinctly, 'cum multo equitatu annem Tamensem . . . transeuntes,' i. 171.

p. 147. þa ne on hagode him, 7c.] 'cum West Saxonice et Danis nolebant congregari Mercenses, nisi cum illis essent rex . . . et ciues Lundonienses,' *ib.*

be fullum wite] The reign of Ethelred is full of enactments on this subject, Thorpe, i. 310 (*bis*), 322-324; Schmid, pp. 224, 232, 239; for earlier and later laws, *ib.* 44, 276, 304; Thorpe, i. 134, 382, 410. Other offences were also more heavily punished if the fyrd was out, *ib.* i. 88; Schmid, p. 94. Legislation on the fyrd

7 hergodon hi, 7c.] Edmund ravaged these counties, 'quia aduersus Danorum exercitum ad pugnam exire noluerunt,' according to Fl. Wig. i. 172.

p. 148. wende him þa út, 7c.] sc. 'Canutus et Edricus Streona,' *ib.*

hine man . . . of sloh] 'ðuruh Eadrices ræd ealdormannes,' C. This looks like a later touch, designed to throw the blame on the national scapegoat; cf. Fl. Wig. 1017 *ad init.* He was slain 'a Turebrando nobili et Danico uiro,' *ib.* i. 172; = 'Turebrant cognomento hold,' S. D. i. 218; ii. 197, 383. S. D. places the scene at 'Wiheal,' perhaps Wighill, near Tadcaster, and says that forty chief men were massacred with Utred. He also says that Cnut had vainly tried to seduce Utred from his allegiance; but wrongly places the murder after, instead of before, the death of Ethelred. On 'purcytel Nafanan sunu' I have found nothing. Slaying of Utred.

Yric] On this Eric, who figures largely in Scandinavian history, see an account, chiefly from Scandinavian sources, in Crawford Charters, pp. 142-148; cf. C. P. B. ii. 98. He signs as 'dux' and 'comes,' 1018-1023. Eric.

eall swa Uhtred wæs] Yet S. D. *u. s.* says that Utred was succeeded by his brother Eadwulf Cudel (who ceded Lothian to the Scots), and Eadwulf by Utred's son Aldred. Perhaps Eadwulf had Bernicia, and Eric, Deira. So S. C. S. i. 392; F. N. C. i. 377. Earls in North-umbria.

on s̄cs Georius mæsse dæge] April 23, and so most of the authorities. W. M. says: 'die S. Gregorii,' *i. e.* March 12, but this is probably a mere error. Many instances of the form 'Georius' will be found in the indices to Pertz, ix, xvii, xxv; Ælf. Lives, i. 306. So 'Gurius' = Gurges, Oros. Death of Ethelred.

p. 140; geceed = geceged, Bede, p. 114; conversely Gagijs = Gaius, *ib.* 6. On this tendency to reduce *g* between vocalic sounds, see Bede, II. 145, 373.

His troubled reign.

æfter mycclum . . . earfoðnissum] Cf. 'þa feng Philippus tó . . . rice, 7 hit ealle hwile on miclan pleo 7 on miclan earfeþan hæfde,' Oros. p. 110. The troubles of Ethelred's reign are often alluded to in the laws.

Double election.

æfter his ende, 7c.] The Chron. gives the election of Edmund, but not the counter-election of Cnut. This appears most clearly in Fl. Wig.:

Fl. Wig.'s account,

'cuius post mortem, episcopi, abbates, duces, et quique nobiliores Angliæ, in unum congregati, pari consensu, in dominum et regem sibi Canutum elegere, et ad eum in Suthamtonia uenientes, omnemque progeniem regis Ægelredi coram illo abnegando repudiantes, pacem cum eo composuere, et fidelitatem illi iurauere; quibus et ille iurauit quod et secundum Deum et secundum seculum, fidelis esse uellet eis dominus,' i. 173. One is almost inclined to surmise that there may have been something of this kind in one of Florence's copies of the Chronicle. It is as different as possible from the pseudo-classical style into which he falls when he is writing out of his own head (cf. the very next page: 'deinde tubicines canere, et cohortes paulatim incedere iubet,' &c., i. 174), and rests obviously on a Saxon original. It would not be hard to make a very plausible restoration of this original. Take, *e.g.*, the last sentence: '7 hé heom behét, 7 éac mid áðe fæstnode, þæt hé heom hold hláford béon wolde, for Gode 7 for worulde'; *i.e.* 'in all causes ecclesiastical and civil'; not 'before God and before the world,' F. N. C. i. 379, which neither translates the Saxon 'for' nor Florence's 'secundum.' Cf. the opening of Cnut's famous letter to his people preserved in the York Gospel Book: 'ic cyðe eow þ ic wylle beon hold hlaforð 7 unswicende to Godes gerihtum 7 to rihtre worold lage,' Earle, Charters, p. 229. On the elections of Cnut and Edmund, see F. N. C. i. 673-677. Ademar says: 'Canotus . . . mortuo Adalrado . . . regnum eius dolo cepit,' Pertz, iv. 140. On the war between Cnut and Edmund, see F. N. C. i. 677-688; C. P. B. ii. 155, 156, 578, 589.

based on a Saxon original

p. 150. æt Sceorstane] Sherston, Wilts, *v.* F. N. C. i. 679. The story that Edric threw the English into a panic by holding up the head of a slain man and crying, 'Flee, flee, Edmund is dead,' is placed by Fl. Wig. i. 175. and W. M. i. 215, at the battle of Sherston, by H. H. p. 184 at the battle of Ashingdon. If the story is anything more than a wandering folk-tale tacked on to Edric, I must hold (against Freeman, *u. s.* p. 679) that the latter is the more probable. At Sherston Edric was fighting on the Danish, at Ashingdon on the English side. The panic would much more naturally be caused by such an exclamation from one of their own side than by one coming from an enemy. A good parallel to this in modern warfare will be found in a description of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, Nineteenth Century, xxvii. 402. That Edric should himself 'profess to have killed Edmund' is not essential to the story, and only appears in W. M.

Battle of Sherston.

Eadric . . . 7 Ælmaer Deorlinge] Fl. Wig. adds: 'Algarus filius Traitors. Meawes . . . cum Suthamtoniensibus et Wiltoniensibus,' i. 175. We have an 'Oter dyrling,' Earle, Charters, p. 256, and 'Dirling' alone, as a name, *ib.* 273.

ferde to Lundene] Note the addition in C, critical note 3.

pa burhware ahredde] The simple verb 'to rid,' in the sense of 'ahred-dan,' 'deliver,' occurs in the Psalter of 1539 in Pss. xviii. 49; lxxi. 1. In both places the archaism disappeared in 1611. It occurs, however, Pss. lxxxii. 4; cxliv. 7, 11; Gen. xxxvii. 22; Ex. vi. 6.

Æn[g]li[s]ces folces] Cf. 'ænlic' for 'ængelic,' Bede, p. 97. Cf. *ib.* p. 1. p. 151. **ferde innan Cent]** 'ac iuxta Ottafordam cum Danis pugnam iniit,' Fl. Wig. i. 177.

Eadric . . . ge wende pa ƿæne cyng ongean] It is clear that the chronicler means by these words to describe the submission of Eadric to Edmund after the battle of Otford, and his contemptuous comment refers to the folly of Edmund in accepting that submission. The phrase 'ongean euman' is used in exactly the same way of persons coming in to make their submission in 972 D, E: 'þer him comon ongean vi cyningas, 7 ealle wið hine getreowsodon.' Fl. Wig., who had placed the submission of Eadric after the battle of Sherston, *v. s.*, here inserts an account of how he treacherously prevented Edmund from following up his victory and destroying the Danes as he might have done; so H. H. p. 184. I suspect that all this comes of a mere misunderstanding of the Chronicle. Florence interpreted the words 'gewende . . . ongean' of opposition, not of submission, and then, in order to explain how Eadric came to be in a position to oppose Edmund's movements, inserts his submission at an earlier point. The translations in F Lat. and Ann. Wav. show that the passage was not understood.

p. 152. Assandun] 'i. e. Mons Asini,' Fl. Wig. Ashingdon, Essex, south of the Crouch estuary, F. N. C. i. 680, 681. The modern name is corrupted by 'volksætimologie'; *æsc* becomes ash, as in *Æscsedun* = Ash-down; but *Assan-* cannot become Ashing- by any legitimate process. The -ing- is of course 'latronic,' as in Abingdon, &c. The Encomium Emmae calls the place 'Æscenedunum,' Pertz, xix. 517.

Da dyde Eadric, 7c.] It is in connexion with this that H. H. gives the story of the panic caused by Eadric's false assertion of the death of Edmund, *v. s.*

mid Mage sæton] The district of this tribe seems to have been on the borders of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. Florence, in one place, identifies them with the people of Herefordshire: 'nomina praesulum Magasetensium siue Herefordensium,' though the section is headed 'Hecana'; in another place he identifies them with the Hwiccas: 'Wigornia . . . et tunc et nunc totius Hwicciae uel Magasetaniae metropolis,' i. 238, 239; though here 'uel' may = et; see Bede, II. 83, 243. Under 1041 he speaks of a certain 'Roni comes Magasetensium,' i. 195

Submission of Eadric.

Fl. Wig. misunderstood the Chronicle.

Battle of Ashingdon.

Fresh treachery of Eadric.

The Mage-sæte.

(this is the Hrani or Ranig dux who signs under Cnut from 1018 to 1031); cf. Birch, iii. 242, 243; *infra*, p. 219.

Complete conquest of England.

gefeah him eall Engla land (*vel* peode, and so C)] 'and conquered all England,' not 'all England fought against Cnut,' F. N. C. i. 399. Even the blundered reading of D will not yield this sense, which would require '7 gefeah him wið eall Engla peod.' Mr. Freeman cites Prof. Earle's note, which might have kept him right.

Ecclesiastics present at the battle.

Eadnoð] 'Eadnoð biscop,' C, D rightly. H. H. wrongly supplies E's omission with the word 'dux.' Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, is meant; see on 1012 E, *supra*.

Wulsige abb.] Abbot of Ramsey. Of these ecclesiastics Fl. Wig. says: 'qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente conuenerant,' i. 178; but we have had before now prelates who wielded more carnal weapons; above, 823*, 833*, 992 E, and notes; cf. F. N. C. i. 391.

Alderman: Ælfric.

Ælfric ealdorman] In Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 396, is a letter from a Pope John to an 'Ælfric dux,' whom Dr. Stubbs believes to be this person. The Pope would then be John XV. Between Ælfric and Godwine Ann. Wav. inserts an 'Edwine dux'; this may be a mere dittography caused by the following 'Godwine'; but Æthelwine, 'the friend of God,' had a son named Edwin, who is coupled with Æthelweard in Chron. Rames. p. 103. See next note but two.

Godwine ealdorman] 'on Lindesige,' C.

Ulfcytel] On him, see above, on 1010 E, and for his death, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 141.

Æthelweard.

Æthelward Æðelsiges sunu] 'Ælfwines sunu,' D; 'Æðelwines sunu,' C. The last is right; he was son of Æthelwine, 'the friend of God,' H. Y. i. 467; Crawford Charters, p. 119. The latter had a brother Æthelsige, which may have helped the confusion, F. N. C. i. 622, 623; cf. H. Y. i. 428, 429, where (p. 429, l. 10) by a converse error Æthelwinus is written for Æthelsinus; see on 1018 E, *infra*, for a similar confusion.

'duguð.'

eall se dugoð] Cf. 'þegenas ge of East Cent ge of West Cent eal se duguð,' K. C. D. iv. 266 (a document of 995 × 1005), cf. Wulfstan, p. 14; Oros. p. 150: 'þær gefeol se mæsta dæl Macedonia duguðe'; *ib.* 190: 'hwæt Romana dugaðe gefeallen wæs.' Fl. Wig. says: 'totusque fere globus nobilitatis Anglorum, qui nullo in bello maius unquam uulnus . . . acceperunt,' i. 178.

Movements of Cnut.

æfter þisum gefeohte, 7c.] 'Cnut, tanta fretus uictoria, Londoniam et scepra cepit regalia,' H. H. pp. 184, 185; it is possible that he did so on his way from Essex to Gloucestershire; and in the final division of the kingdom, H. H. assigns London to Cnut; Fl. Wig., however, assigns it to Edmund, *v. infra*, p. 199.

Story of single combat between

p. 153. þa cyningas comon to gædere] Prof. Earle, in a note on this passage, made the very happy suggestion that the whole dramatic story of the single combat between Edmund and Cnut arose simply from

a misunderstanding of the phrase 'togædere cuman.' It is true that this phrase may be used of a hostile encounter, 992 E; 1119; but it is at least as often used of a friendly meeting, 1015 E, *ad fin.*; 1048 E, i. 174 t.; 1094. The mistake was perhaps further helped by the associations of the Scandinavian 'holmgang' (see Vigfússon, *s. v.*) or duel in an island, watched by the supporters of each party from opposite banks. The story first appears in H. H. *u. s.* It is not in Fl. Wig., who adds, however, details of his own; cf. F. N. C. i. 688-690. Gaimar's account is highly romantic, *rr.* 4255 ff.

æt Olanige] If we accept the statement of D and of Fl. Wig. that this was 'near Deerhurst,' then it can hardly be Alney Island, near Gloucester, as Deerhurst is near Tewkesbury. That the scribe of D had a special interest in Deerhurst, see 1053, 1056 D, and cf. Introduction, §§ 73, note, 115. I am inclined to trust his local knowledge; cf. Rev. C. S. Taylor, *The Danes in Gloucestershire*, p. 28.

7 heora freondscipe . . . mid aðe] Note the equivalent phrase in D, '7 wurdon feolagan 7 wedbroðra.' On the 'wedbrother,' see on 656 E. So in H. H. Cnut is made to exclaim 'simus fratres adoptiui,' p. 185; cf. 'frater mihi foederatus,' W. M. i. 219; *ib.* 224. In a spurious charter Cnut is made to call Edmund 'frater meus rex E.,' K. C. D. No. 747.

7 feng Eadmund, 7c.] For the phrase 'Cnut to Myrcean' of C, E, F, note that D has the more comprehensive 'Cnut to þam norð dæle.' The text of Florence, as restored from R. W., gives the division thus: 'West-Saxoniam, East Angliam, East-Saxoniam cum Lundonia [ciuitate, et totam terram ad australem plagam Tamesis fluminis obtinuit Eadmundus, Canuto aquilonares partes Angliæ obtinente; corona tamen] regni Eadmundo remansit,' i. 178. (The words in brackets are taken from R. W. to supply a lacuna in Fl. Wig.) H. H. gives London to Cnut, *v. s.*, so Gaimar *v.* 4387; but this is unlikely, though E (and E only) says that Cnut's forces wintered there. See F. N. C. i. 394, 690-693; and add to his authorities, Heremanni *Miracula S. Eadmundi* (written c. 1097): 'Cnutone . . . cum eo sceptrigerante, corona uero regni Æd m u n d o remanente,' Liebermann, pp. 234, 235. The Laws of Edward the Confessor, after giving the condition that the survivor was to have the whole, adds: 'nec interim aliquis eorum coronaretur,' Thorpe, i. 458; Schmid, p. 515. According to the French life of Edward the Confessor they shared not only England but Denmark (!), pp. 32-35.

Ða . . . forðferde . . . Eadmund] The Chronicles and Fl. Wig. i. 179, do not go beyond this simple statement. On the crop of later legends, see F. N. C. i. 694-698. The form of the story which appears in H. H. pp. 185, 186; W. M. i. 217, seems to me to be simply a wandering folk-tale, which was used whenever desired. Freeman, *u. s.*, gives several instances. To them may be added the case of Godfrey V, Duke of Lower

Edmund and Cnut.

Olanig.

Treaty of Edmund and Cnut.

Division of the kingdom.

Death of Edmund.

Later legends.

Lorraine, Pertz, xvi. 603. The earliest authority for attributing Edmund's death to Edric is Hermann, *u. s.*, though he does not profess to give details: 'perimitur insidiis Eodrici Streone, perfidissimi ducis.' The author of the French life of Edward the Confessor transfers to Edmund very nobly the epithet of Richard I:

'Ai Aedmund quer de liun

E tu peres par traisun

Godwin li queus de Kent,'

p. 47.

It is curious to find this crime laid to Godwine's charge, who certainly was not 'Count of Kent' at this time.

Abbots of
Abingdon.

Wulfgar . . . Æðelsige] This Abingdon notice comes naturally from the Abingdon Chron. C. The Abingdon text of Fl. Wig. places Wulfgar's death in 1017, in the twenty-eighth year of his abbacy, and says that he had preserved Abingdon in safety amid all the confusions of the time. It calls his successor Adelwinus, *i. e.* Æðelwine (we have had an instance of the confusion of these two names above, p. 198), and says that he was Cnut's confessor, and had great influence with him, Fl. Wig. i. 182, note; Chron. Ab. i. 432, 433; see below, p. 202.

Cnut sole
king.

pp. 154, 155. 1017 E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. i. 398-415. The arrangements connected with Cnut's accession probably extended from the end of 1016 to the beginning of 1017. Fl. Wig. gives lengthy details, the source of which I have not traced, but they sound rather mythical, i. 179, 180; and are evidently a parallel account to the shorter version taken from the Chron., i. 181. He expressly rejects the view, which Mr. Freeman accepts, *u. s.* p. 401, that Cnut was entitled to succeed under the compact of Olney, S. D. ii. 373.

The great
earldoms.

hit to dæld, 7c.] On the great earldoms, cf. F. N. C. *u. s.*; S. C. H. i. 202. On Thurkill and Eric, *v. s.* 1008, 1013, 1016. Thurkill did not enjoy his dignity long; he was exiled in 1021, *infra*. According to H. H. p. 186, and W. M. i. 219, Eric was also expelled, though doubt is thrown on this statement, Crawford Charters, p. 147.

Death of
Edric.

Eadric . . . of slagen] 'on Lunden swyðe rihtlice,' adds F; cf. W. M. i. 219: 'Edricus, quem digne infamare non possum'; 'li vif diable les enmene,' exclaims Gaimar, *v.* 4475, cf. *ib.* 4484. There is an interesting account of Edric in Heming's Chartulary, ed. Hearne, pp. 280, 281: 'Eo tempore, quo Edric, cognomento Streona, id est adquisitor, sub rege primitus Athelredo, et postea aliquandiu sub Cnut omni Anglorum regno praeerat, et quasi subregulus dominabatur, in tantum ut uillulas uillis, et prouincias prouinciis pro libito adiungeret, nam uicecomitatum de Wincelcumb, que per se tunc erat, uicecomitatu Gloceastre adiunxit, hic, tanta fretus potentia ab huius monasterii possessione, Leofsigo episcopo existente, ui . . . tres uillas abstulit. . . Sed non multo post ipse etiam omnia sua cum nita perdidit. Namque, iubente Cnut . . . occisus, atque extra murum I undonie proiectus, nec . . . sepulture iudicatus est dignus.'

On the later legends as to the manner of Edric's death, see F. N. C. i. Later legends. 720-722. That the other victims were put to death as adherents of Edric is inferred by later authorities, e. g. Ann. Winton.; '1017. Occisio Eadrici ducis et sociorum eius,' Liebermann, p. 71; cf. F. N. C. i. 411, xxxiv, but cannot be certainly assumed; Fl. Wig. asserts their innocence, 'sine culpa interfecti,' i. 182.

Northman Leofwines sunu] On him, and on the family of Leofwine, Northman. cf. F. N. C. i. 717-720. Both Fl. Wig. i. 182, and H. H. p. 186, call Northman 'dux'; cf. K. C. D. No. 938, and possibly Birch, No. 1256.

Æðelword . . . grætan] Probably the grandson of the chronicler Æthel- Ethelwerd. The epithet applied to Æthelmær is of purely physical signifi- ward. cation, 'the stout,' Crawford Charters, pp. 87, 88, 119. Æthelmær is associated with his father, the elder Ethelwerd, in the preface to Ælfric's Lives of Saints, v. s. p. 174.

Brihtric Ælfgetes sunu] Read 'Ælfeges,' with D.

Brihtric.

Cnut . . . Ædwig æðeling] In the first of Fl. Wig.'s accounts he makes the exile of Edwy Etheling, 'egregius ac reuerendissimus regis Eadmundi germanus,' the work of the Witenagemót which elected Cnut, acting 'pessimo consilio,' i. 180. In the second account, based on the Chron., he asserts that Edwy was banished by Cnut, 'consilio . . . Eadrici,' who also counselled the murder of the infant children of Edmund Ironside, i. 181; consequently he places the banishment before, and not like the Chron. after, the death of Edric; which last he places 'in Natiuitate Domini.' He also follows MS. C (v. critical note 3, i. 154) in saying that Cnut ordered him to be slain the same year.

Exile of Edwy Etheling.

Eadwig ceorla cyng] 'rex rusticorum,' Fl. Wig. No very satisfac- tory explanation has been given of this curious title, or nickname. Hainpson suggests that he was a person like the later Lords of May, elected by the churls to preside over their sports, i. 262. C places his exile in 1020 (see i. 155, note 8). Freeman suggests that he may have been restored and banished again; a view which Fl. Wig. to some extent supports, i. 181; though his words, like Freeman's, may be due to 'harmonistik.' On the two Edwys, cf. F. N. C. i. 699.

Edwy churls' king.

het se cyng feccan, 7c.] 'ignores maiore illius dedecore qui dederit, an foeminae quae consenserit,' W. M. i. 218; cf. on the marriage, F. N. C. i. 715-717. To this Norman influence Radulphus Glaber attributes the change which certainly did take place in Cnut's character (see F. N. C. i. 429 ff.), Bouquet, x. 14; 'efficiens uerum illud prouerbiale, nequaquam lupum, sicut putatur, tam magnum fore [*i. e.* the devil is not so black as he is painted]. . . Pape! talis est mutatio Excelsi dextere quae Saulum mutauit in Paulum, . . . nunc . . . ferum hominem in Christianissimum regem,' Hermann, Miracula Sancti Edmundi, Liebermann, p. 236.

Marriage of Cnut and Emma.

1018 E] On this year, see F. N. C. i. 415-419.

xi. þusend punda] Read with C, D (and Fl. Wig. i. 182), 'endlifte Danegeld.

healf þusend.' The reading of E, F, followed by H. H. p. 187, and Ann. Wav., is a mere slip. There is a possible allusion to this Danegeld in K. C. D. vi. 180.

Standing
navy.

xl. scipo] Retained as a small standing naval force. Under Harold Harefoot their number was reduced to sixteen, 1039 E (where their rate of pay is given). Under Edward they seem to have been reduced, first to fourteen, then to five, 1047 E = 1049 C. Finally they were disbanded altogether, 1050 C (*v. notes, ad ll.*).

Edgar's
law.

sam mæle . . . (to Eadgares lage, D)] The meaning of this interesting insertion in D (which is copied by Fl. Wig.) is excellently given by W. M.: 'nec dicto deterius fuit factum. Omnes enim leges ab antiquis regibus, et maxime ab . . . Ethelredo latas . . . obseruari praecepit; in quarum custodiam etiam nunc tempore bonorum sub nomine regis Edwardi [*i. e.* the Confessor] iuratur; *non quod ille statuerit, sed quod obseruarit,*' i. 224; cf. Leges Edw. Conf.: 'uocata est lex Edwardi . . . non quia ipse inuenisset eam primus, sed cum praetermissa fuisset . . . a diebus aui sui Eadgari, qui prius inuentor eius fuisse dicitur, . . . Eadwardus . . . eam reuocauit, et ut suam obseruandam tradidit,' Schmid, p. 515; cf. Ang. Sac. i. 259; Liebermann, p. 236; Wulfstan, p. 310; Fl. Wig. ii. 132. There is a very interesting reference to this Oxford agreement in Cnut's letter to his people: 'ic wylle þæt eal þeodscype, gehadode 7 læwede, fæstlice Eadgares lage healde, þe ealle men habbað gecoren, 7 to gesworen on Oxenaforda,' Earle, Charters, p. 231.

Oxford.

On the importance of Oxford as a place of meeting for the different parts of England, see Green, Stray Studies, p. 334. 'Sammæle' is found with other constructions, *e. g.* 'hi wæron sammæle ymbe þæt land,' K. C. D. No. 429; and with the direct genitive: 'gif hy . . . ælces þinges sammæle beon,' Thorpe, Laws, i. 254; Schmid, p. 392. The question whether Cnut's extant legislation represents this Oxford agreement, or belongs to a later period of his reign, is one which has been much discussed. It is probable that it is later, Schmid, pp. lv, lvi.

A mistaken
entry in E.

7 her ~~Æðelsige~~ abb, 7c., E] It seems strange at first sight to find a notice relating to Abingdon in E, and not in C. I believe the explanation to be that the entry in E is a mere mistake, due to the confusion of the names Æðelwine and Æðelsige (*r. s.* p. 198). The compiler tried to reconcile his apparently conflicting authorities by making two abbots out of a single person, and had to kill off the first rather rapidly, in order to make way for the second. This view is entirely confirmed by Chron. Ab. and the Abingdon additions to Fl. Wig., which only know one abbot, whom they call Æthelwine, between Wulfgar and Siward. To the year 1018 belong the invasion of the Scots and the battle of Carham, not mentioned in the Chrons. or Fl. Wig. See S. D. i. 84; ii. 155, 156; F. N. C. i. 444, 445; Ann. Lindisf.; S. C. S. i. 392-394.

Cnut in
Denmark.

1019 E. Her. Cnut . . . to Denmearcon] On this, cf. F. N. C. i. 419-

421; H. H. places here a somewhat mythical story of Godwine and an English detachment distinguishing themselves against the Wends, p. 187. D is the only Chron. which places the death of Archbishop Living in this year. It is not followed by Fl. Wig. or by Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 17, 158 [ed. 2, pp. 31, 220].

1020 E] Cf. F. N. C. i. 421-424.

þa ge út lagode mann Æðelword] He was probably a son-in-law of the Æthelweard mentioned 1017, and his successor as alderman of the western shires, Crawford Charters, p. 79. Æthelweard banished.

se cyng for to Assandune] The foundation of Ashingdon by Cnut inevitably recalls the foundation of Battle Abbey by William I. Stigand, Cnut's priest, to whom the church was committed (see F in note 9 to i. 155), is the future archbishop. W. M. says of Cnut's foundation: 'nunc, ut fertur, modica est ecclesia, presbytero parochiano delegata,'

i. 220. On Cnut's liberality to churches and churchmen at home and abroad, 'adeo ut episcopis uideretur co-episcopus, monachis . . . coenobialis,' the author of the Encomium Emmae speaks enthusiastically, saying that he had himself seen him go round every corner of monasteries and offer at every altar: 'haec . . . uidi ego uester uernula, Sancte Audomare, [St. Omer] Sancte Bertine, . . . uestris in coenobiis,' Pertz, xix. 521. This was on the journey to Rome in 1027; *v. infra*, on 1031. He helped in the restoration of Chartres Cathedral, which was burnt down this very year, 1020, Hardy, Cat. i. 626; cf. W. M. i. 219 f. Perhaps in expiation of his father's guilt he was specially liberal to St. Edmund's, *ib.*; cf. Liebermann, pp. 21, 127, 237; F. N. C. i. 435-438; S. D. ii. 157. Cnut's liberality to churches.

purkyl eorl, D] The mention of Thurkill in C, D is accounted for, not only by Ashingdon being in his earldom, and by his association with Cnut in the battle, but also by the fact that, according to Fl. Wig., he was co-founder with Cnut: 'ecclesia quam rex Canutus, et Comes Thurkillus . . . construxerant,' i. 183. Thurkill at Ashingdon.

Wulfstan arce b.] As Wulfstan the northern primate officiated, the consecration probably took place during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury.

Æðelnoð munuc 7 decanus, E] 'Æthelnothus, qui Bonus appellabatur, nobilis uiri Ægelmari filius,' Fl. Wig. i. 183. (This Æthelmær is possibly the one mentioned 1017, son of one Æthelweard, father of another, and father-in-law of a third, F. N. C. i. 434. note.) The title 'decanus' implies probably a monastic disciplinary office, a sense which has survived in academic use. In the monastic sense we find the title in a Worcester charter of 974: 'þis wæs gedon on Wynsiges gewitnesse decanus, 7 alra þara munuca æt Wiogurna ceastre,' K. C. D. No. 586; Birch, No. 1298. This confirms the statement of Fl. Wig. i. 141, based on the earlier life of Oswald, H. Y. i. 435, that Oswald introduced monks at Worcester under a dean 'Wynsinus.' On this statement Mr. Kemble threw doubt, on the ground that many of the Worcester charters are signed by clerks and not

by monks, Birch, iii. 535. This shows indeed that Oswald was not completely successful. But the two systems may have gone on side by side for a time, just as conversely in an Oxford College at the present time fellows bound to celibacy under the old statutes coexist with the married fellows of the new. Wulfstan's letter informing Cnut of the consecration of Æthelnoth, and Cnut's writ restoring the temporalities, are in Earle, Charters, pp. 232, 233. The letter is also in K. C. D. vi. 177. The writ is the earliest of the kind extant.

Thurkill
outlawed.

1021 E. Her . . . Cnut . . . ge ût lagode þurkil] See above on 1009, 1013, 1020; *infra*, 1023; F. N. C. i. 425 ff., 651 ff. He was banished with his wife Edith, Fl. Wig. i. 183, who was possibly a daughter of Ethelred.

Death of
Ælfgar of
Elmham.

Ælfgar b., D] He was Bishop of Elmham, 'Orientalium Anglorum episcopus . . . cui Alwinus successit,' *ib.* He is described as 'unus ex clero ecclesiae Christi [Canterbury] . . . qui post nobilis in Elmham claruit episcopus,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 64; and as 'beati [Dunstani] curialis presbyter' (private chaplain), *ib.* 317; just before Dunstan's death he had a vision of his reception into glory, *ib.* 64, 120-123, 317-319.

Cnut goes
to Wight.

1022 E. Her Cnut . . . for . . . to Wiht] From 1023 C it appears that this passage of Cnut to Wight was preparatory to a voyage to Denmark.

Æthelnoth
goes to
Rome.

Æthelnoth . . . for to Rome, 7c.] The statement of D, E (omitted by F), that the Pope consecrated him is certainly inexact, as he had already been consecrated in 1023 D, E, by Wulfstan, F; cf. the documents quoted above on 1020. The ceremonies connected with the pallium are most fully described in D. There were two pallia: one the Pope placed on the archbishop's shoulders, the other the archbishop himself took from the altar of St. Peter; cf. *infra*, i. 288: 'Lanfrancus . . . Romam iuit, [cui] papa . . . duo pallia . . . tribuit; quorum unum Romano more ab altare accepit, alterum . . . ipse papa . . . sua manu porrexit.' Æthelnoth took with him the gifts of Cnut to the church of Chartres, Bouquet, x. 466, *v. s.* on 1020. On his return he bought an arm of St. Augustine at Pavia, which he gave to Coventry, W. M. i. 224; G. P. p. 311. Pavia seems to have been a great mart for 'objets de piété,' cf. Birch, iii. 211.

Leofwine,
Abbot of
Ely.

pp. 156, 157. Leofwine aþþ . . . Elig] The nearness of Ely to Peterborough might incline one at first sight to rank this as one of the Peterborough additions. But the fact that it is in F, H. H., and Ann. Wav. is conclusive against such a view.

'tæcan.'

swa se papa him tæhte] 'Tæcan' is frequently used in reference to legal proceedings, either of expounding the law which governs the case, or of directing the parties how to proceed, or of announcing the decision of the tribunal, Thorpe, Laws, i. 260, 268, 346, &c.; Schmid, pp. 184, 190, 246; K. C. D. iii. 292, 293; Wulfstan, p. 155, &c. Here it is probably used either in the second or the third sense.

Reconcilia-
tion of

1023 C. þurcil 7 he wæran ânreðe] On this alleged reconciliation of Cnut and Thurkill, see F. N. C. i. 426, 751, 752. As it must have taken

place abroad, it ought either to be placed before Cnut's return to England here, or after his voyage to Denmark in 1025. Munch takes the latter view, and holds, moreover, that Thurkill here is a mistake for Ulf; cited in Crawford Charters, p. 141. The son, who was entrusted to Thurkill (or Ulf), was apparently Harold Harefoot.

Cnut and
Thurkill.

1023 E. Her forðferde Wulfstan . . . 7 feng Ælfric to] 'Wlstanus, Eboracensium archiepiscopus, Eboraci v. Kal. Iunii [May 28, so Hyde Reg. p. 271] feria tertia, defungitur, sed corpus eius Heli defertur, et ibi sepelitur, cui successit Ælfricus Puttuc Wintoniensis praepositus,' Fl. Wig. i. 183, 184. MS. F (note 4) adds that Ælfric was consecrated by Æthelnoth at Canterbury.

Death of
Wulfstan
of York.
Ælfric
succeeds.

Æthelnoð . . . ferede sçe Ælfeges . . . reliquias] This translation is mentioned in all four MSS. But in D it monopolises the whole annal, and the poetical ring and diction should be noted. W. M. lays stress on Cnut's share in it, i. 220. Osborn's account of the translation is printed in Ang. Sac. ii. 143-147. He says that he had it from 'Godricus eiusdem martyris quondam discipulus, ac post aliquot annos Cantuariae ecclesiae decanus,' one of two monks who were present; the other being 'Alwardus cognomento Longus cui datum est magno quondam Dunstano adhaesisse,' p. 145.

Translation
of St.
Ælfheah.

Ælfsie ð. 7 Bryhtwine ð., D] Apparently Ælfsige of Winchester, 1032 E, and Bryhtwine of Wells. As Ælfheah had been Bishop of Winchester, the prominence of the former is appropriate. Ælfheah's body was found uncorrupted in 1105, Liebermann, p. 5.

1025 E. to þam holme æt ea þære halgan] 'The river-name "Helge-Aa" is here translated, "at the holy river." This river is now in Sweden, with the town of Christianstad on one of its lakes. The accuracy of this record has been questioned because of a more famous disaster for Cnut which took place two years later than this date. In 1027 King Olaf of Norway discomfited Cnut's navy by an ingenious stratagem at the river "Helge-Aa." The similarity between the two events has led to the suspicion that they have grown out of one. Yet there are some distinct features in this entry, which speak for its genuineness,' Earle.

Battle at
the Helge-
Aa.

The questions raised by this entry are very complicated. Fortunately they hardly affect English history. See them discussed in F. N. C. i. 450, 742, 743; Crawford Charters, pp. 139-142; Munch, Det Norske Folks Historie, ii. 732 ff. I have no right to express an opinion on a problem of Scandinavian history, but I incline to follow Munch and Earle against Freeman in regarding this entry as referring to a different event from the battle of 1027. As to the identification of the leaders opposed to Cnut, opinions differ equally widely; Munch, Freeman, and Thorpe holding that they cannot be, Stevenson and Napier that they may be, identical respectively with the Jarl Ulf, who was Cnut's brother-in-law, and the Eglaf who was one of the leaders of the Danish fleets in 1009, see above,

A problem
of Scandi-
navian
history.

p. 187. W. M. boldly turns the battle into a victory for Cnut, due largely to the English under Godwine. He calls Ulf and Eglaf 'reges gentis,' i. 220, 221. There is a possible allusion to this battle in Lives of Edward the Confessor, p. 392. See Addenda.

Question of the credibility of the Sagas.

In regard to all these Scandinavian affairs one main problem is the degree of historical credibility to be assigned to the Sagas. Messrs. Napier and Stevenson may be right in thinking that Mr. Freeman allowed too little weight to them. They seem to me to have gone to the opposite extreme. Considering how frankly mythical the Sagas often are, it can seldom be safe to follow them against good English authorities.

1026 D. *æt Iohanne papan*] *i. e.* John XIX; cf. H. Y. ii. 342, 343.

Scandinavian affairs.

1028 E. *Her for Cnut . . . to Norwegum*] On the Scandinavian affairs of 1028-1030, see F. N. C. i. 449, 450; Lappenberg, i. 478; E. T. ii. 216; Munch, *u. s.* ii. 746. According to Fl. Wig. i. 184, Cnut had assiduously prepared the way for the rising of 1028 by intrigues and bribes. For Fl. Wig.'s Scandinavian additions to the Chron., see Introduction, § 73, note. Of these wars Adam of Bremen says: 'Inter Cnut et Olaph regem Nortmannorum continuum fuit bellum, . . . Danis pro imperio certantibus, Nortmannis . . . pro libertate. In qua re iustior mihi uisa est causa Olaph,' Pertz, vii. 326. Note the addition in F, critical note 10, i. 156.

ge ahnode him þet land] *i. e.* made good his claim to; cf. 'geahnodon' = 'uindicarunt,' Bede, p. 28, and *v. Schmid*, Gesetze, Glossary, *s. r.* agnian. On Olaf, see C. P. B. ii. 116-118.

Canonisation of Olaf, and death of Hakon.

1030 C. *Oláf . . . wæs . . . hâlig. 7 . . . for fêrde Hacun*] The canonisation of Olaf and the death of Hakon are given only in C. We find churches dedicated to St. Olave in England under Edward the Confessor, K. C. D. iv. 160, 264; *infra*, 1055 D. Hakon was son of Eric of Northumberland, *v. s.* p. 195, and had been Earl of Worcestershire, K. C. D. iv. 56 (a doubtful charter). Hence Fl. Wig. is able to give additional particulars. Under 1029 he says: 'Canutus . . . post festiuitatem S. Martini [Nov. 11] Danicum comitem Hacun, qui nobilem matronam Gunnildam, sororis suae et Wyrtegeorni regis Windorum [the Wends] filiam in matrinonio habuit, quasi legationis causa, in exilium misit; timebat enim ab illo uel uita priuari uel regno expelli.' Under 1030: 'Comes Hacun in mari periit; quidam tamen dicunt eum fuisse occisum in Orcada insula,' i. 184, 185. He signs from 1019 to 1026, and if K. C. D. No. 744 is genuine, his death must be antedated, as that charter is of 1031; cf. F. N. C. i. 426, 427; ii. 557, 563; Crawford Charters, pp. 147, 148. Osbern has a legend that he stabbed himself, Ang. Sac. ii. 144.

Cnut's Roman pilgrimage

1031 E. *Her for Cnut . . . to Rome*] The true date of Cnut's pilgrimage to Rome is 1027. This is fixed by the fact that he was present at the Roman coronation of Conrad the Salic, which undoubtedly belongs to 1027; cf. *Vita Chunradi Salici*: '1027. In duorum regum praesentia, Rudolphi Regis Burgundiæ et Cnutonis Regis Anglorum, diuino officio finito, In-

perator duorum Regum medius ad cubicularium suum honorifice ductus est,' Bouquet, xi. 3; cf. Godfrey of Viterbo in Muratori, SS. RR. II. vii. 440 B (with the wrong date 1020); Annales Spirenses (under 1025), Pertz, xvii. 80; cf. W. M. II. cviii; F. N. C. i. 729-731. It was this conjunction of the Pope, Emperor, and King of Burgundy, which enabled Cnut to obtain for his subjects the privileges and exemptions which he enumerates in his famous letter, Fl. Wig. i. 185-188; W. M. i. 222-224 (the use of the word 'uicecomes' for 'sefr-geréfa' shows that it must be a post-Conquest translation of a Saxon original); cf. Willelmus Godellus with reference to the remissions of tolls on English pilgrims obtained by Cnut: 'ut merito transeuntes per uiam illam in aeternum dicant: Benedictio Domini super regem Anglorum Cnutonem, benediximus tibi in nomine Domini,' Bouquet, x. 263 (under 1030). One of the privileges obtained by Cnut related to the Papal exactions for the grant of the pallium, see Bede, II. 49-52. The splendour and munificence of Cnut's pilgrimage seem to have made a great impression on his contemporaries; cf. Fl. Wig. u. s. and H. H.: 'rex . . . Cnut Romam *splendide* perrexit. . . . Quis numeret eleemosynas eius . . . ? Non fuit rex sub occidentali limite, qui tam splendide, tam famose Romae sancta loca petisset,' p. 188. (On his almsgiving, v. s. note on 1020.) According to his letter he started from Denmark and returned to Denmark. According to Goscelin's life of Augustine of Canterbury, Cnut was in danger of shipwreck on his way to Rome, but was saved by the invocation of that saint, Hardy, Cat. i. 194; cf. Lappenberg, i. 475 ff.; E. T. ii. 211 ff.; C. P. B. ii. 120, 132, 582.

Privileges
obtained
by Cnut.

Impression
made by
his pilgrim-
age.

he for to Scotlande] The certainty that the Chronicles are wrong in the date of Cnut's pilgrimage raises the question whether they are also wrong in their date for his Scottish campaign. If it really followed immediately on the Roman pilgrimage the latest date for it would be 1028. But this is uncertain.

Cnut's ex-
pedition to
Scotland.

pp. 158, 159. he þ lytle hwile heold, D] This statement of D entirely bears out the view taken above, p. 131, that these submissions were merely dictated by the military necessities of the moment, and did not create a permanent legal relation.

Scottish
submission.

twegen oðre cyningas. Mælbæpe. 7 Iehmarc, E] Mr. Skene is inclined to locate Iehmarc in Argyll, equating the name with the Irish Imeirge, which occurs in the Argyll pedigrees, S. C. S. i. 397; iii. 340. It is commonly assumed that the other is the famous Macbeth. But this seems to me very doubtful. The two names Macbeth and Maelbeth are quite distinct. The latter occurs F. M. 944, and the former is given by the Chronicles with sufficient correctness at 891, and 1054 D. Professor Rhys thinks that Maelbeth was one of Macbeth's predecessors as Mormaer of Moray, C. B. p. 195. But even this is very doubtful, though it is possible, for Macbeth did not become Mormaer of Moray till 1032, Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 97; Ann. Ult. s. a., i. e. certainly one year, and

Maelbeth
and
Iehmarc.

possibly four, after Cnut's invasion. In some authorities Cnut is called King of Scotland, Laing's Sagas, iii. 85, 86; Lives of Edward the Confessor, p. 36; Pertz, xix. 520. See also C. P. B. ii. 133.

Spurious
charter.

1031 A] The Latin of this charter is in the Crawford Charters, No. xii, and abundant information as to it will be found in the notes. Its insertion here is on a level with such Peterborough additions as 852 E.

1032 E] S. D. has this annal, ii. 157, 158, though it is not in Fl. Wig. or H. H.

Wildfire.

þ wildefyr] Noticed in Tighernach: 'Tene gelain a Saxanaib, coroloise daine imda a Cair Ebroce,' 'lightning among the Saxons, which burnt many men in York'; copied by Chron. Scot. under 1030 = 1032. The Ann. Wint. interpret 'hit derode' as referring to pestilence: 'pestis hominum fuit,' Liebermann, p. 72; but this is an incorrect inference.

Bishops of
Winches-
ter,

Ælfsige biscop] Mentioned above, 1023 D. Ælfwine, his successor, is the prelate about whom a crop of scandalous legends grew up, Ang. Sac. i. 233-239.

and
Worcester.

1033 D. Leofsie b.] 'Magnae religionis et modestiae uir Leofsius Wicciorum episcopus, in episcopali uilla Kemesegia [Kempsey, four miles south of Worcester] xiv. Kal. Sept. [Aug. 19] feria III., obiit, et, ut credi fas est, ad coelica regna migravit; cuius corpus in ecclesia S. Mariae Wigorniae tumulatur honorifice; in cuius sedem Persorensis abbas Briht-eagus, filius . . . sororis Wlfstani Eboracensis archiepiscopi leuatus est,' Fl. Wig. i. 189; Aug. 19 was a *Sunday* in 1033.

Merehwit.

1033 E. Merehwit] Bishop of Wells. He is said to have been consecrated in 1027; but he does not begin to sign till 1031, and if a charter of 1031, already cited, is genuine, his predecessor, Bryhtwine, continued to sign till then, K. C. D. No. 744.

Æthelric.

1034 E. Æthelric b.] 'Eathericus Lindicolinensis [*i. e.* of Dorchester, *v. s.* p. 190] episcopus defungitur . . . cui successit Eadnothus,' Fl. Wig. i. 189.

on Ramesige, C, D] *v. s.* p. 176.

Death of
Malcolm II
of Scotland.

forð ferde Mælcolm cyng, D] This is mentioned only in D. With him the male line of Kenneth MacAlpin became extinct. He was succeeded by his daughter's son, Donnchad mac Crinain, the Duncan of English writers, who six years later was slain by Macbeth, the Mormaer of Moray, P. & S. pp. 65, 78.

Death of
Cnut.

1035 C, D, 1036 E. on .ii. Id. Nouemb., C, D] So in Lib. Vit. Dun. p. 147. As to the year, C, D are certainly right as against E, F, whose mistake is due to the fact that E, recording no event under 1036, placed the vacant annal before, instead of after, the year of Cnut's death.

Course of
events after
Cnut's
death.

sona æfter his forsiðe, 7c., E] As to these events, Mr. Freeman, F. N. C. i. 477-484, 752-755, has, I think, been misled, perhaps by giving too much weight to Fl. Wig. Florence says that the kingdom was divided *by lot* between Harold and Hardacnut: 'unde breui post tempore regnum sorte

diuiditur Angliae, et Haroldo pars septentrionalis, Heardecanuto *prouenit* australis,' i. 190, 191. Mr. Freeman accepts the division, but says nothing about the lot, which gives such a mythical air to Florence's tale. Setting this aside for the present, let us examine the Chronicles themselves. (F may be neglected as a mere epitome of E.) Note first that C says nothing of Cnut's successor; and this is original and correct, for, as we shall see, for rather more than a year Cnut had, strictly speaking, no successor. D has already succumbed to the view that Harold became King of England immediately on Cnut's death, inserting in C's text the words: '7 Harold his sunu feng to rice.' Hence it is on E that we are dependent for details. According to E, there was a full meeting of the witan at Oxford; and party feeling ran high. Ultimately Leofric and the northern party succeeded in carrying a compromise that, as an interim measure, Harold should be elected (not king but) regent of all England ('to healde ealles Englandes') for himself and his brother Hardacnut, who was in Denmark (cf. H. H.: 'elegerunt Haraldum ut conseruaret regnum fratri suo Hardecnut, qui erat in Dacia,' p. 189; though to make H. H.'s words an exact translation of the Chron. we ought to read 'sibi et fratri suo,' &c.). In other words, the final decision (whether by a division of the kingdom or the definite election of one of the two brothers) was adjourned till Hardacnut should return from Denmark, Harold being meanwhile elected regent. (The story that Archbishop Æthelnoth refused to crown Harold, *Encom. Emmae*, Pertz, xix. 521, 522; F. N. C. i. 483, 755, is evidently a legend to account for the fact that Harold was not now crowned, as indeed he could not be, for he was only regent, not king.) This compromise was vehemently opposed by Godwine and the Wessex party, but in vain. They then agreed (*i. e.* the Wessex party, as H. H. rightly understands it, though the words of the Chron. are indefinite: '*man* *gerædde*') that the queen-mother should hold Winchester and Wessex by means of the royal housecarls, '*regis defuncti familia*,' H. H., Godwine being her right-hand man. In other words, Godwine and Emma were opposing by force the decision of the Witenagemót; cf. C, D: '*heo sæt þeah forð þær binnan, ða hwile þe heo moste.*' Harold had, however, previously secured the royal hoard at Winchester, C, D, and during the next year, 1036, his party gathered great strength: '*hit hleoŕade þa swiðe toward Haraldes,*' 1036 C, D, owing to men's disgust at Hardacnut's prolonged absence: '*he wæs to lange on Denmarcon,*' 1037 C, D. Consequently, early in 1037, perhaps at the midwinter gemót of 1036-7, Harold was definitely elected king, and Emma was expelled, and took refuge at Bruges. (This also was early in the year, as she was driven out '*ongean þone weallendan winter,*' 1037 C, D.) Two years later Hardacnut, having settled the affairs of the north (F. N. C. i. 504), came to meet his mother at Bruges, 1039 C, and concert measures for an attack on England. But in March of 1040 Harold died, and Hardacnut was invited to England.

Harold elected regent.

This compromise opposed by Godwine in Hardacnut's interest.

Ultimately Harold is elected king.

Death of Harold;

peaceful
succession
of Hardacnut.

(Cf. Adam Brem., 'Haroldus in Anglia triennium regnauit. [This is correct if reckoned from his actual election in 1037.] Contra quem frater a Dania ueniens in Flandria classem adunauit. Sed rex Anglorum morte praeventus bellum diremit,' Pertz, vii. 332.) He sailed with the fleet of sixty ships which he had prepared for a forcible invasion, the payment of which necessitated the exaction of a severe Danegeld as the first measure of his reign, 1040 C, D. Thus understood, the notices in the Chronicle are consistent and intelligible. And this account is confirmed by the words of Hermann's Miracles of St. Edmund, Liebermann, p. 237, the author of which used an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle differing, probably, from all our existing copies (*ib.* 228). The words in question are: 'Chnut boni regiminis rex . . . ad Scafesbyri II. id. Nou. [moritur], inde delatus Wintonie, ibidemque tumultus cum regali decoramine, Anglia dolente ex magna suae prosperitatis amissione. Quae uiduata rege unius anni progressionem demum post annum [*i. e.* the year of interregnum, with Harold as regent, midwinter 1035-6 to midwinter 1036-7] suscipit duorum filiorum regis memorati sceptrigeratum, scilicet Haroldi duobus annis ac semis, post quem Hardechnut tribus dimidiis, quorum progressu temporis non uiguit Anglia sed uiluit; parum enim eis bonitas patris emolumentum fuit.' The length given to Harold's actual reign agrees fairly with the dates in E, that assigned to Hardacnut is too short on any view; 'tribus dimidiis' is perhaps a mis-

Evidence
of Her-
mann's
Miracula
Sci. Ead-
mundi.

translation of 'þridde healf gear,' which would be about right. But the important point is that the author distinctly recognises a year after Cnut's death, during which England could be described as 'uiduata rege.' In placing Harold's recognition as 'full king' under the same year as the death of Cnut, E is of course chronologically anticipating; but indicates (quite truly) that such was the upshot of the whole business. Naturally, therefore, and not 'oddly,' F. N. C. i. 753, it omits the notice of this recognition under 1037. In some foreign authorities Hardacnut is represented as succeeding immediately on Cnut's death, Ann. Hildesh., Pertz, iii. 100.

England
kingless for
a year after
Cnut's
death.

Leofric] The great Earl of Mercia, the husband of the lady Godiva (Godgyfu) of legendary fame; cf. W. M. i. 237; F. N. C. i. 717-719.

Leofric of
Mercia.

pa liðs men] No doubt the crews of the Danish ships, the standing naval force; see the note on the 'butsecarls' at 1052, *infra*, and on 1018 E, *supra*. This is shown by the very form of the word, which is Scandinavian; the native word is 'lidmenn'; and in the song on the battle of Maldon 'lidmenn' is used in parallelism with 'wicenga werod,' lines 97-99.

The stand-
ing navy.

to healde ealles Engla landes] For the phrase, cf. 1023 C; and note that the 'healdes' of the text is a mere error for 'healde' due to the following 'ealles'; and that there is no lacuna in the text, as Prof. Earle thought.

Stories
about
Harold's
birth.

p. 161. Sume men sædon be Harolde] For the stories as to Harold's and Swegen's birth, see Fl. Wig. i. 190; 'obliquo semine,' St. Edw. p. 401; Encom. Emmae, Pertz, xix. 521; 'falso filius,' Liebermann, p. 90; F. N. C.

i. 408, 409, 713-715. It should be noted that S. D., who here is copying Fl. Wig., omits these stories and distinctly calls both Swegen and Harold Cnut's sons, ii. 158. It should also be noted that C, D are much more emphatic than E in their denial of Harold's claim to be the son of Cnut.

[Ælfgiue Ælfelmes dohtor] Ælfhelm the father of 'the other Ælfgyfu,' Harold's mother. C. 'Ælfgyfu of Northampton,' D, Fl. Wig. i. 190, is the alderman whose death is noted 1006, *q. r.* The mother was 'Wlfruna, nobilis matrona,' *ib.* At the best Ælfgyfu was only married to Cnut 'more Danico,' and lived after his marriage to Emma, F. N. C. i. 715; cf. *ib.* 612-614. Adam of Bremen's words are worth citing: 'Suein et Haroldus a concubina geniti erant, qui, ut mos est barbaris, equam partem hereditatis inter liberos sortiti sunt,' Pertz, vii. 332, copied by the Saxon annalist, *ib.* vi. 679.

pp. 158, 159. 1036 C, D] Mr. Freeman's discussion of the incident narrated in this annual (F. N. C. i. 483-497, 755-764), with a view to exculpating his hero, Earl Godwine, from all share in a very atrocious deed, is perhaps as curious a piece of special pleading as is to be found in any serious history. Some of the exceptionable points in the discussion follow directly from his mistaken view (as I believe it) as to the nature of the decision come to by the Witenagemót on the death of Cnut. But even if we accept Mr. Freeman's own theory of a division of the kingdom between Harold and Hardacnut, it is impossible not to be struck with the weakness of his argument, and the arbitrary way in which he tries to override the plain words of the Chronicle. On the Chronicle we are dependent almost entirely for such understanding of the incident as may be attainable. It became so early the subject of exaggeration and misinterpretation that little or no help is to be gained from later accounts.

Arrest of the Etheling Alfred. Mr. Freeman's special pleading.

The Chronicle practically our sole authority.

But the Chronicle itself lies before us in two different recensions. For clearness let us place them side by side:—

C.

Hēr com Ælfred se unscēððiga
æþeling, . . . hider inn . 7 wolde
to his meder þe on Wincestre
sæt . ac hit him ne gefafode
Godwine eorl, ne ēc oþre men þe
mycel mihton wealdan, forðan hit
hleoðrode þa swiðe toward Haraldes .
þeh hit unriht wære.

Ac Godwine hine þā gelette ,
7 hine on hæft sette ;
7 his geferan he to dráf ;
7 sume mislice ofsloh ,
sume hī man wið feo sealde ,
sume hreowlice acwealde , 7c.

D.

Her com Ælfred se unscēððiga
æþeling . . . hider inn . 7 wolde
to his modor . þe on Wincestre
sæt . ac þæt ne gefafodon þa
þe micel weoldon on þisan
lande . torþan hit hleoprade
swiðe to Harolde . þeah hit unriht
wære .

Ða let he
hine on hæft settan .
7 his geferan he eac for dráf .
7 sume mislice ofsloh ,
sume hī man wið feo sealde ,
sume hreowlice acwealde , 7c.

C the more original.

Now it is plain at a glance that of these two recensions C is the more original, and that D has tampered with the text. In the first line of the poem D has destroyed the rhythm by omitting the name of Godwine, and has also destroyed the rhyme of the first couplet 'gelette, sette.' As regards the poem, Mr. Freeman admits this relation of the two texts; D, he says, 'was altered by an admirer of Godwine. But as to the prose introduction, the case is far less clear; the words, "Godwine eorl, ne éc oþre men," might just as well be an interpolation,' F. N. C. i. 756. So might any statement which it happens to be inconvenient to accept, and Mr. Robertson considers the statements of the Chronicle as to the submission of the Scots to be 'interpolated'; see on 924 A, 926 D, 972 E. But when the relation between the texts in the two passages is precisely similar, is it reasonable to admit that in the poem the name of Godwine was omitted by D, and then to contend that in the prose it was inserted by C? This, to quote Mr. Freeman's criticism on Sir T. Duffus Hardy, 'is rather destroying evidence than explaining it,' p. 761. 'So in Florence,' continues Mr. Freeman, 'the mention of Godwine comes in very awkwardly,' p. 756. Very awkwardly for Mr. Freeman, no doubt; but I cannot see that it is awkward in any other way. It shows the straits to which Mr. Freeman is reduced that he should resort to such arguments. By the substitution of the pronoun 'he' for the name of Godwine at the beginning of the poem, the scribe of D no doubt grammatically makes Harold the author of all that followed (so F. N. C. i. 487). But if that was his object (and it would hang together with his mistaken view that Harold was king from the time of Cnut's death), he only attained it by tampering with the text before him, and no weight can be attributed to his evidence. But possibly he had no such definite intention; and merely altered 'Godwine' into 'he' without noticing its bearing on the context. Taking C then as representing the genuine text, let us see exactly what it asserts. 'The blameless Etheling Alfred landed, and wished to go to his mother at Winchester. Godwine and other powerful men would not allow this, because the popular voice was turning in favour of Harold; . . . and Godwine arrested him, put him in prison, dispersed his followers, and slew some of them.' Thus much the Chronicle distinctly asserts, and thus much we must admit, unless we are to give up writing English history altogether. The subsequent atrocities are attributed to the indefinite 'man,' and we cannot therefore make Godwine directly responsible for them¹. If we may lay stress on the

Meaning of the D text doubtful.

Statement of C.

¹ Cf. the oath which Fl. Wig. places in Godwine's mouth when he had to clear himself under Hardacnut: 'Non sui consilii nec suae uoluntatis fuisse, quod frater eius caecatus fuisset, sed dominum suum regem Haroldum illum facere quod fecit iussisse,' i. 195. Except for the

usual mistake as to Harold's position and his relation to Godwine, this seems to me quite consistent with the account in the Chron.; Godwine denied the blinding, but admitted the arrest, &c., only alleging that he acted not on his own motion, but on that of others.

words of the poet that no bloodier deed was ever done since the Danes settled in England, we may perhaps find a hint that they were the work of the Danish housecarls who, legally or illegally, were holding Wessex for Hardacnut under Emma and Godwine¹. Now it is a common misconception of almost all the later accounts that Godwine did whatever they represent him as doing, in the interest of Harold². This view of course partly hangs together with the prevalent misconception that Harold was king of all England at the time³; but partly it has arisen from a misinterpretation of the words, 'forðan hit hleoðrode þa swiðe toward Haralds.' This is commonly taken as meaning that the party which opposed the coming of the Etheling had gone over to Harold⁴. But this is neither probable, nor do the words necessarily imply it. They merely give the reason why this party opposed the coming of the Etheling. They were, rightly or wrongly, holding Wessex for Hardacnut in the face of great odds, and they did not want to have the situation still further complicated by the introduction of another discordant element.

Godwine was not acting in Harold's interest.

The one point in the chronicler's account which is not clear to me is how the Etheling came to be sent to Ely, which certainly was not within Godwine's 'sphere of influence⁵.' Some of the later accounts⁶ seem to imply a treacherous surrender of the Etheling by Godwine to Harold; and an unscrupulous man might hit on this plan of getting rid of an inconvenient prisoner⁷. But, however this may be, we clearly are not entitled

Why was the Etheling sent to Ely?

¹ Or the poet may mean, like some later accounts, to throw the blame on Harold. But I am inclined to think that the popular feeling of the time regarded Hardacnut's party as primarily responsible for the atrocity, and that this largely contributed to make their position finally untenable, and led to the definite election of Harold early in the next year. Cf. the two spurious charters of Edw. Conf., K. C. D., Nos. 824, 825; in the latter Alfred's murder is attributed to the Danes generally, in the former (apparently) to Harold and Hardacnut jointly.

² Cf. St. Edw. p. 401: 'eo tempore, ut superius, gloriosus dux [Godwinus] regalium consiliorum [Haroldi] erat baiulus.'

³ This misconception arose very naturally; for what Mr. Freeman says of the supposed division of the kingdom: 'it proved a mere ephemeral arrangement, and . . . seems . . . to have quite passed out of mind,' F. N. C. i. 752, 753, would be a *fortiori* true of a brief regency, which de-

veloped into full kingship.

⁴ So Mr. Freeman: 'he was hindered by men who were powerful at the time, and who unjustly favoured Harold. In one version (D) these men are nameless; in another (C) Godwine is mentioned as their chief,' p. 487.

⁵ Yet Fl. Wig. ventures to say: 'deinde Godwini et quorundam aliorum iussione, ad insulam Elig clito . . . ducitur,' i. 192.

⁶ e. g. William of Jumièges, Bouquet, xi. 148; Ord. Vit. V. liv.

⁷ The Encomiast represents the whole incident as a plot of Harold's to get a rival into his power. He writes a forged letter to the Ethelings in Emma's name begging one of them [why not *both* on this view?] to come to her. Alfred goes first to Baldwin of Flanders, and thence sails to England. He is met by Godwine and escorted to Guildford, where he is seized by emissaries of Harold while in Godwine's keeping; and the writer seems to suggest, without absolutely stating, that

to reject a well-attested story, like that of the Chronicle, simply because our knowledge does not enable us to explain every part of it.

Later ac-
counts.

Later accounts bring both the Ethelings to England, and make their coming a regular invasion, with a view to a seizure of the crown¹. This comes from Norman sources; but it has already infected Fl. Wig. Mr. Freeman tries with much rhetoric to exploit this hint to the profit of his own theory, F.N.C. i. 490-492, though he admits that it is 'an idea which the Chronicles do not suggest,' p. 757. But this is to understate the case; they directly negative it, by the epithet 'unscēððig' applied to Alfred, and by the statement that his companions were slain 'butan scylde.' Moreover the fact that Alfred was going to his mother, who was holding Winchester for Hardacnut, is almost enough to show that no question of the succession prompted his coming². No death, however untimely, in honourable feud or open fight ever in that warlike age called forth the passion of pity and regret which meets us here³. For that some element of treachery or

Godwine treacherously connived at the seizure. Except as to Godwine's treachery, Mr. Freeman seems inclined to adopt this version: 'it is perfectly conceivable that the Ætheling and his companions might be seized by the agents of Harold against the will, or without the knowledge, of Godwine,' p. 496. 'This account,' he says, 'seems to supply some useful hints.' Its 'utility' to Mr. Freeman appears in the next sentence: 'His account is the only one which, while consistent with Godwine's innocence, explains the origin of the belief in his guilt.' 'It is the version most favourable to Godwine's innocence,' pp. 759, 761. No doubt it is 'conceivable' that the Etheling was seized by Harold without Godwine's knowledge; only, unfortunately, the Chronicle clearly asserts that it was Godwine who arrested him, and slaughtered his companions. And the whole tale of the Encomiast is open to the suspicion of being a deliberate falsification intended to shield Emma from the odium arising from the arrest of her son in a district in which she was predominant; and the latest accounts distinctly implicate Emma, F. N. C. i. 762, 763. The one point in the tale which seems probable is the visit of the Etheling to Flanders. If he landed in Kent, and was going by land to Winchester, the laying of the scene at Guildford may be correct (so Fl. Wig. i. 191;

H. H. p. 191; W. M.'s Gillingham is probably a mere slip); though in the Encomium this hangs together with the erroneous idea that Emma was in London at the time. Florence with the Chronicle before him could hardly make this mistake; accordingly he makes the Etheling set out for London to have an interview with Harold, who on Florence's view was king of the northern half of England.

¹ So St. Edw. p. 401, of Alfred only.

² There is great divergence among the later authorities as to which of the Ethelings was the elder; Alfred was the elder according to H. H.; Lib. de Hyda, p. 287; Ailred R. c. 741; cf. the French life of Edward Conf., 'Aelfred fut dreit eir par nissance,' p. 37. Gaimar, v. 4786, distinctly makes Edward the elder; and this seems to be confirmed by the charters, where the signatures of an Edward begin earlier than, and (where both sign) take precedence of, those of Alfred. It is, however, possible that this Edward may be one of Ethelred's sons by his first wife; see F. N. C. i. 699 ff. If Edward was the elder (and he is mentioned first 1013, *supra*), it makes it the more impossible that Alfred can have come with any idea of seizing the crown.

³ The murder was supposed to have been foretold by Merlin, Ord. Vit. iv. 489.

special cruelty is always needed. We have met with it before in the case of Edward 'the Martyr,' we shall meet with it again in the case of Charles of Flanders, 1127 *infra*.

That E, which is so strongly Godwinist (see Introduction, § 48), should omit this incident altogether, is most significant; for the omission cannot possibly be due to ignorance. H. H. omits it here, but inserts a highly coloured version of it later at the death of Hardacnut, though he is not wholly consistent with himself, pp. 191, 192. W. M. also seems here to have had a chronicle of the E type, for he says expressly, 'cronica tacet.' He places it, more plausibly, at the death of Harold, i. 229.

Significant
silence of
E.

Finally, a word of protest must be said against Mr. Freeman's apparent wish to discredit the account of the Chronicle, because it 'takes the form of a ballad,' F. N. C. i. 486. This is what Mr. Freeman says elsewhere on the value of contemporary ballads as authorities for history: 'The story of Eadric pretending that Eadmund was dead [in H. H. p. 184] no doubt comes from a ballad, but I do not see that that makes it at all untrustworthy. A contemporary ballad such as that of Maldon, or the lost ballad on which H. H. must have founded his account of Stamford Bridge, is surely very good authority,' p. 679; cf. pp. 268, 269.

Value of
ballads.

p. 158. *sume . . . ofsloh, sume . . . wið feo sealde,* C] Cf. Oros. p. 154: 'sume ofslogon, . . . sume wið feo gesealdon.'

blende] Cf. *Ælf. Lives*, i. 112: '7 sume eac ablende of þam bysmorfullum þenum.'

hamelode] 'Chaucer uses the word metaphorically, Troilus and Criseyde, ii. 964. "Algate a foot is hameled of thy sorwe," a passage which is well discussed in *Edinb. Review*, July, 1870, p. 36,' Earle. A compound occurs, *Ælf. Lives*, ii. 74: 'arðan þe he behamelod wurde.'

sume hættode] 'scalped'; 'cute capitis abstracta,' Fl. Wig. i. 191. 'hættian.' This occurs as a punishment of repeated theft in the laws of Cnut, Thorpe, i. 394; Schmid, p. 288, where the decisive gloss is quoted from *Codex Colbertinus*: 'corium capitis cum capillis auferatur, quod Angli dicunt behættie.' This latter form occurs *Ælf. Lives*, ii. 74: 'þa . . . se cyning het . . . hine behættian, . . . 7 [hie] hine behættedon hetelice.' See Bosworth-Toller, s.v. hættian; cf. Pertz, vii. 321: 'sexaginta presbiteri . . . tali martirio consummati sunt, ut cute capitis in modo crucis incisa, ferru cerebrum singulis aperiretur.'

Ne wearð dreorlicre dæd gedon] Cf. Oros. p. 220: 'Romane sædon þæt under hiera anwalde nan bismerelecre dæd ne gewurde.'

syppan Dene . . . her frið namon] Cf. 'þa þa Engle 7 Dene to friðe 7 to freondscipe fullice fengon,' Laws, Thorpe, i. 166; Schmid, p. 118; cf. 979 E.

p. 160. *stypole*] 'Tower.' It is used of the Tower of Babel, *Ælf. Hom.* i. 22, 318.

pp. 160, 161. 1037 C, E] On the election of Harold and the expulsion of Emma, see above, p. 209. Fl. Wig. here simply reproduces the Chron. election of

Definite
election of

Harold as king. C, D, except that he calls Harold 'rex Merciorum et Northhymbrorum,' i. 192. Mr. Freeman says: 'the witan of Wessex . . . deposed Harthacnut, and elected the king of the Mercians and Northumbrians as their immediate sovereign, the election being apparently confirmed by a vote of the witan of all England,' F. N. C. i. 498, 499. Of this supposed double election there is not the slightest trace anywhere. What really happened was that the witan of England now terminated the provisional regency, and definitely elected Harold king.

English refugees in Flanders. **Brice**] Bruges. Flanders becomes now the regular place of shelter for English refugees; so much so that the Sagas take Ethelred there on his expulsion; cf. F. N. C. i. 686. The *Encomiast* speaks of Bruges as 'castellum tum negotiatorum frequentia, tum affluentia omnium quae prima mortales ducunt fanosissimum,' Pertz, xix. 524. Baldwin is the father of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. See W. M.'s character of him, ii. 291.

Æfic, Dean of Evesham. **Æfic . . . Heofeshamme, C]** On him there is a good deal in the Chron. of Evesham, pp. 83, 85, 195, 264, where his death is placed in 1038. It is hard to recognise a Saxon Æfic under the latinised form of Avitius. On his office of decanus, cf. *ib.* 195; 'the title is interpreted by later historians of the abbey as belonging to the judicial president of their peculiar courts; the dean is not a substitute for the abbot,' Stubbs, Dunstan, p. xvi. Evesham seems to have been in special favour with the Danish kings, Chron. Evesh. p. 325; see Introduction, § 73.

Death of Æthelnoth, Æthelric, **1038 D, E. on 11 Nov., E]** Fl. Wig. gives a different date for the death of Æthelnoth, iv Kal. Nou., i.e. Oct. 29, i. 192.

se gewilnode to Gode, 7c., D] D alone has the touching story of Æthelric of Selsey's prayer that he might not outlive his 'dear father Æthelnoth'; cf. the story of St. Cuthbert and St. Herbert, Bede, H. E. iv. 29; and York's prayer in Hen. V, iv. 6:

'Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk!

'My soul shall thine keep company to heaven;

'Tarry, sweet soul, for mine; then fly abreast.'

Fl. Wig. has both the story from D, and the names of the successors of Æthelnoth, of Æthelric, and of Brihteah, as in E.

Brihteah, **Brihteh ̅, E]** His appointment is mentioned under 1033 D. He is said to have formed one of the suite of Gunhild, Cnut's daughter, when she went to be married to Henry III (afterwards emperor) in 1036, F. N. C. I. xxxv, 744. He only signs one charter, K. C. D. No. 751, dated 1033. On his successor Living, see below, 1045 C. I do not know why Gloucestershire is so specially mentioned. It always formed part of the Worcester diocese till the sixteenth century.

and Ælfric. **Ælfric ̅ on East Englum]** He seems to have been succeeded by another bishop of the same name, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 169 [ed. 2, p. 231]; cf. G. P. p. 150: 'Alfuinus, duo Elfrici, Stigandus.'

þa feng Eadsige b] Fl. Wig. *u.s.* calls Eadsige, 'regis capellanus'; Eadsige, which agrees with F (critical note 19, i. 161). But there is no doubt that E is right in calling him 'bishop' at the time of his accession; so Liebermann, p. 3. In the facsimiles of charters published by the Ordnance Survey III. 42, is a grant of 1035 by Cnut, 'meo fideli episcopo Eadsino,' which is signed by Æthelnoth as archbishop; while in K. C. D. vi. 187, is a writ of Cnut's 'about 1036,' addressed to 'Eadsige bisceop 7 Ælfstan abbod [of St. Augustine's] 7 Ægelric [geréfa] 7 ealle mine þegnas on Cent,' and forbidding the raising of the assessment of the lands of Archbishop Æthelnoth; cf. *ib.* 189. These last two writs show that it is in Kent that we must look for his see; and Dr. Stubbs and Dean Hook make him suffragan bishop of Kent, with his see at St. Martin's, outside Canterbury, Ep. Succ. p. 19 [ed. 2, p. 35]; Hook's Archbishops, i. 487; cf. on 1061, *infra*. That he had been Cnut's chaplain, and later became a monk, is shown by K. C. D. vi. 190; cf. F. N. C. i. 501.

Grymcytel . . . on Suð Sexum] According to G. P. p. 205, he bought Grymcytel his appointment; and attempted to buy the bishopric of Elmham also, *ib.* 150; Fl. Wig. i. 193.

Liuing b] On him see on 1046, *infra*.

1039 C. Byrht mæc b gefor] 'cui Wlsius successit,' Fl. Wig. i. 193.

Wealas slogon Eadwine] This inroad of the Welsh was under the famous Gruffydd, son of Llewellyn, and the engagement took place at Rhyd-y-Groes ('Ford of the Cross,' 'Vadum Crucis,' Ann. Camb.; cf. the equivalent name, Christian Malford, *i.e.* Cristes mæl ford), near Upton-on-Severn, F. N. C. i. 502. This event is referred to again at 1052 D, i. 176, where Fl. Wig. says that Edwin was killed 'per insidias,' i. 207.

Ælfget] 'filium Eatsii,' adds Fl. Wig.

com éc Harðacnut to Bricge] On this see above. According to Encomiast, he encountered a storm on the way, but was cheered by a vision which foretold Harold's death and his own success. This is suspiciously like Acts xxvii. 23, 24. Hardacnut comes to Bruges.

1040 C, 1039 E. Her forðferde Harold . . . æt West mynstre, E] The date in E is a mere error due to the omission of the vacant annual 1039. Unfortunately it deranges the chronology of E for a long period. S. D. enters Harold's death under both years, ii. 160. E alone gives the place and date of Harold's death, Oxford, March 17. Fl. Wig. gives no date, but says that he died at London, probably a wrong inference from the place of burial, as Mr. Freeman suggests, F. N. C. i. 504, 505, who also notes that this is the first mention of Westminster in our Chronicles; cf. *ib.* ii. 500 ff. The statement of the French life of Edward the Confessor, that Harold died 'à Ekecestre,' p. 39, is due to a mere confusion of 'Exoniae' and 'Oxoniae.' That Harold died at Oxford is confirmed by a charter (also quoted by Freeman, *l.c.*): '7 wæs se king þa binnan Oxnaforde swyðe geseocled, swa þæt he læg orwene his lifes,' K. C. D. iv. 56. Death of Harold.

- Consistency of E. he weolde . . . xvi. wucan] Note that E does not say that Harold 'reigned' or 'was king' for four years and sixteen weeks, but merely that he 'wielded England.' The expression is carefully chosen to include the period of Harold's regency. And E thus enables us to correct his own dates for the deaths of Cnut and Harold. Four years and sixteen weeks reckoned backwards from March 17, 1040, brings us to November 25, 1035. If we could argue strictly from this, it would give us the date of the resolution of the witan appointing Harold regent; but as Cnut only died on November 12, the time seems full short for the summoning of the Witenagemót, and the heated discussions which evidently took place. There is an interesting notice of Harold's death in the *Ann. Ult.*: '1040. Aralt ri Saxan Giuais moritur,' 'Harold, king of the Gewissae Saxons dies.'
- Chronology. man geald, 7c.] This statement in E only as to the regular payment of the standing navy of sixteen ships under Harold, must be carefully distinguished from the statement made in all four Chronicles as to the special payment at the same rate made to the sixty (sixty-two, E, F) ships which Hardacnut brought with him. The rate of payment was eight marks 'æt hamelan,' D, E, 'æt há' C, 'per thole or rowlock,' *i. e.* per man. C's reading is evidently regarded by Thorpe as a mere error, for he puts in the margin '*Sic, MS.*' But just as *hamele* is the Icelandic *hamla*, a rowing thole or rowlock; so *há* is the Icelandic *hár*, having exactly the same signification. A compound of the word, *há-sæta*, lit. a thole sitter, *i. e.* a rower, occurs 1052 E, i. 177, answering to the Icelandic *há-seti*; and the dative plural of *há*, viz. 'hánon,' occurs in the will of Bishop Ælfwold of Crediton, where a 'soegð' is said to be equipped 'all but the thole-pins,' Crawford Charters, p. 23. I can make nothing of H. H.'s translation 'ab unoquoque *portu*,' p. 190; it is probably a mere guess.
- Rate of pay for the standing navy. þá sende man æfter Harðacnute, C] On this, see above, pp. 209, 210. Fl. Wig. says that the invitation was sent by 'proceres ferme totius Angliæ,' i. 193; W. M. says: 'ille per Normanniam in Angliam mense Augusto uenit,' i. 228.
- Invitation to Hardacnut. wende þ man wel dyde] With this contemptuous comment of C and D, copied by Fl. Wig., cf. the comment on Edmund's reconciliation with Edric, 1016, *supra*, i. 151.
- him wæs þá unhold] Cf. St. Edw. p. 40:
'Kar Daneis hairent mut
Le dreiturel rei Hardeknut.'
- Treatment of Harold's remains. p. 162. hine on fen sceotan] On this, as a punishment for specially base crimes, cf. Tac. Germ. c. 12. On the later developments of the story as to Harold, cf. F. N. C. i. 764-766; W. M. tells a similar story of an unworthy Abbot of Malmesbury, Brihtwold II: 'constat custodes loci unbris fantasticis inquietatos, donec cadauer suffossum longe a monasterio paludi profundae immerserint,' G. P. pp. 411, 412. A similar story is told in a spurious charter of Ethelred of a plunderer of the monastery of Evesham,

K. C. D. No. 723, and in S. Eadm. Mirac. of a sheriff, Leofstan, who violated the sanctuary of St. Edmund, Martene et Durand, vi. 825; Liebermann, p. 204; cf. C. P. B. i. 404, 561; ii. 88, 89.

pp. 161-163. 1041 C, D, 1040 E. pet heregeold, E] Mr. Freeman thinks Heavy gold. that this term of E is the technical name for this hated tax, 'danegeld' being a later popular expression, F. N. C. ii. 121-123, 598, 599, 668. The term 'heregyld' occurs K. C. D. iv. 224; vi. 180, 205; on the other hand, in Ordnance Survey Charters II, Westminster xv, is a charter of Edward Conf., in which exemption is given 'of danegelde.' But in reality the technical name is 'Geld' simply, see Domesday Studies, i. 87-89, and C calls it 'that strong geld,' i. 162. The object was to raise the sum required for paying off the sixty ships which had accompanied Hardacnut to England, v. s. pp. 210, 218. E alone gives the amount of it; and E alone notices that the standing naval force was raised from sixteen ships, which had been its number under Harold, 1039 E, to thirty-two under Hardacnut.

Hér let Harðacnut . . . Wihracestre scire, C] Fl. Wig., as might be Harrying of Worcester-shire. expected, is able to give many interesting details as to this harrying of the town and county of Worcester by the orders of Hardacnut: '1041. Hoc anno . . . Heardecanutus suos huscarlas misit per omnes regni sui prouincias ad exigendum quod indixerat tributum; ex quibus duos, Feader . . . et Thurstan, Wigornenses prouinciales cum ciuibus, seditione exorta, in cuiusdam turris Wigornensis monasterii solario, quo celandi causa confugerant, quarto nonas Maii [May 4] feria secunda, peremerunt. Unde rex, ira commotus, ob ultionem necis illorum Thuri [Thored] Mediterraneorum, Leofricum Merciorum, Godwinum West-Saxonum, Siwardum Northymbrorum. Roni [Ranig] Magasetensium, et caeteros totius Angliae comites, omnesque ferme suos huscarlas, cum magno exercitu, Ælfrico adhuc Wigornensem pontificatum tenente, illo misit, mandans ut omnes uiros . . . occiderent, ciuitatem . . . incenderent, . . . prouinciam deuastarent. Qui . . . ii id. Nou. [Nov. 12] et ciuitatem et prouinciam deuastare coeperunt, idque per iv dies agere non cessauerunt; sed paucos uel e ciuibus uel prouincialibus ceperunt aut occiderunt, quia, praecognito aduentu eorum, prouinciales quoque locorum fugerant. Ciuium uero multitudo in quendam modicam insulam, in medio Sabrinae fluminis sitam, quae Beverege nuncupatur, confugerant, et, munitione facta, tamdiu se uiriliter aduersus suos inimicos defenderant, quoad pace recuperata, libere domum licuerit eis redire. Quinta igitur die ciuitate cremata, unus quisque magna cum praeda rediit in sua, et regis statim quieuit ira,' i. 195, 196; cf. F. N. C. i. 513 ff., who is evidently uneasy at the presence of his hero Godwine on such an errand. The pointed reference to Bishop Ælfric in Fl. Wig. seems, as Freeman remarks, to countenance W. M.'s charge that he had counselled this rigorous measure, G. P. pp. 250, 251.

com Eadward . . . gesworen] On the return of Edward, cf. F. N. C. Return of Edward. i. 517 ff. Mr. Freeman, citing the *Eucomium Emmae* and *Saxo*, says:

'Foreign writers tell us that he [Hardacnut] associated Edward with him in the kingdom. For this statement there is no English authority, and it is not conformable to English customs [?]. But to have given Edward the government of a portion of the kingdom, whether as earl or as under-king, would have been in no way wonderful. We do not, however, hear anything of such an arrangement.' Mr. Freeman has overlooked the very important words in C and D: '7 ðeh was to cinge gesworen.' These imply either an association of Edward in the kingship, or, at the very least, the formal recognition of Edward as Hardacnut's successor before the latter's death. The mention of the royal oath is also important. The subsequent statement that Edward remained at his brother's court is a little against the idea that he may have been made sub-king of a portion of the kingdom; see, however, p. 222 t.

of Weallande, E] 'From foreign parts,' viz. Normandy. So in 1048 E, i. 174, *infra*, 'wælisce men' is rightly translated by F. Lat. 'quidam de Normannis.'

swac Harðacnut Eadulf, C] On the murder of Eadwulf, Earl of Bernicia, by Hardacnut, through the instrumentality, as it would seem, of Siward, Earl of Deira, see S. D.: 'Eadulfus comes efficitur Northymbrensius, . . . sed tertio post anno, cum ad Hardecanutum reconciliandus in pace uenisset, interfectus est a Siwardo, qui post illum totius prouinciae Northanhymbrorum, id est ab Humbera usque Tuedam, comitatum habuit, cui mortuo successit Tosti,' ii. 198; cf. *ib.* 383, i. 91; F. N. C. i. 519-522; S. C. S. i. 399 f., 408, 418.

man hadode Ægelric, D] As Bishop of Durham; only in D. It really belongs to 1042. Perhaps the authority from which it is taken began the year with Easter. Under 1056 will be found his retirement to Peterborough, which the local historian ascribes solely to his love for his former monastery, Hugo Candidus, pp. 45, 46; his arrest and death are given under 1068-9, 1072-3. S. D. i. 91, 92, gives him the worst character; saying that it was on a charge of robbing his church of Durham that he was thrown into prison, where he died. The Chronicles do not specify the charge against him. The true date of his arrest is Easter 1070; so he may have been involved in the plots which led to the rising in the Fen country, May-June 1070. Perhaps for this reason, E, the special Peterborough Chron., makes no mention of him under 1042 or 1056. But under 1072-3 D and E have a story that he was originally consecrated to the see of York, but unjustly deprived and transferred to Durham. I do not see how this can be, as Ælfric was Archbishop of York 1023-1051; cf. F. N. C. ii. 407, 408. Possibly the statement is due to a misunderstanding of the preposition 'to' in this annal, which may mean 'at' as well as 'to'; plus a confusion with the fact that about this time Ælfric himself was deprived of the see of Worcester, which he had held for a short time during the expulsion of Living, Fl. Wig. i. 194, 195 (hence the pointed remark of Fl. Wig. in

He is sworn
as king.

Murder of
Eadwulf.

Consecra-
tion of
Ægelric.

the passage cited above, p. 219, that during the harrying of Worcester Ælfric was still bishop there).

1042 C, 1041 E. Hér gefor Harðacnut . . . æt his drince, C] According to Fl. Wig. this was at the feast which Osgod Clapa was giving in honour of the marriage of his daughter Gytha to Tofig the Proud, a Danish noble, on whom a good deal will be found in the 'De inuentione S. Crucis . . . Waltham,' ed. Stubbs, pp. 6-15; he was Staller, and is called 'secundus a rege,' p. 6. His wife is mentioned as 'mulier religiosa,' *ib.* 12. W. M. gives the case of an Abbot of Malmesbury who died 'inter medios potationum apparatus extinctus,' G. P. p. 411.

nan word ne gecwæð] Cf. St. Edw. p. 41: 'Sanz parler a cleru prestre.'

vi. id' Iun. . . . twa gear buton .x. nihtum, E] The day agrees with Hyde Reg. p. 271, viz. June 8. Hardacnut's reign seems to be reckoned from his arrival in England. He landed 'seven nights ere Midsummer,' 1039 E (= 1040); which is just about right.

all folc underfeng . . . Eadward, C] On the accession and coronation of Edward there are long discussions in F. N. C. ii. 3-16, 513-521. I cannot attach much value to these attempts to weave together later accounts, which are often quite inconsistent with the plain words of the Chronicles. Thus (1) the idea that Edward was in Normandy at the time of Hardacnut's death is negatived by the words of the preceding annal that he remained at his brother's court as long as the latter lived; and also by Fl. Wig.'s words that Edward, on the death of Hardacnut, 'Lundoniae leuatur in regem,' which imply that he was on the spot, i. 197. There is, however, nothing extraordinary in the fact that even nearly contemporary writers (*e.g.* St. Edw. p. 394) should have forgotten that Edward had returned to England in the preceding year. H. H. is inconsistent with himself. (2) The idea of long negotiations between Edward and Godwine is negatived by the fact (overlooked by Freeman) that Edward had been formally acknowledged as successor, if not something more, in the preceding year. (Hence the expression of C, 'all the people received Edward as king,' is perhaps more accurate than E's 'chuse him as king.' D combines the two.) That Edward owed his possession of the throne largely to the influence of Godwine and Bishop Living is asserted by Fl. Wig. *u. s.* (cf. St. Edw. p. 394), and is probable enough. But there was in fact no other candidate, as Mr. Freeman himself points out. The facts, as recorded in the Chron., are (1) Edward was recognised as (3 future) king under Hardacnut, 1041. (2) This recognition took full effect immediately on the death of Hardacnut, June 1042, at London. (3) He was crowned at Winchester, Easter 1043; cf. H. & S. i. 691. The delay in this function, which Freeman labours to account for, may be due to the fact that Edward had already, in 1041, taken the oaths as king, if he had not actually been crowned. In the nearly contemporary Latin life we read: 'mittuntur post eum duces et episcopi.

Death of
Hardacnut.

Chron-
ology.

Accession
of Edward.

Later ac-
counts con-
tradict the
Chronicle.

Question
of his
coronation

Ab his . . . adducitur, . . . et solio sullimandus regali, Cantiae in ecclesia Christi consecratur,' St. Edw. p. 395. Now if this is not a mere mistake, like those which haunt the later accounts, it may refer to what happened in 1041 when Edward was 'to cinge gesworen'; and if the function really took place at Canterbury it *might* point to Edward's reception as sub-king of Kent, or of the 'Eastern kingdom.' Gaimar, v. 4860, says that he was crowned at London.

swa him gecynde wæs] Cf. 'natiui iuris sui thronus,' St. Edw. p. 394; 'lur naturel seignur,' *ib.* 50; 'hereditarius rex,' Liebermann, p. 238.

healde . . . unne, E] Note the evident touch of contemporary writing.

Notices of bad seasons, &c. þ gear wæs swiðe hefigtime] These notices of bad seasons, &c., are very characteristic of the Chron. from which E is derived. After the Conquest they occur regularly towards the end of the annals. They are not due to the last or Peterborough editor, for they are in Ann. Wav., and some at least are in H. H., but they are frequently followed, as here, by a Peterborough insertion; see Introduction, § 53, note. For 'hefig time,' Earle compares: 'hit þuhte Moise swiþe hefetime,' Num. xi. 10 (=res intoleranda).

Head of St. Valentine. p. 162, note 4. 1041 F. S. Valentines heafod] This occurs in a list of relics in the Liber Vitae of Hyde Abbey or New Minster, p. 162. Cf. Ann. Cicest.: '1116. Apud Wintoniam aperta est teca S. Valentini, et capud eius lotum est,' Liebermann, p. 94. F Lat., contradicting the Saxon, says that the relic was given to the Old Minster.

1043 C, D, 1042 E. Hér wæs Eadward gehalgod] On the coronation of Edward, see above.

iii. Non' Apʳ, C, E] April 3; this is right for the Easter of 1043.

Coronation address. Eadsige . . . hine . . . wel manude] Cf. Dunstan's address to Ethelred, Stubbs, Dunstan, pp. 355-357; and the interesting address on the duties of a king in Wulfstan, pp. 266, 267. According to Fl. Wig., who follows D, the northern primate, Ælfric, and nearly all the bishops were present, i. 197; H. Y. ii. 343.

Severe measures against the queen-mother. man gerædde þan cynges þ he rád . . . on þa hlæfdian, D] Cf. F. N. C. ii. 59 ff. D alone mentions that the measures against Emma were taken with the co-operation of the great earls, after formal debate; and that Edward himself took part in the raid; C, E merely say: 'het geridan.' That Emma had property in Winchester is shown by K. C. D. No. 720; cf. on 1052. It is interesting to find Godwine, who had been so closely allied with Emma on the death of Cnut, now turning against her, and it illustrates the versatility of that politician. As to the motive of this apparent harshness, there is an important passage (overlooked by Mr. Freeman) in the Translation of St. Mildred: 'suscepit Anglia indigenum regem Edwardum . . . quo Salomonica pace regnante, ipse eius genitrix accusabatur regem Northuegorum, Magnum nomine, ad inua-

Reason for them.

dendum Anglicum imperium concitasse, suosque thesauros infinitos secum illi dedidisse. Hinc proditrix regni, hostis patriae, insidiatrix filii iudicatur, uniuersaque substantia eius regi proscibitur,' Hardy, *Cat. i.* 381, from MS. Cott. Vesp. B. xx. f. 177 b. I do not know the date of this composition; but I do not regard the story as improbable, considering how Emma had identified herself with the Scandinavian against the native dynasty. Mr. Freeman suggested that Emma favoured Swegen Esthritson, F. N. C. ii. 9, 63; but I doubt if he was at this time sufficiently prominent to be thought of. For Magnus' designs on England, see on 1046 D.

æt eallon þan gærsaman] Among these was the head of St. Audoenus (Ouen); this, by a pious theft, came to the monastery of Malmesbury, G. P. pp. 419, 420; cf. W. M. i. 237, 238. Emma seems to have had a fancy for saints' heads; see above, p. 222, on 1041 F. Her treasures.

Stigant preost wæs gebletsad, C, E] Stigant's appointment to Elmham is given by C and E, his deposition only by C, his restoration the following year only by E; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 199. He is the priest of Ashingdon mentioned above, p. 203. His episcopal career was chequered. Fl. Wig. has a confused and doubtful story about his having been appointed to Selsey in 1038, deposed, and then restored, i. 193; cf. G. P. p. 150. In 1047 he was translated to Winchester, which he continued to hold, after his elevation to Canterbury in 1052, until he was deprived of both in 1070. Stigant's career.

1044 C, 1043 E] D is vacant.

p. 104. abiddan . . . oppe gebiogan] These words are a significant comment on the way in which ecclesiastical appointments were made in those days. Siward was not, however, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the words of the Chron. might lead one to suppose. (So H. H.: 'successor eius,' p. 193.) He was merely Eadsige's assistant *or* suffragan, and on his own retirement from ill-health, Eadsige resumed his functions, 1048 C. There is a strange story in G. P. p. 34, that he was meant for Canterbury, but for his evil treatment of Eadsige was degraded and transferred to Rochester. For this there seems to be no authority; and it is probably due to a confusion with Siward, Abbot of Chertsey, who became Bishop of Rochester in 1058, *infra, sub ann.*; a confusion shared by Chron. Ab. i. 444, 445, 451, 461, 462. The text of Fl. Wig. calls him 'archiepiscopi corepiscopus,' i. 203; while the Abingdon additions to that text describe him as 'archiepiscopi uices moderans,' *ib.* note; 'patriarchatus sui uice functus,' *ib.* 199, note; cf. Ang. Sac. i. 238, 332; F. N. C. ii. 68. Yet Siward signs as archbishop in 1045 and 1046, K. C. D. iv. 96, 103, 105, 109; vi. 196; so that he certainly used the title even if he did not legally hold the position. The cases in which Eadsige alone signs as archbishop, are either before Siward's appointment or after his retirement, *ib.* iv. 93, 116, 122, 124, 130, 134. There are two cases in which Eadsige signs as archbishop, and Siward as bishop, *ib.* 117, 118. These probably belong to 1048, between the retirement and death of Siward. The only case of Eadsige's Position of Siward.

signature as archbishop which must fall during Siward's tenure, is in 1046. K. C. D. iv. 110, where 'Æti archiep.' can only be Eadsige. Siward also signs this as episcopus. Except for the careless writing of Eadsige's name this charter seems unexceptionable.

Famine
prices.

pp. 164, 165. se sester hwætes eode to .lx. peñ.] 'H. H. p. 192, took the sestar of this passage to be a horse-load. Even so . . . the price would be high. . . . But . . . we may strongly suspect that something almost infinitely worse is meant, and that the sestar was at least as small as our bushel,' Maitland, Domesday, p. 365.

Marriage of
Edward
and Edith.

Eadward . . . nam Eadgyþe . . . ær Candel mæssan, C] The marriage really belongs to Jan. 1045. C places it here because his year begins with Easter. See on 1047 C. On Edith, daughter of Godwine, cf. W. M.'s panegyric, i. 239; the curious description of her life as queen in St. Edw. p. 415; and the well-known line:

'Sicut spina rosam genuit Godwinus Edinam,'

ib. 58; Ailr. c. 747; F. N. C. ii. 45-47, 531. She gave an estate at Lewknor to provide the boys of the monastic school of Abingdon with better fare than dry bread, Chron. Ab. i. 460, 461. A less pleasing tradition exhibits her as an unscrupulous collector of relics, Chron. Evesh. pp. 317, 318.

Evesham
history.

1045 D] The true date is 1044; see critical note. This annal strongly illustrates the Evesham connexion of MS. D. See Introduction, § 73.

Ælfward b . . . Manni] On all this Evesham history, cf. Chron. Evesh. pp. 36-38, 81-86; Hist. Rams. R. S. pp. 157, 158; Fl. Wig. i. 198, 199; F. N. C. ii. 68, 69. Ælfward had held the abbacy of Evesham with the see of London, and wished to retire to Evesham, but the monks refused to receive him because he was afflicted with leprosy. He retired to Ramsey, where he had been a monk, and died there, as the Chron. relates. He is said to have been a relative of Cnut; and this, if true, is a further illustration of the connexion of the Danish kings with Evesham. His successor is called by Fl. Wig., *u. s.*: 'Wilmarus [Wulfmær] qui et Manni'; cf. K. C. D. iv. 262. He seems to have been a skilful architect, scribe, and illuminator, and is said to have died at the same time as Edward the Confessor. In the see of London Ælfward was succeeded by Robert of Jumièges, a fact not noted here, but mentioned incidentally below, 1051 D, 1048 E, i. 170, 171.

Gunnild.

Gunnilde] Cf. Fl. Wig.: 'nobilis matrona Gunnilda . . . sororis Canuti regis filia, et comitum Hacuni [*v. s.* 1030 C] et post Haroldi morte uiduata, cum duobus filiis Hemmingo et Thurkillo expellitur de Anglia,' i. 199. Freeman sees in this part of a settled policy of weakening the Danish party in England, F. N. C. ii. 71, 72; cf. *ib.* 63, 64, 89.

1045 C, 1046 D, 1043 (*bis*) E] E, by repeating the number 1043, has departed still further from the true chronology, which C alone preserves.

Her nam Ædward, 7c., E] On this, see above.

Brihtwold b. on Wiltune scire, D] *i.e.* of Ramsbury; on the date of his appointment, see above, 1006 E, note. F is wrong (i. 165, note 2) in making him Bishop of Sherborne; but the mistake was a very natural one; and Mr. Freeman seems to repeat it, F. N. C. ii. 590. Herman, who succeeded him at Ramsbury, became in 1058 Bishop of Sherborne also, and ultimately removed the see of the united dioceses to Sarum. Brihtwold had had a vision of the future accession and coronation of Edward; cf. Ailr. cc. 742, 743; St. Edw. pp. 42, 394; G. P. p. 182.

Hereman] On him cf. G. P. pp. 182 ff.; St. Edw. p. 419, where he is called 'clarissimus et competenter eruditus pontifex.' Fl. Wig. speaks of him as 'de Lotharingia oriundus,' W. M. as 'natione Flandrensis,' G. P. p. 182. The two descriptions are not incompatible, for Lotharingia was then a term of very wide import; cf. F. N. C. ii. 79-81, who sees in these appointments of German prelates an attempt of Godwine's party to counteract Edward's Norman proclivities; cf. *ib.* 582 ff.

purh Magnus preatunge] D alone, followed by Fl. Wig., shows that Edward's collection of a fleet at Sandwich was due to the threat of invasion from Magnus of Norway. Magnus had succeeded Hardacnut in Denmark, in virtue of an agreement made between them; and claimed to succeed him in England also. But at this juncture he had enough to do against his rival Swegen, the son of Cnut's sister Esthrið, with whom was combined the famous Harold Hardrada, F. N. C. ii. 72-78; cf. *ib.* 18, 57; C. P. B. ii. 178, 200, 594.

Wulfric . . . æt Sêc Augustine, E] On Wulfric, see Thorn, cc. 1783 ff. And for the significance of these Augustinian entries in E, see Introduction, § 48.

1046 C, 1047 D, 1044 E. Her forðferde Lyfing, D, E] C has placed this under the preceding year for the usual reason. Living had been Abbot of Tavistock, and had brought Cnut's Roman letter to England. Soon after his return he was made Bishop of Crediton, Fl. Wig. i. 185, to which was added the diocese of Cornwall; the two counties thenceforth remaining united under one bishop, until they were separated in our own day. To these sees he added in 1038 that of Worcester, v. 1038, above. This he had to resign in 1040 to Ælfric of York, who accused him, according to Fl. Wig., of being implicated with Godwine in the death of the Etheling Alfred; but recovered it in the following year, Fl. Wig. i. 194, 195. To him, with Godwine, Edward largely owed his throne, *ib.* 196, 197. W. M. gives him a bad character: 'ambitiosus et proteruus, ecclesiasticarum legum tirannus,' G. P. p. 200; the last clause perhaps refers to his uncanonical accumulation of sees. That he was a partisan of Godwine, whose gift of eloquence he shared ('se wordsnotera,' D), suffices to secure him a panegyric from Mr. Freeman, F. N. C. ii. 81-83. I may perhaps be allowed to say generally that the second volume of Mr. Freeman's great work, while based, like everything that he wrote, on a wide and

careful comparison of the original authorities, seems to me in *tone* both tedious and untrustworthy, owing to the author's extravagant admiration of Godwine and Harold, and his almost childish detestation of everything Norman and French. MS. F wrongly calls Living Bishop of Exeter. It was his successor Leofric who transferred the see of the united dioceses to Exeter in 1050. The documents connected with this transfer are in H. & S. i. 691-695; K. C. D. iv. 118 ff.; the motive assigned for it is the ravages of the Danes in the west; Leofric is called by Fl. Wig. 'regis cancellarius,' a title which first appears in England under Edward, S. C. H. i. 352; K. C. D. iv. 159. Florence also calls him 'Brytonicus,' *i. e.* he was 'Cornwelsh' by descent, i. 199; but his name is thoroughly English, he had been 'apud Lotharingos altus et doctus,' and he introduced the Chrodegangian system of canons into his new cathedral, G. P. p. 201; cf. F. N. C. ii. 83-85. A list of his benefactions to Exeter may be found in Earle's Charters, pp. 249-252, and elsewhere. Among them are the famous Leofric Missal, and even more famous Codex Exoniensis.

Leofric transfers the sees of Devon and Cornwall to Exeter.

Ealdred.

Aldred **þ** to Wygracestre, D] I do not know on what grounds Dr. Stubbs assigns the consecration of Ealdred to 1044, two years before the death of Living. Like his predecessor he had been Abbot of Tavistock, Fl. Wig. *u. s.* We shall hear of him again.

Welsh expedition of Swegen.

Her . . . for Swegen . . . into Wealan, C] This expedition of Swegen, son of Godwine, into (South) Wales, and its tragic sequel, are narrated only in C. Swegen's earldom bordered on South Wales. 'Griffin se norþerna cyng' (a phrase elsewhere applied to Guthrum, 870) is Gruffydd, son of Llewellyn, King of North Wales (in the modern sense). Generally he was a staunch opponent of the English, Ann. Camb. pp. 23-25. In the Book of Llandaff he is described as: 'præcellens rigore et fortitudine tum contra barbaros Anglos, . . . semper fugituios, tum contra Hibernienses occidentales et semper fugaces, tum contra indigenas solito more bellicosos, tum contra Danaos marinos, tum contra insularum Orcadum habitatores,' H. & S. i. 294. Here we find him combined with Swegen against his rival and namesake Gruffydd, son of Rhydderch, King of South Wales.

Swegen's crime.

þa het he feccan, 7c.] See above, p. 115, and cf. the scandals about Edgar and the nun of Wilton. The name of the abbess was Eadgyfu, and Swegen afterwards wished, vainly, to marry her, Fl. Wig. i. 201, 202.

Leominster.

on Leo mynstre] The name Leonis or Leonense monasterium was derived from the legend of a vision of a lion seen by a Northumbrian priest who converted Merewald, son of Penda, under-king of the Hecanas, Hardy, Cat. i. 258; D. C. B. s. v. Merewald. Mr. Freeman thinks, from the absence of subsequent mention of it, that it was dissolved in consequence of the abbess' misconduct, F. N. C. ii. 87-89, 592, 593.

Osgod Clapa.

Osgod Clapan, C, E; Osgod stallere, D] In Heremanni Miracula S. Edmundi there is a curious story of his entering the church of the saint, 'armillas . . . baiulans in brachiis ambobus superbe, Danico more, deaurata

securi in humero dependente,' an insult which was miraculously avenged, Liebermann, pp. 242-244. He is called 'uir seculo famosissimus,' *ib.* He signs under Cnut, Hardacnut, and Edward. On this exile, cf. F. N. C. ii. 89, 90. He attempted to return by force, 1049 C, 1050 D, i. 168, 169. His sudden death is mentioned, 1054 C, D.

stallere, D] 'i.e. regni uexillifer,' Waltham, pp. 6, 19.

7 Magnus gewann Denmarcon] Cf. Fl. Wig.: 'Magnus Norre-ganorum rex, Sancti Olai regis filius, fugato rege Danorum Suano sibi Danemarciam subiugat,' i. 200. Magnus conquers Denmark.

se stranga winter, C] C places this under 1046, though it did not begin till 'after Candlemas' (Feb. 2), 1047, for reasons already explained. The hard winter. The Ann. Camb. say that the snow lasted from Jan. 1 to the feast of St. Patrick (March 17), p. 24.

1047 C, 1048 D, 1045 E. Grim cytel bisceop] See above, p. 217, on 1038.

pp. 166, 167. Stigand] On him see note on 1043 C, p. 223, *supra*.

þ benorþan, E] This vague description of Stigand's see becomes intelligible, when we realise that this part of E was written at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and not at Peterborough, which is only some forty miles from Elmham; see Introduction, § 48, note. There is a similar description of Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, 1046 E, i. 171, and of Living in respect of his Worcester diocese in an Exeter deed, K. C. D. vi. 195; cf. F. N. C. ii. 82. In a charter of 1022, Ælfwine, Bishop of Elmham, is called, more naturally, 'orientalis episcopus,' K. C. D. iv. 13.

ferde Swegen eorl ut] This exile of Swegen, son of Godwine, is only in E and F. Exile of Swegen, son of Godwine.

to Baldewines lande] *i.e.* Flanders; so 'Ricardes rice' is Normandy, 1000 E, *supra*; cf. F. N. C. i. 601, 639. On Flanders as a political refuge, see on 1037, p. 216, *supra*.

wende þa to sumere út] This means that he went to the seat of the war in the north between Magnus and Swegen.

7 Swegen eac sende hider, D] This application of Swegen for English help is only in D. Fl. Wig. says that it was supported by Godwine, and opposed by Leofric, who carried the day, i. 200. The Mercian chronicler indicates his hearty agreement with the Mercian earl; and it is hard to see what profit England could gain by interfering. On all these events, cf. F. N. C. ii. 90-94. Swegen of Denmark asks for English help.

purh þ þe Magnus . . . scyp cræft] I think that these words give the reason, not why the application was rejected, but why it was made; and that the phrase 'ac hit puhte . . . gelet' should be construed as a parenthesis.

7 Æpelstan abb . . . iii. Non' Aprī, C] These concluding entries of C show clearly that the year begins with Easter. Abbot Æthelstan of Abingdon died March 29, and Easter was on April 3; but it was in 1048, not 1047, that Easter fell on that day. This mode of beginning the year Chronology.

is common in some parts of the continent, especially in France, but does not seem to be much used in England, Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, pp. 40-47; Bond, *Handy Book for Verifying Dates*, pp. 91-101; App. to Introduction. Mr. Freeman is singularly unlucky in saying of C, 'The chronology of this Chronicle is utterly confused,' *F. N. C.* ii. 113, note. If once the fact that C's year begins with Easter be clearly grasped (a fact already pointed out by the editors of M. H. B.), it will be found that C is the only Chronicle the chronology of which is correct during the years 1040-1052. Thorpe has also failed signally in his attempt to bring the Chronicles into parallelism during these years.

Abbots of Abingdon.

1048 C, 1049 D, 1046 E. *Æpelstan . . . Spearhafoc, E]* On Æthelstan's death, see last note. His successor, Spearhafoc (Sparrow-hawk), was a noted goldsmith, *Fl. Wig.* i. 201, note. He is said to have fled from England with gold and jewels which William I had entrusted to him for making a crown, *Chron. Ab.* i. 462, 463; ii. 281; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 197.

Swein . . . Harold . . . Magnus fædera, D] Note the Scandinavian details in D; cf. Introduction, § 73. Harold Hadrada was Magnus' uncle, being uterine brother of St. Olaf, *Fl. Wig.* i. 200.

Renewed application by Swegen of Denmark.

7 *Swegen eac sende, 7c.]* This renewed application of Swegen for English help was, according to *Fl. Wig.*, again supported by Godwine, and again successfully opposed by Leofric, i. 200, 201. Mr. Thorpe, *ad loc.*, treats this as simply a doublet of the preceding annal. But though doublets do occur in D, there is nothing impossible in the application having been repeated.

Earthquake.

eorð styrung, C, D] The earthquake, according to *Fl. Wig. ib.*, was on a Sunday; and as Worcester was one of the chief centres of disturbance the fact would be remembered there. And May 1 was a Sunday in 1048. It may be noted that Florence, though closely related to D in this part, does not copy D's erroneous chronology.

Ravages of wikings.

Loſen 7 Yrling, E] E alone knows the names of these wikings. D and *Fl. Wig.* omit their ravages altogether; cf. *C. P. B.* ii. 178, 179.

on buton Tenet] Also peculiar to E, and illustrating the local knowledge of E's original; see Introduction, § 47. C adds that they ravaged Wight. It may have been in connexion with this attack that Edward ravaged Thanet and garrisoned Canterbury, Hardy, *Cat.* i. 380, cited above, p. 160.

Flanders, a market for English plunder.

sealdon pær þet hi ge hergod hæfdon] The way in which Flanders afforded a refuge for English outlaws and a market for English plunder, explains the readiness of Edward to co-operate with the Emperor against Baldwin as narrated in the next annal.

Death of Siward.

7 *he forð ferde . . . Nouembris, C]* The 'he' refers of course to Siward, not to Eadsige. On them, see above, pp. 223, 224. *Fl. Wig.*, like D, places Siward's death in 1049.

1049 C, 1050 D, 1046 (*bis*) E] Here E, by repeating the number 1046,

departs yet further from the true chronology, which C and Fl. Wig. alone preserve. On these chronological dislocations see Introduction, § 100, note.

Her . . . se casere gaderode, 7c., C, D] On the campaign of the Emperor against Baldwin, see F. N. C. ii. 594, 595; cf. Pertz, xvi. 638: '1049. Henricus imperator contra Balduinum proficiscitur. Balduinus satisfacit imperatori Aquis' (= 'se casere hæfde of Baldwine eall þ he wolde').

se patriarcha, D] Domenico Marengo, Patriarch of Grado; cf. Pertz, iv. 507; Gams, p. 791.

se myccla synoð æt Sçe Remei, E] The Council of Rheims, Oct. 3, 1049, is placed by E at the beginning of the annal, by D and Fl. Wig. at the end; cf. on it Bouquet, xi. 522, 523; Jaffé, R. P. p. 369; F. N. C. ii. 110, 111.

se arcþ of Burgundia] The Archbishop of Lyons is meant, at this time Halinard, Gams, p. 570. Prelates present.

se arceþ of Bysincun . . . Treueris . . . Remis] Hugues de Salins of Besançon, Eberhard of Trèves, Guy de Châtillon of Rheims, Gams, pp. 514, 318, 608.

Dudoc ƿ] Of Wells.

Wlfric] See above, p. 225.

Elfwine aþþ] Of Ramsey, cf. D, i. 170; Hist. Rames. R. S. pp. 170, 171. pp. 168-171] Unfortunately the divergence of the Chronicles and Fl. Wig. is not limited to points of chronology and arrangement. They seem to conflict with one another directly as to matters of fact. C and D are in some points so alike that they cannot be independent; in others they are at issue. Florence is nearest to D, but in two points he agrees with C against D. E is independent of them all. It may be well to exhibit these points in a tabular form (the dotted lines indicate agreement with the preceding column).

C 1049.	D 1050.	Fl. Wig. 1049.	E 1046.
Campaign of the Emperor against Baldwin of Flanders.	.....	.....	.....
		Swegen of Denmark does homage to the Emperor.	
Edward, at the Emperor's request, keeps guard with a fleet at Sandwich.	.....	.....	Edward goes to Sandwich with a fleet.
Earl Swegen comes to Edw. and begs for a grant of land to maintain himself.	Arrival of Swegen, who had formerly fled to Denmark and had been guilty there of some great crime.	..... because he was not allowed to marry the Abbess of Leominster, whom he had seduced.	Swegen comes to Bosham with seven ships; and makes peace with Edw. who promises him restoration of all that he formerly held.

C 1049.	D 1050.	Fl. Wig. 1049.	E 1046.
Harold and Beorn oppose and refuse to give up what the king had granted them.			Harold and Beorn withstand this, and refuse to agree to Swegen's resuming what the king had granted him; he is given four days' grace in which to return to his ships.
Swegen's coming was guileful. He offers to become Edw.'s 'man.'	. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . to submit to Edw.	He declares guilefully that henceforth he will remain faithfully with Edw.	
Sw. begs Beorn to support his prayer.	Beorn promises to assist him.	. . . . . that he will get Edw. to restore Swegen's earldom.	
Edward utterly refuses it.			Edw. hears that pirates are harrying in the west. Godwine, Harold, and Tostig go westward; Harold gives up his ship to Beorn. They are weather-bound at Pevensey.
Swegen returns to his ships at Bosham.			
Godwine and Beorn go to Pevensey. Edw. dismisses the Mercian contingent of the fleet.	Edward dismisses most of his fleet. Godwine and Beorn go to Pevensey.	. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . by the king's licence.	
Edw. hears that Osgod, with 29 ships, is at Wulpe, and recalls the ships which were lying at Northmouth.	. . . . . with 39 ships . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .	. . . . . . . . . . 29	
Osgod leaves his wife at Bruges and returns [? to Wulpe] with six ships. The rest ravage at Eadwulfsness in Essex and return to their ships.	. Sussex ; but are caught in a storm and all destroyed but four which were slaughtered beyond sea.	Osgod takes his wife on board at Bruges and returns to Denmark ¹ Essex two which were captured abroad, and the crews slain.	
While Godwine and Beorn were at Pevensey, Swegen comes treacherously and persuades Beorn to go with him to Edw., but takes him to Bosham, kidnaps him, sails to Dartmouth, where he has him slain and buried deep.	. in a deep ditch (with variations of phrase, but not of substance).	While these things were being done . heaped over with earth.	Within two days Swegen comes to Godwine and Beorn, persuades Beorn to accompany him to Edw. at Sandwich, but takes him to Bosham on a pretext of his crews Aremouth, where they slay him and bury him in a church.

¹ Either this refers to a later stage, or Fl. Wig. has misunderstood the Chron.

C 1049.	D 1050.	Fl. Wig. 1049.	E 1046.
Harold translates his body to Winchester.	They ('man') translate his body to Winchester.		His friends and the lithsmen of London translate his body to Winchester.
The king and all the host proclaim Swegen 'niðing.'			
	Meanwhile the men of Hastings had captured two of S.'s ships, slain the crews, and taken the ships to Sandwich.	After the murder Swegen is deserted by six out of his eight ships; of the six the men of Hastings capture two, slay the crews, and take the ships to Sandwich.	
S. had eight ships originally, but after the murder all deserted him but two.		S. with two ships goes to Flanders, and stays there till Ealdred reconciles him with Edw.	S. goes to Baldwin's land and remains at Bruges all the winter in full grið.
S. goes to Bruges and remains there with Baldwin.			

Now the differences between C and D as to the number of Osgod's ships, the position of Eadwulfsness, are probably due to mere slips of D which are avoided by Fl. Wig. The difference between E and the rest as to the place of Beorn's murder and first burial is irreconcilable, but unimportant. The differences between C, D, and E as to Beorn's second burial are neither irreconcilable nor very important. Again, each account has points of interest peculiar to itself:—the noteworthy statement that Swegen had committed some new crime among the Danes, which closed Denmark as a refuge to him (D); the mention of Tostig (E); the proclamation of Swegen as nithing (C); the destruction of Osgod's ships by storm (D, Fl. Wig.); the exploit of the men of Hastings (D, Fl. Wig.); the share of the lithsmen of London in Beorn's translation (E). But putting all this aside, there are irreconcilable differences in the point of view. Thus, according to C, Swegen only asked for a grant of land sufficient to maintain himself, and even this was opposed by Harold and Beorn, and utterly refused by Edward. According to E, Edward was willing to restore Swegen to everything, and was only prevented by the opposition of Harold and Beorn. And whereas C and E represent Beorn as opposed to Swegen, and only partially relenting afterwards; D represents him as favourable to Swegen from the first, while Fl. Wig. goes even further than D. It is plain that Swegen's conduct is much more explicable on the former than on the latter view. Again, whereas C seems to imply that Godwine and Beorn were intended to act against Swegen, E ascribes their departure to the ravages of pirates in the west, and certainly their force seems unnecessarily great for the former purpose. Cf. on all these events, F. N. C. ii. 96-109, who, however, hardly realises fully the divergence between the accounts.

p. 168. *Da wiðlæg Harold eorl*, E] This is the first mention we have had of Harold in the Chronicle. His character as given by the Waltham Harold, son of Godwine.

historian is worth quoting: 'armis strenuus, procero corpore et inestimabili strenuitate, forma etiam pulcritudinis praeclens cunctis primatibus terrae, regis manus dextra et sapientia praeditus, et artium omnium quae decent militem gnarus, se uirum agebat praeclarum per omnia . . . Gratiam enim . . . adquisierat, tum . . . astutia et legum terrae peritia, tum quia se talem gerebat, quod non solum Angli, uerum etiam Normanni et Gallici imprimis inuidebant pulcritudini et prudentiae, militiae et sagacitati; quem indigenae prae ceteris postulabant et ardentem sitiebant post sanctum regem Edwardum, ipsius morum et uitae heredem,' p. 14; cf. *ib.* 25.

7 Beorn] He signs from 1045 to 1049; cf. C. P. B. ii. 592.

ūnnfrið scipa] Cf. Thorpe, Laws, i. 284; Schmid, p. 204.

The standing navy, and the national levies.

þæs cinges . . . scipum . . . landes manna scipa] Note the distinction between the royal *or* standing navy, and the national levies; corresponding to the distinctions between the housecarls and the fyrd on land.

Emendation of text.

þa scyfte man Harold eorl . . . Harold . . . éer steorde] Professor Earle was the first to see that in this passage the first 'Harold' is certainly a mistake for 'Beorn.' The Ann. Wav. omit the sentence altogether, so that evidently a difficulty was felt about it.

þ Osgod lage, C, D] On Osgod, see pp. 226, 227, *supra*.

7 wende eft ongean, C] D's 'wendon' is a mere blunder, caused by the 'wendon' which precedes and follows.

wende . . . for þære sibbe, C, D] Note that C's 'wende' is from 'wēnan,' to think, D's from 'wendan,' to turn.

þær Swegenes scypa lagon, C] *i. e.* Bosham, not Sandwich.

p. 170. gewunnon his twa scypa, D] These two ships captured by the men of Hastings are certainly to be understood with Fl. Wig. as two of the ships which deserted Swegen, not, with Freeman, as the two which remained with him; 'his twa scypa' does not mean 'his two ships,' but 'two ships of his.'

Exploit of the men of Hastings.

On þam ilcan geare comon upp, 7c.] This unsuccessful campaign of Bishop Ealdred against the Welsh is only found in D and Fl. Wig. i. 203. See on it, F. N. C. ii. 109, 110, 595 ff., who is not, however, very clear. Without going into details it is plain from the Welsh Annals that about this time the rulers of South Wales were in alliance with the Danes of Dublin against their North Welsh rivals, while we have seen the latter in alliance with the English against the former. On one occasion the Northern Gruffydd was taken captive by the Danes of Dublin, at another time he expelled his rival and occupied his country, Ann. Camb. p. 24 (R. S.); Brut y Tywys., pp. 40 ff. The 'Gryfn' here mentioned is the Southern prince; but there is no need with Freeman to make a difficulty about his allies, the Irish Danes, ravaging parts of his own territory which may have been in the occupation of the enemy. According to Fl. Wig. the defeat of Ealdred was caused by the treachery of some Welshmen serving in his army. These may either have been North Welshmen in alliance

Campaign of Ealdred against the Welsh.

with the English, or South Welsh living on the English side of the border ; cf. for the latter, F. N. C. ii. 387.

Ðæs geres forðferde on Oxnaford scire] Here the text of D must be mended by comparison with C. Eadnoth was bishop of the great Mercian see of Dorchester, which included much more than Oxfordshire (C, D). On E's title 'bisceop benorðan,' see on 1047 C, p. 227, *supra*.

Death of Eadnoth of Dorchester.

Ulf] Fl. Wig. calls him 'genere Nortmannus' ; from the name it might seem as if this meant Northman, rather than Norman ; but Fl. Wig. uses the same term of Robert of Jumièges in the next annal. Anyhow he was closely associated with the Norman party, and shared their fall, i. 181, 182. He was present at the translation of St. Gerard of Toul, in Oct. 1050, Pertz, iv. 509, where he is called 'Lupus pontifex Anglorum.' Fl. Wig. omits the unflattering comments of C, D here, and of E in the next annal.

Ulf succeeds.

p. 171. **Eadwerd . . . scylode .ix. scypa of male . . . xii. monað gyld, C]** This means that of the standing *or* royal naval force, p. 232, nine ships were dismissed, and only five retained. And even these five were only promised one year's pay ; and a year later the whole force was disbanded, 1050 C, *ad fin.*, i. 172. (Freeman is clearly wrong in making the twelve months' pay promised to the nine ships which were dismissed instead of to the five which were retained.) It may have been this which enabled Edward to dispense with the Danegeld.

Disbanding of the standing navy.

ferde Hereman . . . 7 Ealdred . . . to Rome . . . ærende] According to the lives of Edward, the mission on which Herman and Ealdred were sent to Rome was to obtain from the Pope a release from a vow of pilgrimage which he had made before his accession, Ailr. R. cc. 749-752 ; St. Edw. pp. 70, 71 ; cf. the spurious charters, K. C. D. Nos. 824, 825. The strong constitutional view of the French life that Edward had no power to make such a vow without the consent of the witan should be noticed. Goscelin, the hagiologist, was one of Herman's suite, Hardy, Cat. i. 197, 378 ; cf. H. Y. ii. 344, 345. Both the reduction of the fleet and the mission of the bishops really belong to 1050, but as they happened before Easter ('tô midfestene,' E) they are placed by C under 1049.

Mission of Herman and Ealdred to Rome.

pp. 170, 171. 1050 C, 1051 D, 1047 E. **Her . . . wæs mycel ge mot . . . to midfestene, E]** On this 'midfast' gemót of 1050, and its resolutions for the reduction of the fleet, and the mission of the bishops, see preceding notes.

Midfast gemót.

sinoð on Rome . . . sinoð on Uercel] On these councils, cf. Jaffé, Councils. R. P. pp. 371, 372 ; F. N. C. ii. 112-117.

man ge inlagode Swegen, C] Because E mentions the return of Swegen between the reduction of the fleet and the mission of the bishops, Freeman assumes that Swegen was inlawed at the Mid-lent gemót of 1050, F. N. C. ii. 106, 113. It seems to me much safer to

inlawed.

follow the indications furnished by C, who places it between the return of the bishops and the death of Eadsige on Oct. 29. Probably it was done at a special gemót held to receive the report of the bishops. H. H. says that Swegen was inlawed 'cautela Godwini patris sui,' p. 193.

Death of
Ælfric of
York.

Ælfric . . . xi. k̅r̅ Fe̅b̅] *i.e.* Jan. 22, 1051, according to our reckoning. D places it under the following year. E does not mention it, though his burial at Peterborough might have found a place in the Chronicle of that house. He died at Southwell. His successor was Cynesige, a royal chaplain, Fl. Wig. i. 204.

Mid-lent
gemót.

gemot . . . to midlencten] This Mid-lent gemót of C, at which Robert and Spearhafoc were appointed, belongs to 1051, and must be carefully distinguished from E's 'midfast' gemót, which belongs to 1050. D places these appointments also under the present year, probably because the mention of Eadsige's death naturally led up to them.

p. 172. sette ealle þa litsmen of male, C] On this, see p. 233, above.

Robert of
Jumièges
appointed
to Canter-
bury.

p. 171. 1051 C, 1052 D, 1048 E. Eadward . . . ge sette Rodbyrd to Cantwara byrig, E] On this, cf. F. N. C. ii. 69 ff, 117 ff. The Canterbury monks elected one of their number, Ælfric, a relative of Earl Godwine, who warmly supported the election, but in vain, St. Edw. pp. 399, 400. There was therefore some ground for Archbishop Robert's hostility to Godwine. The English writers, from the chronicler down to Mr. Freeman, are mostly unfavourable to Robert. And it is hard to discern the truth through the mists of national prejudices. W. M. expressly contrasts the English and Norman views of him, i. 240. Rudborne calls him 'uir magnae literaturae, alti ingenii consiliique,' Ang. Sac. i. 237. What his literary claims were I do not know; he was certainly a great builder, W. M. i. 244; F. N. C. ii. 70.

Rudolf, the
king's
relative.

p. 172. Ro̅ðulfe ̅b̅ his mæge] Cf. Fl. Wig. i. 204; F. N. C. ii. 119, 120. The see which he had held in Norway was Nitharos, *or* Drontheim, Gams, p. 335. He was of a great age, and had been a bishop many years according to Chron. Ab. i. 463, 464; ii. 281. His relationship to the king I do not know.

se papa hit him forboden hæfde] The grounds of this alleged prohibition nowhere appear.

Abolition
of the
Danegeld.

p. 173. Her . . . aléde Eadward . . . † heregyld, D] Only in D, followed by Fl. Wig. The amount is stated as £80,000, S. D. ii. 166. The grounds of the abolition have been already given, p. 233. For the legendary account, see F. N. C. ii. 122; St. Edw. p. 52, where it is called 'Danescot.' The chronicler seems to date the regular establishment of the tax from about 1013, though he regards the payment of 991 as the first Danegeld. On the word 'heregyld,' see above, p. 219.

Expulsion
of Godwine

On the expulsion of Godwine and his sons there are long discussions in F. N. C. ii. 129-160, 559-605. Here again it may be well to exhibit an

analysis of the different accounts in parallel columns. It will be observed and his that C merely states the fact of the exile, and this is in Godwine's favour; ^{sons.} for C is anti-Godwinist, and had there been a version unfavourable to Godwine, he would probably have given it. Fl. Wig. follows D so closely that it is hardly necessary to give his account separately. One or two points in it will be noted later. The third column is taken from the nearly contemporary life of Edward, St. Edw. pp. 401-405.

E

Count Eustace comes to visit the king. On his way back a disturbance is provoked at Dover. He returns to the king, who orders Godwine to punish the men of Dover. He refuses. The king summons the witan.

Outrages of the foreigners at [Richard's] castle. Godwine, his sons, and many others assemble at Beverston, with a view to seeking redress from the king and witan. The foreigners anticipate them, and they are refused a hearing.

Leofric and Siward bring up their forces. In view of this Godwine reluctantly gathers forces in self-defence.

A truce is agreed to, and a gemót is to be summoned in London at the autumn equinox.

The king calls out the here; outlaws Swegen; summons Godwine and Harold. They demand hostages, but have to surrender their thanes.

The king cites them to appear with only twelve men. They again demand hostages. This is refused, and they are declared outlaws after five days' grace.

Godwine and Swegen go to Bosham, and thence to Flanders.

D

Eustace, Edw.'s brother-in-law, lands at Dover.

Disturbance provoked there.

He goes to the king at Gloucester.

Godwine, angry that such things should be done in his earldom, collects forces with his sons at Langtree. He demands the surrender of Eustace and of the French in [Richard's] castle.

The king sends for L and S. They come at first with a small force; then bring up larger forces. They offer to fight Godwine if the king orders them. But a compromise is agreed to, and the affair adjourned to London. Summonses are issued all over England.

Godwine and his sons are summoned; they come to Southwark. Their forces dwindle. Harold's thanes are made over to the king. Swegen is outlawed.

Godwine refuses to come in view of the king's force and escapes. Edw. holds a gemót and outlaws him and his sons.

Godwine and his wife, Swegen, Tostig and his wife, and Gyrrh, go to Thorney; Harold and Leofwine to Bristol and

Life.

Archbishop Robert accuses Godwine of the murder of Alfred Etheling. The king summons a gemót at Gloucester.

Siward and Leofric come. All attempt, but in vain, to secure a legal trial for Godwine.

The court removes to London.

Godwine comes to his own house. The king makes an impossible demand for the restoration of his dead brother Alfred.

Godwine escapes to Bosham, thence to Baldwin. Men are sent in pursuit of him. It was just the time of Tostig's wedding.

E

D

Life.

embark in a ship prepared
by Swegen. Edw. sends
Ealdred in pursuit, who
fails to overtake him.

The queen is dismissed
to Wilton.

Harold goes to Ireland.

Harold goes to Ireland,
Godwine to Flanders.
What a revolution!

Harold goes to Ireland
to King Diarmaid.

The queen sent to Wher-
well.

: : : :

Fl. Wig.
anti-Nor-
man.

Now Florence, though following D in the main, evidently tries to heighten the case against the foreigners and in favour of Godwine. The former slay not only men but women and children at Dover, and then take to a disgraceful flight, '*turpem fugam ineunt*.'

D comes
from a
northern
source, and
is anti-God-
winist.

Of the two Chronicles D evidently comes from a northern source, cf. 'pisne norðende,' i. 175 l.; and is much less favourable to Godwine than E. Thus in D Godwine prepares to levy war on the king, immediately on hearing of the doings of Eustace. In E he proposes at first merely to remonstrate on the doings of the foreigners in Herefordshire, and only reluctantly gathers forces in view of the hostile attitude of Siward and Leofric. And there are other differences between the two accounts which, though not so important, are harder to reconcile than perhaps Mr. Freeman allows.

p. 172. his unðances, E] So 'hiora unþonces,' Oros. p. 244; and in the same sense: 'hiora, his unwillum,' *ib.* 6, 166; contrast 'his agnum willum,' *ib.* 206. On the significance of the local knowledge shown here by E, see Introduction, § 47.

p. 173. wearð . . . swiþe gram] Cf. 'he swa grom wearð on his mode,' Oros. p. 72.

nolde na geðwærian þære infare] *i. e.* he would not consent to the expedition which Edward had ordered. The Ann. Wav. wrongly translate: 'Godwinus . . . noluit permittere intrare gentem Eustachii ne nocerent genti suae,' p. 184.

'Folgað.'

his agenne folgað] 'Folgað' means first a following, in the abstract; then it means a following in the concrete, a comitatus; cf. 'he behead þæt he forlete . . . his folgað,' Oros. p. 288 (= 'militia excedere'); 'to his folgaðe 7 his þegnunge þa æþelestan men cwomon,' Bede, p. 196 (= ad eius ministerium). Then it means the district within which any one has authority *or* following. In the Worcester charters it often occurs in the sense of bishopric, diocese; e. g. Birch, iii. 443, 484, 524, &c. It means a parish in Thorpe, Laws, ii. 386. Here it is used in this third sense of district *or* earldom. The Latin 'comitatus' has passed through the same three stages of meaning. See also a note in Bede, II. 212, 213.

The two
St. Mary's
masses.

neh þære æftre sça Maria mæssan] Cf. *infra*, 1069 E: 'betwyx þam twam sça Marian mæssan'; and K. C. D. iv. 290: 'ehta dagas to ðære

ærre Sanctae Marian mæssan, 7 ehta dagas to ðære æftran Sancta Marian mæssan'; *i. e.* the Assumption, Aug. 15, and the Nativity, Sept. 8.

þa welisce menn] *i. e.* the foreigners; not Welshmen, as it is translated by Ann. Wav., W. M. i. 242, and many modern translators. It is equivalent to 'þa Frencyscan' of D, i. 175 h. 'Welisc' = foreign.

æenne castel on Herefordscire] This is the place still known as Richard's Castle in Herefordshire. Fl. Wig., following D, *u. s.*, which does not give the situation, understands it wrongly of a castle at Dover, i. 206. See below on 1052 E, i. 181; and on castles generally, cf. F. N. C. ii. 605-607; Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp. 328 ff. Richard's Castle.

p. 174. Byferes stane] 'An admirable trysting-place . . . close to the Fosse, not far from the Ermine Street and Ikenild Way which converged on Cirencester, and was also situated on Godwine's estate of Berkeley,' Rev. C. S. Taylor, Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Trans. xix. 80.

Ða ge rædden . . . on ægðre healf] According to Fl. Wig., *u. s.*, this compromise was due to Leofric, which is probable enough. Compromise.

het se cyning bannan út here] Both in D and E a part at least of the king's forces is spoken of as 'here,' not 'fyrd.' This shows that the institution of housecarls continued, even after the Danish dynasty had passed away. Individual housecarls are found under Edward, K. C. D. iv. 202, 204, 221; while in 1052 we find a mention of 'all the king's housecarls,' *ib.* 291. Housecarls.

Ða gyrnde se cyng . . . to handa] This is obscure, and Freeman has nothing to suggest. W. M.'s rendering is: 'ut seruitium militum quos per Angliam habebant regi contraderent,' i. 242. This is the language of a more developed feudalism, but I think substantially it is right. The meaning apparently is that the earls had to transfer to the king all those who by commendation or otherwise held land of themselves. There is a very similar phrase in a charter of William I cited by Maitland, Domesday, p. 153: 'swa fela þegna swa hic heom to geleton habbe'; this is the converse case of a grant by the crown. D, i. 175 b., limits the transaction to Harold's thanes. D's phrase 'man borhfæste þam cyninge ealle þa þegnas,' probably means that the thanes were transferred to the king's 'borh' or protection (not 'placed under pledge' as I have taken it in the Glossary. For 'borh' in the sense of 'mund,' see Schmid, Glossar, s. v.). The earls' dependents transferred to the king.

p. 175. Brycg stowe, D] See Rev. C. S. Taylor, Cotswold, p. 23.

p. 176. se cining sende Ealdred þ of Lundene] *i. e.* 'sent Bishop Ealdred from London,' not 'sent Ealdred, Bishop of London.' This is only in D, and is omitted by Fl. Wig. If it was within the five days' grace, it was rank treachery; and the words 'hi ne mihton oððe hi noldon' seem to show that the pursuers had no liking for their errand. According to the life, Godwine was similarly treated. 'Hine' refers to Harold. Traacherous attempt to seize Harold,

Harold eorl . . . to Yrlande, E] Leofwine accompanied him, C, D. who goes to Ireland.

on þæs cynges griðe] The life shows that the king was Diarmaid mac Mael na m-Bo, King of Leinster.

Edith dismissed

pa forlet se cyng pa hlæfdian] I have found no signatures of Edith between 1046 and 1055. According to Fl. Wig. she was dismissed with a single attendant; while the life says that she went 'cum regio honore et imperiali comitatu, moerens tamen,' p. 403.

to Wherwell.

pa hlæfdian . . . to cwene] On this phrase, cf. F. N. C. iv. 768.
to Hwerwillon] The life says Wilton; probably a mere slip. Wherwell was founded by Ælfthryth, Ethelred's mother, in expiation, as was said, for the death of King Edward the Martyr, *supra*, p. 166. Edred by his will granted the 'ham' of Wherwell to the New Minster of Winchester, Birch, iii. 74; which did not retain it, for Ethelred in 1002 offers to Christ, 'nobile coenobium cum uilla . . . æt Werewelle, pro remedio animae patris mei Eadgari et matris Ælfðryð, . . . quod ipsa possedit, et . . . extruere aggressa est,' K. C. D. iii. 323; and this continued to Domesday: 'abbatia de Warewelle tenet totam uillam in qua ipsa ecclesia sedet, et semper tenuit,' Domesday of Hants, facs. p. 14. It was burnt down in the wars of Stephen's reign, 1141, W. M. i. 179, 184; ii. 581; G. P. p. 175; Fl. Wig. ii. 135; Liebermann, p. 6; cf. Pertz, xxiv. 584; Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp. 127 ff.

Visit of William.

Ða . . . com Willelm eorl, D] Only in D, followed by Fl. Wig. See on it, F. N. C. ii. 292-304.

p. 177. Willelm þæs cynges preost, E] We find him on the continent in 1060, Pertz, xv. 839.

Odda.

man sette þa Oddan] 'He is named again, 1052 E, *ad init.*, and his death is recorded 1056 D with a character. There is a slab among the Arundel Marbles at Oxford, which was found in 1675 near Deerhurst Church in Gloucestershire. It bears the following inscription in letters of Saxon times:

✠ ODDA DVX IVSSIT HANC
 REGIAM AVLAM CONSTRVI
 ATQVE DEDICARI IN HONO-
 RE S. TRINITATIS PRO ANIMA GER-
 MANI SVI ELFRICI QVE DE HOC
 LOCO ASVPTA EALDREDVS VERO
 EĒS QVI EANDEM DEDICAVIT II IDI-
 BVS APĪ XIII AVTEM ANNOS REG-
 NI EADWARDI REGIS ANGLORV̄.

The death of the said Ælfric, brother of Odda, is recorded 1053 D (i. 185). The quaintnesses of the inscription are partially reproduced in Parker's Glossary of Architecture, Companion, p. 26, Earle. For 'aula' = church, v. Ducange, *s. v.* On Odda's earldom, see F. N. C. ii. 564-566.

ofer Wealas] *i. e.* the Cornwelsh.

pp. 176, 177. 1052 C, D, E] Here at last all the three chief Chronicles coincide once more in their chronology; see the critical note. Of the events

of this year there is a long and rhetorical account in F. N. C. ii. 305-346, 623-635. On the relation of the MSS. see Introduction, §§ 72, 110. C and D are largely derived from a common source, though each has peculiarities. E is independent. Fl. Wig. supplies some valuable additions. There does not seem in this case to be any direct conflict between the Chronicles.

p. 176. Her . . . Ælfgyfu, D] C for the usual reason has placed the death of 'the old lady,' *i.e.* as we should say, the queen dowager, 'uxor regum, et mater regum,' H. H. p. 193, in the previous year (March 14). C calls her by her Norman name Emma, but the name is written on an erasure, and probably the original reading was Ælfgyfu, as in D. In E and F both names are combined. She signs very few charters under Ethelred, and those she signs Ælfgyfu, K. C. D. iii. 345, 357. In one charter of Ethelred's she is spoken of as 'Emma regina,' *ib.* vi. 172; she signs one charter of Cnut's as Emma, *ib.* iv. 1; the rest as Ælfgyfu, *ib.* 3, 9, 14, 20, &c.; and so under Hardacnut, *ib.* 69 (cf. vi. 192, Earle, Charters, p. 242), and Edward, K. C. D. iv. 75, 76, 86, 90, 93, 116, 298; vi. 194. Of these documents four are certainly subsequent to her disgrace in 1043; and she retained property in Norfolk after that event, *ib.* iv. 223. But she never signs after the marriage of Edward to Edith. In one undated document under Edward she signs by the double name, *ib.* i. 296. (The will of an Ælfgyfu, given in K. C. D. iii. 359, under the year 1012, cannot, in spite of Kemble, belong to this Ælfgyfu; as a legacy is left to 'the lady,' and in 1012 Ælfgyfu-Emma was herself the lady. Nor can the document be dated much later than 1012, as there is a legacy to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, who died about 1012. A genuine bequest of Ælfgyfu-Emma is in K. C. D. No. 1337; Birch, No. 980.

Death of the queen dowager.

hergode Griffin] This invasion of Gruffydd of North Wales is only in D.

Frencisce men of ðam castele] On this see above, p. 237.

pæs ylcan dæges . . . þe man . . . Eadwine of sloh] The reference is to the battle of Rhyd y Groes, 1039 C, an entry which, curiously enough, is not in D.

p. 178. eodon þær úp. 7 hergodon, E] It is noteworthy that E, though the most Godwinist of the three main Chronicles, is the one which lays most stress on Godwine's ravages on the south coast.

Ravages of Godwine.

pp. 178, 179. ealle þa butsecarlas, C, D] For the word, cf. New Eng. Dict. s. *vv.* buss, buscarl. The 'butsecarls' stand in the same relation to the 'scip-fyrd' that the housecarls occupy towards the 'land-fyrd'; *i.e.* they are the king's standing force, as opposed to the national levies. This seems clear from a passage in Domesday, cited by Maitland, p. 156, for a different object: 'quando Rex ibat in expeditione uel terra uel mari, habebat de hoc burgo aut xx. solidos ad pascendos suos *buzecarlos*, aut unum hominem ducebat secum pro honore v. hidarum,' D. B. i. 64 b. This is the principle of the later scutage applied to naval warfare: *viz.* a monetary contribution to the expenses of the mercenary force in lieu of

The Butsecarls, a standing naval force.

personal service. If these men had been thrown out of employment by the disbanding of the naval force in the previous year (see 1050 C, *ad fin.*), we can readily understand their discontent, and willingness to take part with Godwine. In 1066 Fl. Wig. enumerates the 'butsecarls' of London among those who wished to make Edgar Etheling king, i. 228 (cf. ii. 9). And in 1036 E we find the 'lithsmen' of London helping to make Harold Harefoot regent. The two words mean much the same.

Hæstingan . . . Suð Sexan, C] For this contrast see on 1011.

Textual
corruption.

eallne þæne East (ende. 7 Suð) Sexan, C, D] The words in brackets are omitted erroneously by D, with the result that in his text Essex comes in most inopportunity between Hastings and Surrey. Fl. Wig. has both Essex and Sussex, which looks like a conflation of C and D or similar MSS.

licgan 7 lybban] See above, p. 115.

Harold eorl his sunu (7 he). 7 hi, 7c.] Here again the text of D requires mending by reference to C.

butse carlas . . . here] It may be the presence of the 'butsecarls' which causes the chronicler to call Godwine's force a 'here.'

Southwark.

pp. 180, 181. to Suð (ge) weorce] A comparison of the biographer with the Chron. as given on p. 235, makes it probable that Godwine's own house was at Southwark.

he eac ge fadode] According to the biographer, he had received many solicitations to return before he actually did so, St. Edw. pp. 404-408; cf. W. M. i. 243-245.

swa full . . . ahte] This is a regular stereotyped phrase in the charters, e.g. K. C. D. iv. 294, 306; vi. 203, 205, &c.

Flight of
the
foreigners.

Pentecostes . . . Rodbertes castele, E] Cf. Fl. Wig. 'Osbernus . . . cognomento Pentecost, et socius ejus Hugo sua reddiderunt castella; et comitis Leofrici licentia per suum comitatum Scottiam adeuntes a rege Scottorum Macbeothena suscepti sunt,' i. 210. Osbern was the son of Richard, son of Scrob, the founder of Richard's Castle, which is probably the place meant by Pentecost's Castle. Freeman identifies the Robert here mentioned with Robert, son of Wymarc, but where his castle was is not known, F. N. C. ii. 324.

Flight of
Archbishop
Robert, &c.

7 Rodberd . . . 7 Vlf . . . ge wendon út] In Earle's *Swiðhun*, p. 55, it is stated that in this flight Archbishop Robert took with him the famous English missal, called the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, which he gave to his church at Jumièges, whence, on the dissolution of the monastery in 1791, it was removed to the Public Library of Rouen, where it still is. But from an entry in the book itself, which has been lately edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, it appears that the book was given while Robert was still Bishop of London, pp. xix, xx, lxix, lxx, 316. He died and was buried at Jumièges on his way back from Rome, whither he had gone to appeal against his expulsion from Canterbury, G. P. p. 35. Some time between his expulsion and his

death, he was present at St. Denys, at the verification of the relics of St. Dionysius, &c., Bouquet, xi. 473.

p. 182. unlage . . . demdon, C, D] Cf. Cnut's Secular Laws, c. xv.: 'se þe unlage rære oppe undom gedeme,' Thorpe, i. 384; Schmid, p. 278; so this again is a regular technical phrase; cf. Wulfstan, pp. 47, 156.

buton swa feala, 7c.] Fl. Wig., *u. s.*, gives the names of some of them.

Willelm b.] 'Sed Willelmus, propter suam bonitatem, paruo post tempore reuocatus, in suum episcopatum recipitur,' Fl. Wig. *u. s.* Restoration of William, Bishop of London.

Swegen for æror to Hierusalem, 7c., C] The pilgrimage and death of Swegen are only in C. Fl. Wig. has them, but apparently from some other source, for he makes him die in Lycia, 'ex nimio frigore,' i. 210. He adds that Swegen went to Jerusalem, 'nudis pedibus.' (Cf. for this the Canons enacted under Edgar, § 10: 'Déoplic dædbót bið þ læwede man his wæpna alege, 7 weallige bārfót wīde, 7c.,' Thorpe, Laws, ii. 280.) Pilgrimage and death of Swegen.

on þone Monandæg] Fl. Wig. says that it was on the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14), and this in 1052 was the Monday after the Nativity of the Virgin, Sept. 8, the 'later St. Mary's mass.'

Godwine þa gesiclode, 7c.] This also, with the unflattering comments made on it, is only in C. Sickness and recovery of Godwine.

eft gewyrpte] Cf. 'mid þý he eft gewyrpte,' Guthlac, p. 86; 'sona þæt him wæs bet, 7 hine getrumade 7 gewyrpte from þære untrymnyse,' Bede, p. 192; cf. *ib.* 326, 394, 404; 'gewyrpte' glosses 'conualuit,' Wülker, Glossaries, i. 212, 365; cf. Saxon Leechdoms, I. lxxxvii f.

he dyde . . . to lytle dædbote, 7c.] On the charges of sacrilege brought against Godwine and Harold, *e. g.* Thorn, c. 1779, see F. N. C. ii. 542-552, where they are of course minimised as much as possible. We find legacies left to them, K. C. D. iv. 107. Of the evidence furnished by Domesday of Harold's rapacity, Professor Maitland says very justly: 'twenty years after Harold's death . . . there seems no reason why the jurors should tell lies about Harold,' p. 168; cf. *ib.* 449. Charge of sacrilege.

se stranga wind] C is right in placing this under 1052. D brings St. Thomas' Eve (Dec. 20), on which it happened, into connexion with the following Christmas, with which perhaps he, or the authority which he followed, began the year. High wind

p. 183. On þis ilcan tyme, 7c., E] A Peterborough insertion. Arnwi's election is given above, 1041 E (=1042). His successor, Leofric, was a nephew of the great Earl Leofric, and the greatest of abbatial pluralists, 1066 E, i. 198, *infra*; F. N. C. ii. 575. Peterborough insertion.

Leofri[c go]dede . . . þ mynstre] This reading of Earle's is supported by Hugo Candidus' 'ditatus,' p. 42; the earlier editors suggested 'gildede,' which derives some support from the 'Gildeneburh' which follows. 'The magnificence of Peterborough Abbey gave rise to the proverb "Orgoyl de Bourk," Peterborough pride, which is found in a list of local characteristics Magnificence of Peterborough.

current in the time of Edward II, published by Mr. Nichols in *Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan. 1862), xii. 64, from MS. Douce 98, Earle.

1053 C, D, E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. ii. 346-353.

Death of
Godwine.

Her . . . forðferde Godwine eorl, E] For the legendary development of the story of Godwine's death, *ib.* 635-640, cf. Ailr. c. 766; Lib. de Hyda, p. 289. Godwine died April 15 (E, F). This was the Thursday after Easter (C) in 1053. For the ordeal of bread ('corsnæd'), which the later legends represent Godwine as undergoing, cf. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 344 (*bis*); Schmid, p. 246; the formularies to be observed in it are given, *ib.* 420, 421; cf. Bouquet, iv. 604, 605, 607, 608.

Succession
of Harold.

feng Harold . . . his sunu to ðam eorl dome] For, as Professor Maitland says, the tenure of the great earldoms at this time was by 'hereditary right, tempered by outlawry,' *Domesday*, p. 168.

Execution
of Rhys.

p. 182. man sloh Hris, D] C has placed this under 1052, for the usual reason. Fl. Wig. adds that he was executed 'in loco qui Bulendun dicitur,' and that he was the brother of the South Welsh Gruffydd, i. 211. The

Winch-
combe.

arrangement by which Bishop Ealdred took the abbacy of Winchcombe (C) was, according to Fl. Wig. *u. s.*, merely temporary: 'Aldredus . . . abbatiam Wincelcumbensem tandiu in manu sua tenuit, donec Godricum, regis capellani Godmanni filium abbatem constitueret.' On Winchcombe, cf. G. P. pp. 294, 295; H. & S. iii. 572-575; H. Y. i. 435; the Winchcombe Register or Landbóc, lately edited by the Rev. D. Royce from two MSS. belonging to Lord Sherborne; and Taylor, *Cotswold*, p. 33.

pp. 184, 185. Eac Wylsce menn . . . Wæst byrig, C] Only in C.

No fully
qualified
archbishop
in Eng-
land.

On ðisson geare næs nân arcebisceop, 7c.] The criticism of C on Stigand's ecclesiastical position is perfectly intelligible; cf. F. N. C. ii. 632-635. The defect in Cynesige's position (on whom see H. Y. ii. 343, 344) seems to be that he had not yet received his pallium (see 1055 D), and therefore could not consecrate other bishops, Bede, II. 50, 51. And it is possible that the chronicler means no more than this in the case of Stigand, who did not obtain his pallium till 1058, nor does he seem to have consecrated any bishops until that year, Stubbs, *Episc. Succ.* pp. 20, 21; ed. 2, pp. 36, 37. Hence it was that the new bishops, Leofwine and Wulfwig, sought consecration abroad.

Pershore.

Ælfric Oddan broðer, D] On him, see above, p. 238.

on Perscôre] On Pershore, cf. G. P. p. 298; and for the significance of these entries in D, see Introduction, § 73. It may be noted that D has neither the details of Godwine's death, nor the unfavourable comments on Stigand's position.

Siward's
invasion of
Scotland.

1054, C, D, E. Her for Siward eorl, 7c., C, D] The Ann. Lindisf. have an earlier invasion by Siward: '1046. Comes Siward . . . uenit Scotiam et expulso rege Macbeoð alium constituit, set post eius discessum Macbeoð recuperavit regnum.' Then under 1054 'Siwardus, fugato Macbeth, posuit,

Malcolmun regem.' Note the terms 'here,' C, D, and 'huscarlas,' D, applied to Seward's force.

[*pone kyng Macbeoðen, D*] The first undoubted mention of the famous Macbeth.

name Macbeth, *v. s.* pp. 207, 208. The history of Scotland at this time is very obscure, and the name of Macbeth, in particular, has been so overlaid with legend that it is difficult to arrive at any certainty of the truth. In 1040, by the slaughter of Duncan, Macbeth became king. The notices of this event in the contemporary chroniclers Marianus and Tighernach are as follows: 'Donnchad rex Scotiæ in autumnno occiditur xix Kal. Sept. a duce suo Macbethad mac Finnloech qui successit in regnum annis xvii,' P. & S. p. 65; 'Donnchad mac Crinan airdri Alban immatura etate a suis occisus est,' *ib.* 78. I do not think that the title 'dux,' given to Macbeth by Marianus, necessarily implies that he was the commander of Duncan's army; it may be merely the Latin rendering of his title of Mormaer. Nor do these notices suggest that act of dramatic treachery which appears in the later story. They need mean little more than a civil war for the succession, in which Duncan was slain. Macbeth was connected through his wife with the house of Kenneth Mac Alpin, and he, no doubt, made the most of any advantage which this fact may have given him. But he probably represents an attempt on the part of the transmontane Picts to recover the ascendancy which had passed to the Scots under Kenneth Mac Alpin and his successors. His dominion seems to have been very limited in extent. The time of his accession is marked by a very great extension of the Scandinavian power under Torfinn, Earl of the Orkneys, who was, like Duncan, the son of a daughter of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth. The nature of Torfinn's relations to Duncan and Macbeth respectively is very difficult to determine; as apart from the general question of the historical credibility of the Sagas, it is not agreed which of the rival Scottish kings is the opponent of Torfinn, spoken of in the Orkneying Saga under the curious sobriquet of Kali Hundason; for while Skene and Robertson identify him with Duncan, Professor Rhôs and Mr. Herbert, in Irish Nennius, Note xix, would equate him with Macbeth; cf. C. P. B. ii. 593. If the former is correct, the districts absorbed by Torfinn might represent the price paid by Macbeth for his support; if the latter, he must have taken them at the point of the sword. Cumbria seems to have remained faithful to Duncan's family, and this may account for Florence speaking of young Malcolm as 'filius regis Cumbrorum,' i. 212. (Into the thorny question of Lothian I do not venture.) Florence and Ann. Lindisf. anticipate in representing Malcolm as made king on this occasion, *u. s.* Macbeth certainly retained the title till he was defeated and slain by Malcolm in 1057 or 1058, Ann. Ul.; Tigh. Seward's interference was probably due to the matrimonial connexions of his house with that of Duncan. Another motive has been sought in the shelter given to some of the Norman fugitives at Macbeth's court, whose presence in the battle is mentioned by Florence. See above, An attempt of the Picts to recover their ascendancy.

p. 240. But, as these fugitives went north with the sanction of Leofric, with whom Siward seems to have acted all through the troubles connected with Godwine, this must be pronounced very doubtful. It is to H. H. that we owe the preservation of the fine tradition as to the death of Siward's son, of which Shakespeare has made such splendid use: 'quem [filium] cum bello caesum patri renuntiassent, ait: "receptine uulnus letale in anteriori uel posteriori corporis parte?" Dixerunt nuntii: "in anteriori." At ille: "gaudeo plane, non enim alio me uel filium meum digner funere"' p. 194.

Tradition
as to the
death of
Siward's
son.

'Had he his hurts before?'

'Ay, on the front.'

'Why then, God's soldier be he!

Had I as many sons as I have hairs,

I could not wish them to a fairer death:

And so, his knell is knoll'd,' Macb. V. vii. 75 ff.

See generally on these Scottish affairs, Rhÿs, C. B. pp. 189 f., 195 ff., 264; S. C. S. i. 389, 395 ff.; iii. 31, 51 ff., 287, 303, 304, 345, 477; Robertson, Early Kings, i. 111 ff.; ii. 400; F. N. C. ii. 54, 55, 362-366, 641-647; St. Edw., p. 416.

The Seven
Sleepers.

on þone dæg Septem Dormientium, D] The festival of the Seven Sleepers was on July 27. For the legend of Edward the Confessor and the Seven Sleepers, see St. Edw. pp. 119-122, based on Ailr. R., cc. 767-769. There is an A.S. version of the legend of the Seven Sleepers in Ælfric's Lives, vol. i.

Ealdred's
mission
to the
Emperor.

ferde Ealdred bisċp suð, C; for Aldred ƿ to Colne . . . þæs kynges ærende, D] On Ealdred's mission to the Emperor, see F. N. C. ii. 366-373, 647-652. Florence alone, who as a Worcester man would have special means of knowing about Ealdred, lets us see what 'the king's errand' was: 'Aldredus, Wigornensis episcopus, . . . magnis cum xenis regis fungitur legatione ad imperatorem; a quo simul et ab Herimanno Coloniensi archipraesule magno susceptus honore ibidem per integrum annum mansit; et regis ex parte imperatori suggessit, ut legatis Ungariam misis, inde fratrelem suum Eadwardum, . . . Eadmundi Ferrei Lateris filium, reduceret, Angliamque uenire faceret,' i. 212; cf. H. Y. ii. 345; Ang. Sac. ii. 249. C's phrase 'ferde suð' is regularly used for going abroad, so 1064 E, i. 193; especially of going on pilgrimage to Rome or Palestine; so in Icelandic 'suðr fara,' cf. Vigfússon s. v. 'suðr.' In K. C. D. No. 235; Birch, No. 412, 'suð to faranne' is given as an alternative to 'an mynster to ganganne'; cf. Earle, Charters, p. 456.

Church of
Evesham.

þ mynster on Eofeshamme, C, D] This was the work of Abbot Manni, of whom we have heard above as a great builder, 1045 D, *supra*; 'ecclesiam maiori opere quam antea fuit construere coepit, et usque ad bonum finem consummando consecrari fecit,' Chron. Evesh. p. 86.

Death of
Osgod.

swealt Osgod] On him, see above, 1046 C.

1055 C, D, E] On the events of this year, see a lengthy discussion, F. N. C. ii. 373-396.

forðferde Siward eorl] H. H. has once more preserved a fine tradition about Siward's death. Indignant that after all his battles he should die of disease 'like a cow,' he had his armour fastened on him, and with sword and shield and axe awaited the onset of his last foe, p. 195. As Huntingdonshire was held by Siward with his Northumbrian earldom (F. N. C. ii. 559), it may well be that genuine traditions of him survived there.

Tradition as to Siward's death.

æt Galmanhó, C, D; on . . . Olafes namn, D] The dedication illustrates Siward's Scandinavian affinities. Galmanho was a suburb of York. 'The church was given by Alan, Earl of Richmond, about thirty-three years afterwards to the first Abbot of St. Mary's in York. . . . It appears from a MS. quoted by Leland, that Bootham Bar was formerly called Galmanhithe,' Ingram, p. 243; cf. St. Edw. p. 408; F. N. C. ii. 374, 375.

His foundation at Galmanho.

man geutlagode þa Ælfgar eorl, C, D, E] The varying party stand-points of the chroniclers should be noted. The Godwinist E says that Ælfgar's guilt was self-confessed. The anti-Godwinist C (followed by Fl. Wig.) says that he was entirely guiltless; while D compromises and says that he was nearly guiltless. D is, however, very sarcastic on Ælfgar's restoration. For similar caustic remarks, cf. *supra*, 1016, i. 151; 1040 C, D.

Outlawry of Ælfgar.

pp. 186, 187. Hereford port, C, D] 'The fields to the north-west of the city are still called the port fields,' Ingram, p. 244. On the ravaging of Hereford, and the campaign of Harold against the Welsh, Fl. Wig. gives interesting details, i. 212-214; cf. Ann. Camb., s. a. 1055; Brut y Tywys., s. a. 1054.

Hereford ravaged

forðan þe hig wæran on horsan, C] For the English dislike to fighting on horseback ('contra morem,' Fl. Wig.), cf. Robertson, E. K. S. ii. 437.

sce Æðelbryhtes mynster, E] The saint to whom 'the glorious minster,' C, D, was dedicated, is the East Anglian king unjustly slain by Offa, and so regarded as a martyr, *supra*, 792. According to Fl. Wig., his relics were burnt by the invaders. The church is mentioned in the charters, K. C. D. iv. 55, 137, 218; Birch, iii. 652. It suffered again in the wars of Stephen's reign, Fl. Wig. ii. 121. On it and on the bishopric of Hereford, cf. G. P. pp. 298-300, 305. The annual cattle fair at Hereford is (or till lately was) still called St. Ethelbert's fair, and held on his day, May 20. See Times of May 23, 1860.

St. Ethelbert's minster.

he unfere wæs, C, D] Bishop Athelstan's incapacity was due to blindness, Fl. Wig. i. 214. As he had been consecrated in 1012, he must have been of a great age. He did not long survive his coadjutor (see next annal). The shock of the capture of Hereford may well have killed them both.

Athelstan. Bishop of Hereford.

1056 C, D] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. ii. 396-408.

Ægelric bisceop . . . æt Dunholm, D] See above, p. 220.

Her . . . Æpelstan, C, D] He died at Bosbury, near Ledbury, Fl. Wig. i. 214.

on .iiii. id' F'ebrii] Therefore C does not here begin the year with Easter.

'Kenepas.'

kenepas] This word has proved a great stumbling-block to editors and translators of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Wheloc and Gibson did not use MSS. C and D in constructing their texts. The editors of the Monumenta Historica Britannica leave the word untranslated; so do Stevenson and Thorpe, though the latter makes two untenable suggestions in a note, one of them borrowed (without acknowledgement) from Ingram. Professor Earle has nothing to offer. The true explanation was suggested to me by a passage in an Icelandic law. In the ancient code known as Grágás, in the section on Law Christian (Kristinna Laga Þáttur), ch. vi., Of Priests (Presta þáttur), there occurs the following passage: 'Prestar scolo eigi fara með sundrgerðir, þér er byskop banna. oc láta af haugva kampa, oc skeg, oc láta gera krunu sína um sinn á mánaði'; i. e. 'Priests must not wear showy garments such as the bishop forbids, and they must have their *moustaches* and beard shaved, and be tonsured once a month' (Grágás, ed. Finsen, p. 21). In Icelandic, *kampr* or *kanpr* is the regular word for 'moustache' (v. Cleasby-Vigfússon Dictionary, *sub voce*). It is used also for the whiskers of an animal, a sense in which 'camp' still survives in English dialects. In Wülker's Glossaries, i. 486, 'cenepum glosses 'lupatis.' The word does not occur in the new Bosworth-Toller Dictionary. The enormity, therefore, of which Bishop Leofgar was guilty, was that he wore his moustaches after he was ordained. Similar prescriptions to that which I have cited are found among the Anglo-Saxon Laws and Canons (cf. e.g. Thorpe, Laws, ii. 254, 294), but the word *kenepas* does not occur in them. The Council of Toulouse in 1119 excommunicated 'quilibet clericus qui . . . tanquam laicus comain barbaranque nutrierit,' R. P. p. 529; cf. Ælfric, Lives, i. 160. The above explanation was given by me in the Academy of Feb. 8, 1890. I did not, at that time, know that Kluge had already given the same explanation, on philological grounds, in Paul und Braune's Beiträge, viii. 528. I owe the reference to Professor Logeman.

Welsh
campaign
of Bishop
Leofgar.

ongean Griffin pone Wyliscan cing] According to the Welsh Annals, Gruffydd, in this invasion, was in alliance with a Scandinavian chief, Magnus, son of Harold, Ann. Camb. p. 25; Brut y Tywys., p. 44. The latter calls Harold King of Germany, a title which puzzled Mr. Freeman; but as the writer calls Cnut King of England, Denmark, and Germany, p. 38, it is plain that Norway is meant, and that the person intended is Magnus, son of Harold Hardrada, who succeeded his father after Stamford Bridge. But possibly these entries refer to 1058 D; cf. *infra*, p. 248.

he wearð þær ofslagen, D] The battle was fought at a place called Clastbury [read Clastbury, *i.e.* Glasbury], Fl. Wig. i. 215; cf. H. Y. ii. 345. His death.

Ealdred . . . feng to ðam biscuprice, C, D] According to Fl. Wig., this was only a temporary arrangement, 'donec antistes constitueretur'; Ealdred succeeded Hereford, however, till his own appointment to York in 1060, *q. v.*

Cōna se casere] The Emperor Henry III is meant; cf. E Lat. In calling him Cona, C and D probably confuse him with his predecessor, Conrad II, who is spoken of as Cuana in Chron. Scot. *s. aa.* 1021, 1036; cf. F. N. C. ii. 409. At this point in C half a page is left blank, and the next entry is 1065. Death of the Emperor.

Odda eorl] He died at Deerhurst, Fl. Wig., where his brother also died; see above, p. 238. This was evidently their home. Florence gives him the alternative name of Ægelwine, and pronounces a splendid eulogium on him. Death of Earl Odda.

on Perscoran] Where his brother was also buried; so that evidently they had some hereditary connexion with that monastery. Pershore.

to munece gehadod] By Bishop Ealdred, Fl. Wig.

1057 D, E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. ii. 408-419.

Her com Eadward æpeling] On the Etheling's marriage and return, see *ib.* i. 410; ii. 647-652; Fl. Wig. i. 181, 215, 216, 275; Life of St. Margaret, Pinkerton, ii. 199 (which stands in close relation with Florence's account); H. H. pp. 196, 296. According to these authorities, he and his brother had been first sent by Cnut to James, King of Sweden, with a request that they might be put to death, which he disregarded and sent them on to Hungary; cf. C. P. B. ii. 118. Coming of the Etheling Edward.

Eadmund cing, D] Note the nominative construction where we should expect the genitive; see on 661, *supra*.

Iren sid] Probably the earliest occurrence of the name.

p. 188. Ne wiston we, 7c.] D is the only authority which mentions the exclusion of the Etheling from the king's presence. It seems to be hinted that there was some underhand influence at the bottom of it. W. M. calls the Etheling 'uir neque promptus manu, neque probus ingenio,' i. 278. I do not know what authority he had for this unfavourable view. I am inclined to suspect a dislocation of the text, and that the phrase really belongs to the description of *Edgar* Etheling. He is excluded from the king's presence.

forðferde Leofric eorl, D, E] According to Fl. Wig. i. 216, Leofric 'died at Bromley (Staffordshire) ii Kal. Sept.' (whereas D says 'ii Kal. Oct.'). He gives a long list of the monasteries which he and his wife Godgyfu founded or endowed. Death of Leofric.

7 lið on Burh, D] On these Peterborough entries in D, here and at 1059 and 1060, see Introduction, § 74.

Ægelric . . . a hafen] On this, see 1058 note.

1058 D, E] On the events of this year and the next, see F. N. C. ii. 428-438, 665-670.

Reticence
of D.
Ælfgar's
expulsion
and return.

p. 189. hit is langsum to atellanne, 7c., D] We are reminded of Herodotus' irritating phrase, εἰδῶς οὐ λέγω. It is a pity that D has not given a full account of the causes of Ælfgar's expulsion and return. Fl. Wig. is a little fuller: 'Algarus . . . a rege Eadwardo secundo ex-legatus est, sed regis Walanorum Griffini iuuamine, et Norreganae classis adminiculo, quae ad illum uenerat ex improuiso, cito per uim suum comitatum recuperauit,' i. 217. But the whole matter is most mysterious. Mr. Freeman suggests that it may have occurred during Harold's absence from England on his Roman pilgrimage, which seems to have taken place about this time. For the Norwegian fleet, see above, p. 246.

Ealdred
restores
St. Peter's,
Gloucester,

þ mynster on Gleawcestre . . . to . . . sçe Petre] This 'minster,' restored by Ealdred, must be carefully distinguished from Æthelflæd's foundation in honour of St. Oswald (see on 909 C), though W. M. seems to confuse them, i. 136 (contrast G. P. p. 293, where they are rightly distinguished); cf. 918 C.

and goes
on pilgrim-
age to
Jerusalem.

ferde to Hierusalem] Fl. Wig. says: 'per Ungariam (Pannoniam, H. Y. ii. 345) profectus est Hierosolymam, quod nullus archiepiscoporum uel episcoporum Angliae eatenus dinoscitur fecisse,' u. s. The 'wondrous workmanship' of his offering at the Holy Sepulchre was probably English. English goldsmiths' work was famous at this time. At Monte Casino, c. 1020, we hear of 'loculus mirificus . . . argento et auro ac gemmis Anglico opere subtiliter ac pulcherrime decoratus,' Pertz, vii. 649; au 'aurifex Anglus' was killed near the same monastery, *ib.* 712.

English
goldsmiths
famous.

Stigand's
reception
of the
pallium.

Benedictus . . . sende pallium Stigande, D, E] See Introduction, § 12, note. Freeman, u. s., shows how injuriously the reception of the pallium from Benedict, who was afterwards regarded as an anti-pope, affected Stigand's ecclesiastical position, already weak. One of the charges against Stigand at his deposition was that he had used the pallium of his predecessor Robert in celebrating mass. That Robert did leave his pallium behind we have seen, 1052 E, i. 183.

Ægelric,
Bishop of
Selsey.

Ægelric wæs to ðe gehadod, D] D has placed the death of Heca and the appointment of Ægelric, probably rightly, in 1057; and the consecration of Ægelric only in 1058; whereas E and F place all three events here. Eadmer cites Ægelric as one of his authorities for his life of Dunstan, 'cui pene contemporaneus fuit,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 164. As Dunstan died in 988, and Ægelric survived at least till 1070, Fl. Wig. ii. 6, he can hardly have been born much, if at all, before Dunstan's death; but as a Canterbury monk he may have been a channel through which traditions about Dunstan reached Eadmer. As 'uir antiquissimus et legum terrae sapientissimus' he appeared at the famous placitum of Pinnenden between Lanfranc and Odo, Ang. Sac. i. 335.

Seward of
Rochester.

Sihward abb . . . to Hrofe cestre, D, E] He was Abbot of Chertsey, Ann. Wav. p. 187, note; and died in 1075, which knocks the bottom out of W. M.'s pathetic story that he only survived the Norman Conquest a few

days, G. P. p. 136. All the Chronicles connect the consecration of the new prelates with Stigand's reception of the pallium. Mr. Freeman is wrong in saying, p. 433, that Stigand never consecrated any other bishops. He consecrated Remigius of Dorchester in 1067, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 21; ed. 2, p. 37; F. N. C. iv. 132, 133. With this annal F comes to an end.

1060 D, E] On the events of this and the next year, see F. N. C. ii. 438-457, 669-680.

forðferde Kynsige, E] On him, see above, pp. 234, 242. This very year, Death of 1060, he had consecrated Harold's Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham. Cynesige. That even Harold should not have ventured to employ the services of Stigand shows how very doubtful his position must have been. The Position of Waltham historian says bluntly: 'quia tunc uacabat sedes Cantuarie,' Stigand p. 18; cf. p. xvii; Fl. Wig. i. 221, 1062: 'Stigando . . . officium episcopale tunc ad omnia apostolico interdictum erat, quia Rodberto . . . uiuente archiepiscopatum suscipere praesumpsit.' On the other hand it may be noted that Stigand is called archbishop in Domesday, i. 133; Maitland, p. 74; and he signs as archbishop in 1069, Ordnance Survey Charters, II. Exeter No. xvi; Hicckes, Dissert. Epist. p. 77.

Waltere . . . Duduc . . . Gisa, D] All these three prelates were Lotharingian bishops; the first a chaplain of the queen's, Fl. Wig. i. 218. Giso and Walter were consecrated at Rome by the Pope in 1061, *ib.* cf. ii. 7; on April 15, F. N. C. ii. 454. The grants to them of their temporalities are in K. C. D. iv. 194 ff. E places Duduc's death under 1061. Dr. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 19; ed. 2, p. 34, gives the day as Jan. 18. If this were Jan. 1061, a difference as to the beginning of the year would account for the divergence. Dr. Stubbs, however, gives Jan. 1060.

1061 D, E. Her for Ealdred ð to Rome, D] On Ealdred's journey to Ealdred's Rome, cf. St. Edw. pp. 410-412; G. P. pp. 251-253; Malmesbury's Life journey to of Wulfstan, Ang. Sac. ii. 250; H. Y. ii. 346, 347; Ailr. R. cc. 757-760; Rome. K. C. D. iv. 181 ff. Besides the request for the pallium, the mission had another object, to obtain papal confirmation for Edward's refoundation of Westminster. In the latter object it was successful; but at first Ealdred, so far from obtaining the pallium, was deprived of all his preferments; according to some for simony, according to others for uncanonical translation or plurality, the last certainly a well-grounded charge. Ultimately the Pope relented, and the pallium was granted on condition of Ealdred surrendering the see of Worcester.

Tostig. 7 his wif] His wife was Judith, sister of Baldwin of Flanders Tostig and and of the Conqueror's wife, 'religiosa coniunx,' St. Edw. p. 409, and Judith go a great collector of relics, Pertz, xv. 922, 923; Biogr. Misc. p. 12 to Rome, (S. S. 1838). Besides Tostig and his wife, Gyrth also accompanied the and Gyrth. mission, St. Edw. p. 410. Whether Giso and Walter also went with them or independently is not quite clear.

Their
misadven-
tures.

se bisceop 7 se eorl gebidan mycele earfoðnyse, 7c.] The explanation of this is that they were attacked by robbers, and obliged to return to Rome. See the reff. given above. There is an interesting allusion to this in 'Petri Damiani disceptatio synodalis,' a tract written in June or July of the very next year, 1062, a passage which has escaped Mr. Freeman: '[Gerardus comes de Galeria] paulo antequam moreretur, propter duce[m] et archiepiscopum Anglorum, quos a beati Petri liminibus redeuntes inuasit, spoliauit, et usque ad mille Papiensis monetæ libras appendentia rapuit, . . . in plenaria synodo, papa Nycolao presidente excommunicatus est, et extinctis luminaribus sub perpetuo fuit anathemate condemnatus,' Libelli de Lite Imperatorum, i. 91.

Godwine,
bishop
at St.
Martin's.

pp. 189, 190. Godwine ð æt sçe Martine, D, E] Bishop at (not of) St. Martin's; see on him, Hook, Archbishops, i. 488. Thorpe, in his index, confuses him with Godwine of Rochester; but they both sign a charter, Ordnance Survey Charters, iii. 43; cf. K. C. D. vi. 199.

pp. 190, 191. Wulfric a5b] On him, see 1043^b E; 1046^b E, *ad init.*; above, pp. 225, 229.

Æðelsige munuc, E] On him, see F. N. C. iv. 135 ff., 749 ff.

Wulfstan,
Bishop of
Worcester.

1062 E] With the exception of the brief Latin entry of E, the Chronicles are bare under this year; Fl. Wig. gives the appointment of Wulfstan to Worcester, with a sketch of his previous life and character, points of which he says he derived from himself: 'quod a nobis uix crederetur, si non ab ipsius ore hoc audissemus,' i. 218-221. There is a life of Wulfstan by W. M. in Ang. Sac. ii. 241 ff.; cf. Hardy, Cat. ii. 69-72; F. N. C. ii. 458-464.

Welsh
campaign
of Harold.

1063 D, E. for Harold eorl, 7c.] On Harold's Welsh campaign, see F. N. C. ii. 465-474, 683-686, who uses with good effect some notices of the campaign in John of Salisbury's Polycraticus and Giraldus Cambrensis, De Illaudabilibus Walliæ, justly remarking how great must have been the impression made by it, that it should be thus commemorated by post-Conquest writers. He has, however, missed an interesting passage in the life of S. Gundleius, which, though very mythical in form, has not impossibly preserved a true tradition as to one of the many causes of quarrel between the English and Welsh, viz. commercial disputes: 'In tempore Grifudi, regis fortis tocius Wallie, Edwardo rege Anglie regnante, mercatores frequenter ueniebant de Anglia, et in portu ostio fluminis Uysc commutabant commercia; post finita, reddebant theloneum, et si non reddidissent, . . . non habituri amplius essent licentiam applicandi ac mercandi per ostium. Contigit autem una uice quod nolebant reddere. Hoc audito, Rigrit, filius Imor, nepos Grifudi regis, . . . precepit reddi debitum, nec pro precepto reddiderunt. Postea, in derisione regni, et in dedecore Angligenarum, amputauit funem anchoræ, et anchoram solutam fecit deferri ad Sancti Gunlyu templum. Naute reuersi et mercatores ad Haraldum comitem nuntiauerunt illatum dedecus. . . Comes igitur maliuolus

. . . congregavit exercitum ; [et] . . . irruit in Gulatmorgantiam . . . Quidam de uasantibus intrauerunt ecclesiam uenerabilis Gunlyu ; [et] . . . quasi lupi audidissimi . . . rapuerunt omnia que uiderant . . . In proximo mense [this is, of course, an exaggeration] pro illa nequitia, deuictus est [Haraldus] in bello Hastingsensi, . . . et interfectus,' Cambro-British Saints, pp. 152, 153.

alle *pa gewæda*, D] 'Armamenta,' Fl. Wig.; it probably means the sails, tackling, &c.

Ac her on *ſissan ilcan geare*, 7c.] Fl. Wig., i. 222, begins a new annal, 1064, at this point. It is possible that he had good authority for this. Marianus places Gruffydd's death yet later, in 1065, Pertz, v. 558. Gruffydd That his death was due to treachery is expressly asserted by the Welsh ^{slain.} Annals, Ann. Camb. 1063; Brut y Tywys., 1061. W. M. ascribes it to Harold's 'sollertia,' i. 237; cf. St. Edw. p. 416. Fl. Wig. represents him as being formally outlawed by his subjects.

pa bone per mid] *Bone* occurs nowhere else. Fl. Wig. translates 'bone.' it by 'ornatura.' If this is right, then the participle 'geboned,' which occurs not unfrequently as an epithet of various articles in Anglo-Saxon wills, should probably be translated 'ornamented' ('inlaid,' Earle, Charters, p. 491), not 'polished,' as Bosworth-Toller. The biographer of Edward describes it as

'Proram cum puppi pondus graue scilicet auri,
Artificum studio fusile multiplici.'

St. Edw. p. 426.

Blepgente 7 Rigwatlan] We hear of them again in 1067, Fl. Wig. Evil times. ii. 1, 2. A charter of Edward of the year 1063 complains bitterly of the evils of the time, in which these Welsh troubles may be included, K. C. D. iv. 160.

1065 C, D, 1064 E] As to the events of this year, cf. for the Welsh raid on Portskewet, F. N. C. ii. 474-476; for the rising of the north, *ib.* 476-497, 686-691; for the consecration of Westminster Abbey, *ib.* 497-512. On the relation of the three MSS., see Introduction, §§ 72, 110; D is mainly a conflation of the materials used by C and E; but each account has peculiarities of its own. Fl. Wig. is nearer to C than to D; but he, too, has interesting and authentic details of his own, i. 222-224; so has Edward's biographer, St. Edw. pp. 421-424; cf. W. M. i. 245, 246.

for huntnopas pingon, C, D] On Edward's love of hunting, cf. St. Edw. ^{Edward's} pp. 414, 422; F. N. C. ii. 25. So Howel the Good built himself a hunting- ^{love of} ^{hunting.} box in Carmarthenshire, H. & S. i. 212, 213.

Cradoc Griffines sunu] He was the son, not of the Northern, but of Caradoc, ^{son of} his rival, the Southern Gruffydd; 'filius regis Suth-Walanorum Griffini,' ^{Gruffydd.} Fl. Wig. i. 222.

Ne wisten we . . . gerædde, D] This is understood by Mr. Freeman as a hint that Caradoc was stirred up by Edwin, who had recently succeeded

his father, Ælfgar, as Earl of Mercia; but it may merely refer to Harold's imprudence in building so near the enemy's country.

Rising of
the north.

foron Norðhymbra to gædere, E] Fl. Wig. gives the names of the leaders of the northern rising: Gamelbearn, Dunstan, and Glonieorn. Of these the first is Scandinavian 'Gamal-björn' or 'Old Bear,' the second English, while the third is pure Irish, 'Glun-iairn' or 'Iron-knee.' The first and third seem to be nicknames. One of the Danish housecarls put to death by the insurgents was named Reavensvartus, *i. e.* 'Hrafn-svartr' or 'Raven-black.'

on Eoferwic scire, C, D; on Norðhymbra lande, D] The earliest use of the term Yorkshire (cf. S. D. i. 98, 173, 217, 220), and of Northumberland in the modern restricted sense.

pp. 192, 193. sende eft Harold heom to to Hamtune] This is evidently the true reading, from which D and E have both diverged; D the more seriously.

The in-
surgents
advance to
Oxford.

æt Norðhamtune. 7 swa on Oxenaforda, C] C alone of the MSS. followed by Fl. Wig. has preserved the detail that during the negotiations the insurgents, or some of them, moved further south from Northampton to Oxford. So St. Edw. p. 422. It is obviously authentic; and its authenticity is confirmed by an interesting note in which my friend Mr. F. H. Baring traces their ravages by the evidence of Domesday, Engl. Hist. Review, April, 1898.

he rypste God ærost] The anti-Godwinist C is much the most severe on Tostig.

Cnut's
Law.

he nywade þær Cnutes lage, D, E] This would be of the nature of a political amnesty; see on 1018 D.

Misread-
ing.

þa Ryðrenan, D] I think this is merely one of D's many errors for 'þa norðernan' ('þa norðerne men,' E). It is just conceivable that it may be for 'þa hriþrenan,' 'the brutish people.' Mr. Thorpe makes them Ruthe-nians (!). The Ann. Wav. have 'Norrenses.'

Baldwin of
Flanders.

to Baldwine, D, E] On Flanders as a refuge, see above, pp. 216, 227, 228. Baldwin was, besides, Tostig's brother-in-law. The biographer distinctly ascribes Edward's illness and death to his vexation at having to yield to the rebels, pp. 423, 424. S. D. is therefore wrong in inserting in Fl. Wig.'s narrative a statement that Morcar was chosen earl 'iussu regis,' ii. 179.

Westmin-
ster Abbey.

þ mynster . . lét halgian . . . getimbrode, C, D] Of the building and consecration of Westminster Abbey there is a nearly contemporary account by Sulcard, a monk of Westminster, written 1076 × 1082. It does not seem to have been printed, Hardy, Cat. i. 644, 645. What professes to be the charter of foundation is in K. C. D. iv. 173 ff.

on Cilda mæsse dæg] E, beginning the year with Christmas, places this in 1066. For Innocents' Day, as a supposed unlucky day, see Hampson, i. 120.

Death of
Edward.

7 he forðferde, 7c.] According to our reckoning, Edward's death

and burial, and Harold's coronation, were on Jan. 5-6, 1066, and so they are placed by E. On lives of Edward the Confessor, see Hardy, *Cat. i.* 634-643; the oldest, by Osbert (on which, see *W. M. II. ci, cii*), seems never to have been printed. To the list given by Hardy may be added, for the sake of completeness, the very mythical *Saga Játvarðar Konungs hins helga*, printed in Vigfússon's ed. of the *Fláteyjarbók*, iii. 463-472, from that MS.; and in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1852, from MS. Reg. Stockh. Island, No. 5. Gaimar, *vv.* 5139 f., calls Edward:

'Le meildre rei, e le meillur,
Ke Engleis eussent a seignur.'

Note that the Waltham writer speaks of him as 'strenuum regimine,' p. 23.

weolan britnode, D] This reading is certainly better than that of C, which is corrupt, and has been tampered with. In the preceding line the alliteration shows that 'twenty-four' is right; and this seems to show that C's reading in the following line, 'healfe tid,' must be wrong; for Edward did not reign 24½ but 23½ years, June 1042-Jan. 1066. D's reading avoids this difficulty. Prof. Earle suggests '7 he ealle tid.'

Walum . . . 7 Bryttum, C, D] What distinction, if any, the writer made in his own mind between Welsh and Britons, I do not know; it may be Wales and Cornwall, or Wales and Strathclyde. The latter is more likely. Welsh and Britons.

pp. 104, 105. xxviii. wintra gerimes] From the first election of Cnut in 1014 to Hardacnut's death, 1042.

befæste þ rice] See next note but one.

he lytle stillnesse . . . gebād] Cf. Alfred's words in the preface to the Pastoral Care: 'gif we þa stilnesse habbað,' pp. 6, 7.

1066 C, D, E] The whole of Mr. Freeman's third volume, nearly eight hundred pages, is occupied with the events of this one year. Those parts of it which bear specially on points connected with the Chronicle will be pointed out in the course of this note.

The relation between the three texts, C, D, and E, remains much the same as in the preceding annal. Florence is nearer to C, but he also had before him a MS. like E. On (1) the death of Edward, (2) his alleged bequest of the crown to Harold, (3) the election of Harold, see *F. N. C.* iii. 1-25, 575-616. It will be noted that E is the only text which mentions (3); and it is much more explicit as to (2) than the others, 'se cyng hit him geuðe,' i. 197; whereas the words in C, D, 1065 *ad fin.*, 'befæste þæt rice . . . Harolde,' need not mean more than a regency (cf. *F. N. C.* iii. 611, 612), or even such an authority as Harold exercised during Edward's lifetime (cf. *ib.* 687). On all these points Florence is very explicit: '[Eadwardo] tumulato, subregulus Haroldus, . . . quem rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat, a totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus, die eadem ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo in regem est honorifice consecratus,' i. 224. Relation of the MSS.
Election of Harold.
Fl. Wig.'s account. (The title 'subregulus,' given to Harold,

should be noted, as indicating the sort of semi-royal position which he held even during Edward's lifetime; cf. 'regis manus dextra,' above, p. 232. Mr. Round unduly depreciates Fl. Wig.'s authority, G. de M. pp. 437, 438. This passage settles (4) who was the prelate who crowned Harold; a point not mentioned in any of the texts. See on this F. N. C. iii. 41, 42, 616-626; and add to the passages there cited, H. Y. ii. 348, which is important, as embodying the York tradition on the point. The notice in Hermann's *Mirac. S. Edm.* is interesting: '[Eadwardus] . . . finit hominem uigilia epiphaniarum, fere ad Angliæ totius externium. Quo regali tumulato more *ante diei missam*, Theophaniorum die, *statim cum introitu missæ* inthronizatur in solio regni Haroldus . . . callida ui ueniens ad regnum,' &c., Liebermann, pp. 245, 246.

Harold crowned by Ealdred.

Harold in the north.

On *pisum geare com Harold kyng of Eoforwic, 7c., C, D*] None of the primary authorities tell us how Harold came to be at York. There is an account in W. M.'s life of Wulfstan, which Mr. Freeman accepts, *u. s.* 58-64, 635-638, that Harold had gone thither in the hope of conciliating the favour of the north, which then, as later, was inclined to hold aloof, Ang. Sac. ii. 253, 254.

The comet.

swylc tacen, 7c.] On the comet of 1066, cf. F. N. C. iii. 70-73, 645-650, where it is shown how many of the Chronicles, both native and foreign, regard the appearance of the comet as ominous of the great events which took place this year in England; and add to the passages cited by Mr. Freeman, Pertz, iii. 128, 'stella cometa . . . Anglorum occisionis . . . praenuntia'; xiii. 640, 641; xx. 792; Bouquet, xi. 133; Ord. Vit. ii. 116; Matth. Westm. *sub anno*; Lib. de Hyda, p. 291, where a verse on the subject is attributed to Lanfranc.

Letania Maiora] April 25; the date viii Kl. Mai. is that of the eve, April 24. See H. & S. iii. 368; Hampson, ii. *s. v.*

Movements of Tostig.

Sona . . . com Tostig eorl fram begeondan sæ into Wiht] On the movements of Tostig after his exile from England, see F. N. C. iii. 301-306, 720-725. It is doubtful whether these ravages of his on the southern coasts were made from Flanders or from Normandy. Fl. Wig. takes the former view, i. 225; and it seems to be implied by Gaimar, for he says expressly of Tostig's followers, *vv.* 5159 ff.:

'Tut li plusur furent Flemeng;' (cf. *C ad fin.*, i. 198).

He says that they came first to 'Wardstane,' then to Thanet, then overran 'Brunemue' (? Bournemouth), then to Lindsey (for Lindsey, cf. C, i. 196 h.). There is some evidence for the latter view; and though there is nothing in the Chronicles directly bearing on the point, yet the way in which C connects the arrival of the news of Tostig's ravages directly with Harold's preparations against William rather favours the Normandy theory, as it seems to imply that Tostig was regarded as the *avant-courrier* of William; nor is there anything improbable in Tostig having carried on a treasonable correspondence with both the invaders of England.

scip fyrde 7 . . . land fyrde, C; scip here. 7 . . . land here, D] Note the difference. Probably both elements were present in Harold's forces.

pp. 196, 197. Willelm . . . wolde hider, C, D] Note that C calls William 'the earl,' and by adding the words, 'King Edward's relative,' seems to recognize some sort of claim on his part; whereas D bluntly calls him 'the bastard,' cf. F. N. C. iii. 608, 609, and all through regards his success as a punishment for the national sins. Note, in accordance with this, the enthusiastic way in which D, a little lower down, speaks of 'Harold our king.' C, in fact, maintains its anti-Godwinist character to the end.

Opposing views of William.

nam of þam butse karlon . . . unþances, C] This fully agrees with the explanation of the word 'butsecarl' given above. Sandwich was a frequent place of assembly for the fleet. Sailors who had been in the king's pay would naturally be found there. Tostig forced some of these to join him, willingly or unwillingly. But they deserted him on the first opportunity: 'þa butsecarlas hine forsocan,' E, i. 197.

Butsecarls impressed by Tostig.

he for ða to Scotlande, C, D, E] On Tostig's sojourn in Scotland, and junction with Harold Hardrada, see F. N. C. iii. 327-347, 722-724. It will be noted that C places the junction in the Tyne after previous agreement, 'eall swa hy ær gesprecen hæfdon'; whereas D and E place it in Scotland. The more precise version of C is probably to be accepted.

Tostig's junction with Harold Hardrada.

he for út mid scip here to geanes Willelme, E] This is only in E. It does not imply that any fighting actually took place, though there is some evidence for something of the kind, F. N. C. iii. 339, 340, 728-730. See Introduction, § 47.

Harold's fleet against William.

Ða lyfde man mannum ham, C] On this, see F. N. C. iii. 337-339. C gives the reason 'wæs manna metsung agán'; so Fl. Wig. 'uictu deficiente,' i. 225. There is a curious reference to this in a MS. Chron. cited Ann. Winton. p. 27, note: 'adeo erat [Haroldus] animi inconstantis, quod nullus suorum se credidit illi. Unde et cum primum exercitum duxisset in Vectam insulam, ut ibi praestolaretur Willelmum ducem . . . exercitus eius diffugit ab eo.'

Harold's force disperses.

andlang Usan] 'in loco qui Richale dicitur, applicuerunt,' Fl. Wig. i. 226; *i.e.* Riccal, three and a half miles north of Selby. Gaimar says that they left their ships 'a Seint Wlfrei.' The editors of M. H. B. suggest Brayton, one and a half miles west-south-west of Selby, the church of which is dedicated to St. Wilfrid.

Tostig and Harold Hardrada come to Riccal.

heom þær wið fuhton. Eadwine . . . 7 Morkere, D] This is the battle of Fulford. The name is inserted by S. D. ii. 180, in the account which he borrows from Fl. Wig. It is also in Gaimar, v. 5215. The site was still shown in H. H.'s day, H. H. p. 200. See on the battle, F. N. C. iii. 348 ff.; C. P. B. ii. 185, 192, 222, 225.

Battle of Fulford.

pp. 197, 198. Ða com Harold . . . cyning, C, D] On Harold's march to the north, and the battle of Stamford Bridge, see F. N. C. iii. 354-377, 730-740; C. P. B. *u. s.* and *ib.* i. 366; ii. 179, 199, 211, 228, 598.

Harold's march northwards.

Battle of
Stamford
Bridge.

on *unwær*, D; on *unwaran*, C] Gaimar says that they were plundering, which is likely enough, *v.* 5228.

begeondan þære brycge, C] This must be said from the point of view of the enemy. To the English, coming from York, they would be on the hither side of the bridge. The enemy were possibly in the act of crossing the stream, or at any rate had thrown part of their forces across, when Harold of England fell suddenly upon them. The closing paragraph of C is evidently, from the language, much later than the rest of the account; see Introduction, § 92. If the tradition embodied in it is founded on fact, the incident must have taken place between the surprise of the forces on the right bank, and the main action on the left bank of the Derwent. The story is also in *H. H. u. s.*, and *W. M. i.* 281.

Mistake of
Harfager
for
Hardrada.

pp. 198, 199. Harold *Hār fagera*, D] This mistake of Harfager for Hardrada runs through almost all the authorities, native and foreign, *Fl. Wig.* i. 200, 226, ii. 42; *W. M. i.* 281, ii. 318; *Ailr. R.*, cc. 766, 777 (*Harfau*); *St. Edw.* pp. 20, 21, 115, 116, 141, 143, 144 (carelessly copied by the editor, pp. xx, xxxiii, xxxviii; cf. *H. H.* p. 199 margin); *Pertz*, xix. 508, v. 559 (*Arbach*), vi. 361 (*Harwich*); *Bouquet*, xi. 212 (*Arvegre*); *Liber de Hyda*, p. 292 (*Hervard*); *Ord. Vit.* ii. 123; and *William of Jumièges*, cited *F. N. C.* iii. 721; cf. *Z. N. V.* p. 14.

Earls of
Orkney.

þan eorle of Orcan ége] ‘*Paulum nomine*,’ *Fl. Wig.* i. 226. *Torfinn* had died in 1064, and had been succeeded by his two sons, *Paul* and *Erlend*. According to the *Saga*, they both accompanied *Harold Hardrada*, *Laing’s Sagas*, iv. 36. Who ‘their bishop’ was, I do not know.

ungerim folces, C] ‘*Magna congeries ossium mortuorum usque hodie iacet*,’ *Ord. Vit.* ii. 144.

hit nactes ne widstod] ‘it availed naught,’ *Thorpe*. ‘*Hetmundus*’ should be *Olaf*, as the text of D shows.

Campaign
of Hast-
ings.

Ða com Wyllelm eorl, 7c., D] D is the only native account of the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac*. C stops with the battle of *Stamford Bridge*, and E is a mere summary. *Fl. Wig.*’s account is based mainly on D, but with details of his own, i. 227-229. On the campaign of *Hastings* and the battle of *Senlac*, see *F. N. C.* iii. 378-506, 744-773. Into the controversy which has been raging on the subject ever since the publication of *Mr. Round’s* article in the *Quarterly Review* of July, 1892, it is impossible here to enter. D, by calling *Harold’s* force ‘here,’ not ‘*fyrd*,’ seems to imply that it was composed mainly, at any rate, of housecarls; and by saying that *William* came upon him, ‘*ær his folc gefylced wære*,’ he seems rather to endorse the view that *Harold* engaged somewhat prematurely. This view is taken very strongly by *Chron. Ab.* i. 482, 483; so the *Waltham* historian, though most favourable to *Harold*: ‘*nimis praeceps et de uirtute sua praesumens, . . . heu nimis animosus, minus . . . quam expediret circumspectus, propriis . . . magis quam suorum confidens uiribus*,’ pp. 25-26. (The whole account of *Harold’s* death, character, and burial, as given by

View that
Harold
engaged
prema-
turely.

this good and simple-hearted priest, is most beautiful and affecting, and worthy of careful reading, *ib.* 25-31.) Gaimar appreciates better Harold's difficulties, *rv.* 5257 ff.:

'Cinc iurs i mist al asembler,
Mais ne pout gueres avner,
Pour la grant gent ki ert cecise,
Quant des Norreis fist Deus iustise.'

And if Fl. Wig. is correct in saying that some of Harold's forces deserted him, i. 227, it is possible that delay might have diminished rather than increased his strength. But, indeed, we do not know enough to be able to criticise effectively.

Dær wearð ofslægen Harold, D] 'Cum Haroldo omne robur decedit Angliae,' W. M. i. 282. On the death and burial of Harold, see F. N. C. iii. 506-521, 781-790. As to the wild legend of Harold's escape from the battle, see the romantic *Life of Harold*, ed. De Gray Birch, 1885; Hardy, *Cat.* i. 668-672; F. N. C. iii. 785 ff. The foreign Chronicles are so dominated by the Norman point of view that it is worth while to record the emphatic words of the *Annales Corbeienses*: 'Willehem basthard, *legitimo rege Anglorum expulso, regnum sibi arripuit*,' Pertz, iii. 6.

Eadwine. 7 Morkere. him beheton . . . woldon] Fl. Wig. adds: 'Sed dum ad pugnam descendere multi se parauere, comites suum auxilium ab eis retraxere, et cum suo exercitu domum redierunt,' i. 228. Mr. Freeman, *u. s.* 794, 795, therefore doubts whether they can have been at the submission of Berkhamstead, as D, i. 200, and Fl. Wig. say. But it seems a little rash to set aside the statement of our two best native authorities; and the fact that Florence adds to the list of those who submitted, Wulfstan of Worcester and Walter of Hereford, shows that he is not merely copying the Chronicle mechanically. D is justified in saying, i. 200, that if they were going to submit they had better have submitted earlier; this would probably have prevented the worst part of William's ravages. For similar comments, cf. *supra*, 1016, i. 151; 1040 C, D; 1055 D.

p. 200. 7 Wyllelm eorl for eft ongean to Hæstingan] On the events between the battle of Hastings and the coronation of William, see F. N. C. iii. 522-562, 794, 795.

hine halgode . . . Ealdred, D, E] Mr. Freeman justly lays stress on the unique position of Ealdred in having within one year crowned two kings of England under such exceptional circumstances. In the case of a foreign conqueror like William, the royal oath would be of special importance.

Swa peah leide gyld, 7c., D] See Round, in *Domesday Studies*, i. 87-89.

p. 198. syððan heora land bohtan, E] 'terram suam erga eum releuauerunt,' *Ann. Wav.*, p. 189; 'probably this refers only to those

English lords, those thegns or the like, who were fortunate enough to find that a ransom would be accepted,' Maitland, p. 60; cf. *ib.* 137.

Leofric,
Abbot of
Peter-
borough,
dies.

7 *Da wæs Leofric abbot, 7c.*] The Peterborough chronicler concludes this annal with a piece of local history, and strikes that note of hopelessness and depression which characterises this Chronicle to the end. On Leofric, *v. s.* 1052 E, *ad fin.*; F. N. C. ii. 348, 349. Hugo Candidus calls him 'pulcherrimus monachorum, flos et decus abbatum Lewricus'; cf. the whole passage, pp. 41, 42. From the list of his abbeys it would seem that plurality was as rife among the abbots as among the bishops. On Coventry, cf. K. C. D. iv. 253 ff.; G. P. pp. 309-311; on Croyland, *ib.* 321, 322.

Brand
succeeds.

p. 199. Brand prouost] On him, see H. Candidus, pp. 47, 48. There is a document, K. C. D. iv. 169, in which both Leofric and Brand occur. On the title 'provost' in the monastic sense, see Bede, I. xxviii, xxix; II. 38, 180, 266, 267, 370-372.

William
goes to
Normandy.

p. 200. *fór þa on þam lengtene ofer sæ, D*] This of course belongs to 1067, and is so placed in E; the writer, or the authority which he followed, evidently begins the year with Easter. See on this visit to Normandy, Ord. Vit. ii. 167; F. N. C. iv. 77 ff. Fl. Wig. adds to the list of English hostages 'nobilem satrapam, Agelnothum Cantuariensem,' ii. 1.

Later
history of
Stigand.

nam mid him Stigand] This is the last mention of Stigand in the Chronicle. For his subsequent fate, cf. G. P. pp. 36, 37; he was deposed in 1070, and died in 1072, Liebermann, p. 74. A mutilated entry in a calendar at Feb. 22 probably refers to his obit, Hampson, i. 432. Ailr. R. credits him with an end like that of Judas Iscariot, c. 773. Here again, in view of the prevailing continental opinion about Stigand, it may be worth while to note that Theofrid, Abbot of Epternach, 1081, calls him 'Anglorum archipraesul eximius.' Theofrid's opinion may, however, have been influenced by the fact that Stigand presented some relics to his monastery, Pertz, xxiii. 25.

Æthel-
noth, Abbot
of Glaston-
bury.

Ægelnað abb on Gī ðr] There is a writ of Harold addressed to Æthelnoth in K. C. D. iv. 305, and it is the only royal writ of Harold's in that collection. Æthelnoth's deposition is mentioned in the Latin continuation of A, i. 289, *infra*. Yet F. N. C., ii. 360, states that he died in possession of his abbey; a mistake silently corrected, *ib.* iv. 78, 79.

Waltheof.

Wælpeof eorl] This is the first mention of him. On his earldom, cf. *ib.* ii. 559, 560.

Odo of
Bayeux,
and Wil-
liam Fitz-
oßbern.

Óða ð 7 Wylllelm eorl, 7c.] On their administration during William's absence, see *ib.* iv. 103-123. Of them and Waltheof we shall hear again.

Chron-
ology.

ā syððan . . . God wylle] This is extremely like the tone and form of some of the later entries in E.

1067-1069, D, E] The accounts of the Chronicles are unhappily very fragmentary here, and very confused as to chronology; cf. F. N. C. iv. 774, 775. Fl. Wig. and S. D. give some additional help. Orderic, who for

many parts of the story is our sole authority, is unluckily very sparing in the matter of dates. I take, therefore, the entries in these annals in their chronological order; inserting after each the date, and a reference to the pages of Mr. Freeman's fourth volume, of which I have made great use in determining the order of events.

William goes to Normandy. 1067, Lent, pp. 77 ff. (On this see notes to preceding annal.)

Death of Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester. March x Dec., pp. 130-133. Death of Wulfwi **þ** for **ð** ferde, D] He died at Winchester, Fl. Wig. ii. 1. His successor, Reinigius, transferred the see to Lincoln; cf. H. H. p. 212.

Rising in Herefordshire. c. Aug. 15, pp. 108-111.

7 Eadric cild, 7c.] See on him, F. N. C. iv. 21, 64, 110-112, 274, 280, 463, 514, 738-740. He is called 'the Wild'; 'cognomento *Guilda*, id est *Siluaticus*,' Ord. Vit. ii. 166; cf. *ib.* 193; and here, too, it is probable that 'Eadric *cild*' is a mistake for 'Eadric *se wilda*,' due to the occurrence of the words 'Eadgar cild,' a little above and again a little below. He is not mentioned again in the Chronicle.

wurdon unsehte] If this is correct, it must mean that Eadric and the Welsh were at variance with *William*; but perhaps the reading which the scribe of D had before him was 'wurdun sehte,' and he duplicated the second syllable. Then the meaning would be that Eadric and the Welsh made an alliance together; cf. Fl. Wig. 'ascitis sibi in auxilium regibus Walanorum, Blethgento . . . et Rithwalano . . . Edricus, circa Assumptionem S. Mariae [Aug. 15] Herefordensem prouinciam usque ad pontem amnis Lucge deuas-tauit,' ii. 1, 2. These are the Welsh princes mentioned above, 1063. This, therefore, preceded the return of William on St. Nicholas' Mass day, Dec. 6.

Return of William; burning of Christ Church, Canterbury. Dec. 6, pp. 124, 125.

Her com se kyng . . . ongean . . . 7 þæs dæges forbarn Cristes cyrce, D, E] Strictly, Dec. 6 was the day on which William left Normandy; Dec. 7 the day of his arrival in England.

The fire is so closely connected with William's return, both in D and E, that there can be no doubt that 1067 is the right year, though A, the Canterbury Chronicle, places it in 1066 (above, i. 196). But the entry was probably not made contemporaneously, see Introduction, § 95. There was a Canterbury tradition that the fire was due to the wrath of Dunstan because the 'quorundam odiosa adulatio' had led them to bury near the saint, within the church, an infant child of Harold, who had only been 'initiat' (*i. e.* primesigned; see Vigfússon, Icelandic Dict. *s. v.* primsigna), not baptised. Everything was burnt except the dormitory and refectory; and many MSS. were destroyed, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. lxiii, 70, 141, 142, 230, 231, 253, 350; cf. G. P. p. 69; H. Y. I. xlvi f. 225; Hardy, Cat. ii. 22, 446. It is possible that this fire, by its destruction of genuine documents, cleared the ground for that audacious series of forgeries in

Death of Wulfwig.

Eadric the Wild.

Fire at Canterbury.

Destruction of documents.

support of the claims of Canterbury over York, which first made its appearance in 1072. See Bede, II. 84; and *infra*, p. 264. Lanfranc himself alludes to the destruction of documents by this fire, G. P. p. 46.

Distribu-
tion of
lands.

he geaf ælces mannes land, E] Cf. H. H. p. 204: 'diuisit terram militibus.' And on the great changes in the ownership of English land brought about by the Conquest, see F. N. C. iv. 14, 15, 24-27, 127, 128, &c.; v. 22, 23.

Interpola-
tion in D.

Campaign in the west; capture of Exeter; escape of Gytha, &c., to Flatholme. 1068, Spring, pp. 138-173. These events certainly belong to the spring of 1068; though Fl. Wig., contrary to his usual custom, follows D, and places them in 1067. (Between the capture of Exeter and the escape of Gytha, D has clumsily inserted the retirement of Edgar Etheling and his sister to Scotland, and in connexion therewith an account of his saintly sister, Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Cennmor. This ought to have been inserted at the foot of i. 202, after the first rising of the north, and in connexion with the retirement of 'Gospatric and the best men.' Fl. Wig. omits the first rising of the north, and so misses the motive both of William's northern march and of Edgar's retirement, though he rightly brings Edgar and Gospatric together instead of separating them as D does.)

p. 201. he ferde to Defena scire, D] Cf. Ord. Vit. ii. 179, 180.

Escape of
Gytha.

p. 202. 7 her ferde Gyða út] With Gytha went a priest named Blachman, a tenant of the monastery of Abingdon, who 'nunquam postea comparuit,' Chron. Ab. i. 484; ii. 283. The Lib. de Hyda calls Gytha 'magnae sanctitatis, multaeque religionis,' p. 289. She founded a college of priests at Hartland, Waltham, p. vii. A grant by her, 'pro anima mea et domini mei comitis Godwini,' is in K. C. D. iv. 264.

William keeps Easter at Winchester. March 23, pp. 178, 179.

On pisan Eastron, 7c.] That 1068 is meant is shown by the date given for Easter, March 23. If D's year begins with Easter, the number 1068 should be inserted at this point.

Arrival of Matilda in England, D. Soon after Easter.

Her coronation by Ealdred on Whit-Sunday, D. May 11.

First rising in the north. William marches north to Nottingham and York, D. Summer, pp. 181-206.

Castles
built at
York.

worhte twegen castelas] Mr. Freeman thinks that D and Fl. Wig. are mistaken in thinking that both the York castles were built now. The second castle was probably not built till after the second rising. So Ord. Vit. cited below. D, in describing the second rising, says that the insurgents 'þone castel tobræcon,' i. 204 m; while E, which has not mentioned the building of the castles, says that they 'þa castelas gewunnan,' i. 203 h. Fl. Wig. is consistent, saying on the second occasion 'castellis fractis.' Gaimar seems inconsistent: 'un chastel,' v. 5400; 'les chastels,' v. 5440.

Edgar
retires to
Scotland.

Edgar Etheling, Gospatric, &c., retire to Scotland, and remain there all the winter.

pp. 200, 201. *pæs sumeres Eadgar cild for út, D, E]* With this must be combined, as I have shown above, the statement of D at the foot of i. 202, about the retirement of Gospatric and the best men to Scotland.

William returns south by the east side of England (cf. D, i. 202 b.: '7 on Lincolna, 7 ge hwar on þan ende'), pp. 207-224.

Contemporaneously with these events the west is ravaged by Harold's son[s], pp. 224-227.

p. 203. *amang þisan, 7c., D]* So Fl. Wig. 'dum haec agerentur.'

com an Haroldes suna] Fl. Wig. says three sons, Godwine, Edmund, and Magnus; Gaimar says Godwine and Edmund, sons of Harold, and Tostig, son of Swegen, *rv.* 5405 ff. I cannot help thinking that what the scribe of D had before him was: '7 amang þisan coman Haroldes suna . . . 7 hergodon . . . foron þa, 7c.' Having misread 'coman' into 'com an,' he corrected 'hergodon' into 'hergode,' but forgot to carry his corrections any further; cf. 1068 D, i. 203 l.: 'Æfter þisum coman Haroldes sunas'; which suggests that the error was helped by the failure of the scribe to recognise *suna* as the genuine old nom. pl. of *sunu*; he took it for a gen. pl. dependent on *an*, and when he wanted a nom. pl. coined a new form by analogy *sunas*.

Ravages
of Harold's
sons.

Eadnoð stallere] See on him, W. M. ii. 313; F. N. C. iv. 757-761.

Murder of Robert of Commines. 1069, Jan. 28, pp. 238-243.

pp. 202, 203. *þa landes menn . . . hine ofslógon, D, E]* The precise date, Jan. 28, comes from S. D. ii. 187; in i. 98-100 he gives it as Jan. 31. (If D's year begins with Christmas or Jan. 1, the number 1069 should stand where 1068 now stands; if, as is more probable, it begins with Easter, 1069 should head the second paragraph, 'Æfter þisum,' &c. I was certainly wrong in following Thorpe, who would place the new annal at the head of the third paragraph, 'Her forðferde Aldred,' for the date of that is September; see below, p. 262.)

Murder of
Robert of
Commines.

This murder leads to the second rising of the north, which is joined by Edgar Etheling. William marches suddenly from the south and defeats them. Edgar retires to Scotland, D, E. [Second castle at York built, *v. s.* So Ord. Vit. ii. 188: 'rex dies viii in urbe morans alterum praesidium condidit.')

Second
rising of
the north.

Second invasion of Harold's sons at midsummer; possibly in concert with Swegen. June 24, pp. 243-249.

coman Haroldes sunas, D] They had again taken refuge with Diarmaid in Ireland, who lent them sixty-six ships, Ord. Vit. ii. 189, 190 (where the editor excusably confuses this expedition with that of 1068).

Second
invasion
of Harold's
sons.

Breon eorl] On him, see F. N. C. iv. 244, 245.

foron eft to Yrlande] After this the family of Godwine disappears from history, with one exception mentioned *infra* on 1098.

Arrival of the Danish fleet, which is joined by Edgar Waltheof, &c., D, E. Aug. 15 x Sept. 8, pp. 247-259.

p. 202. betwyx pam twam s̄ca Marian mæssan, E] *i.e.* the Assumption and the Nativity; see above, pp. 236, 237.

pp. 202, 204. Swegenes suna, D, E] Ord. Vit. says that Swegen was 'multotiens pecuniis Anglorum, et obnixis precibus sollicitatus,' ii. 172, 190, 191.

Death of
Ealdred.

Death of Ealdred on the feast of SS. Protus and Hyacinthus. Sept. 11, pp. 260-266.

p. 203. Her forð ferde Aldred, D] D is wrong in placing the death of Ealdred before the coming of the Danish fleet, though he did die before the capture of York. His end is said to have been hastened by his grief at the miseries of his country. 'Aldredus bonae memoriae, *ultimus Angli-gena archiepiscopus*,' H. Y. ii. 128, 211, 344, 354. To him Folcard dedicates his life of John of Beverley, *ib.* i. 239-242; cf. *ib.* lii, liii; Gaimar, *vv.* 5383 ff.; Ord. Vit. ii. 156.

Capture of York by the English and Danes, D, E. Sept. 21, pp. 268-271. The date is from Fl. Wig. ii. 4; cf. W. M. ii. 307: 'Eboracum, unicum rebellionum suffugium.'

William
recovers
York.

William marches northward, D, E, pp. 280-298. The Chron. gives no details of William's capture of York. Mr. Freeman says: 'I wish we could believe the tale of a later writer [the so-called Matthew of Westminster], . . . that he met with a valiant resistance,' p. 287. There is, however, much earlier evidence, *viz.* that of William Ketell, who wrote the Miracles of St. John of Beverley about 1150, H. Y. i. 265, 266; cf. *ib.* liv.

Harrying of the north, D, E.

Harrying
of the
north.

p. 204. þa scire mid eallæ for hergode] On the lasting effects of this harrying, cf. G. P. pp. 208-210; H. Y. ii. 107, 361, 362; on the flight of its wretched victims into other parts of England, Chron. Evesh. pp. 90 ff.; on the destruction of documents caused by it, H. Y. ii. 98, 343, 344; cf. Ord. Vit. ii. 195, 196: 'in multis Guillelmum nostra libenter extulit relatio, sed in hoc . . . laudare non audeo.'

[Flight of Ægelwine, Bishop of Durham, Dec. 11, S. D. ii. 189; i. 100, 101; cf. *ib.* i. 94, 105; ii. 190, 192, 195. He retires to Scotland.]

William keeps Christmas in York, D, Dec. 25. For the rest of William's dealings with the north, which are not given in the Chron., see F. N. C. iv. 299-320.

Arrest of Bishop Ægelric, and outlawry of his brother, Bishop Ægelwine. 1070, Easter.

on þa ilcan Eastron] This must be the Easter of 1070, as D says distinctly that it was the Easter which followed William's return from the north. On these two brothers, see above on 1041 C.

Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret, D, E, i. 201. 1070.

St. Mar-
garet.

On the lateness of the interpolation in D about St. Margaret, see Introduction, § 75; it is evidently taken from some life of that saint, possibly that ascribed to Turgot (Pinkerton, Lives of the Scottish Saints, vol. ii, of

which there is a translation, with notes, by W. Forbes-Leith, S.J.), which lays stress on much the same points—her unwillingness to marry, p. 163; her influence on her but half-civilised husband, pp. 165, 166 (where it is told how he would touch and fondle the books which his wife loved, though he could not read a letter himself); her efforts for the religious and moral reform of her people, pp. 167 ff. It would be a mistake to infer from the insertion of the story at this point that the marriage of Margaret and Malcolm took place in 1068. S. D. shows clearly that it belongs to 1070. Early in that year Malcolm, who was harrying the north on his own account, met Edgar and his sisters at Wearmouth, whither they had retired after the final capture of York by William; and the reason why the chronicler inserts the episode here may be that he connected it with the first, instead of with the second, retirement of Edgar to Scotland. See, however, on the other side, S. C. S. i. 422, 423. It was this harrying of the north by Malcolm which filled Scotland with those English slaves, which it was one of Margaret's many works of charity to redeem, S. D. ii. 189-192; Pinkerton, ii. 173.

Date of her marriage with Malcolm.

p. 201. 7 cwæð þ heo, 7c.] Professor Earle would place the fourth line after the first: 'And said that she would not have him or any with bodily heart, in this short life.' He compares 'Holy Graal,' ed. Furnival, p. 450: 'Man that in this world liveth bodily,' i.e. unspiritually.

p. 202. Eadgar. Eadreding] We must, of course, read 'Eadgar Eadmunding.' This again speaks for the lateness of this insertion.

p. 204. 1070 A. Her Landfranc . . . wearð arceþ] This is the first mention in the Chronicles of the great Lanfranc. See on him, F. N. C. ii. 115, 116, 220-225; iii. 102-106, 110; iv. 95-97, 345 ff.; Hardy, Cat. ii. 52-58; Ang. Sac. i. 55, 56; H. H. p. 214; G. P. pp. 68-73, where a beautiful account is given of his charity and liberality; the 'prognosticon' at his consecration was 'date eleemosinam et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis.' He was regarded as the teacher of all the Latin-speaking world: 'inuietissimus totius Latinitatis magister,' Ang. Sac. ii. 122; cf. H. Y. ii. 243; W. M. ii. 326; G. P. p. 73 (the same phrase of Anselm, *ib.* 97, 122); Ord. Vit. ii. 210, 211: 'Athenae quando incolumes florebant . . . Lanfranco . . . assurgerent.' Even the York writers do not deny his great qualities, though they regard him as 'plus quam decebat monachum gloriae et dignitatis appetens,' H. Y. ii. 100.

Lanfranc appointed to Canterbury.

Thomas . . . Eferwic] Similarly his opponent Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York, is highly praised even by Canterbury writers for his character and learning: 'omni uita integer, . . . liberalitate . . . prodigus; . . . philosophis antiquis scientia comparandus, nec elatus; . . . moribus dulcis; . . . multa ecclesiastica composuit carmina,' G. P. pp. 257, 258; 'musica certe tunc temporis facile omnium primus,' Ang. Sac. ii. 255; cf. *ib.* i. 66; H. Y. ii. 363. He had a very important influence on the cathedral constitutions of England. The constitution commonly ascribed to

Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York.

His importance

in English cathedral history.

St. Osmund of Salisbury is really that of Bayeux, of which church Thomas was treasurer, and was introduced at York and Lincoln before it made its way to Salisbury; see Life of Henry Bradshaw, pp. 282, 283, 345. He had travelled as far as Spain in search of knowledge, H. Y. ii. 356; Hardy, Cat. ii. 91. H. H. calls him 'Musarum a secretis,' p. 233; he wrote the epitaph for the Conqueror's tomb. He was appointed at the Pentecost gemót of 1070, Fl. Wig. ii. 6; and died in 1100, *v. infra*.

Controversy between Canterbury and York.

p. 206. þa for soc he. 7 sæde þ he hit nahte to donne] On the interminable controversy between Canterbury and York as to the primacy, see, from the York point of view, H. Y. ii. 99-227, 312-316; from the Canterbury point of view, *ib.* 228-251 (the letter of Archbishop Ralph to Calixtus II in 1119, the year of the Council of Rheims; see below); G. P. pp. 39 ff.; W. M. ii. 346 ff.; Ang. Sac. i. 65-77; Hardy, Cat. ii. 22, 102.

Weakness of the Canterbury claim.

It is clear that the Canterbury case rested (1) on an evasion of the plain meaning of the ordinances of Gregory I for the organisation of the Church in Britain, an evasion arrived at (a) by representing the privileges granted by Gregory to Augustine personally, as granted to the see of Canterbury, Bede, H. E. i. 39, and note; (b) by an unscrupulous use of the accidental fact that Gregory had in the first instance named London and not Canterbury as the seat of the southern metropolis, *ib.*; (c) by laying stress on facts such as the authority exercised by Theodore in the north, which were wholly irrelevant, as belonging to a time when the northern metropolis was in abeyance, no northern prelate having received the pallium between Paulinus and Egbert (the attempt to make one *metropolitan* subject to another seems directly contrary to the principle laid down by Gregory I, *ib.* i. 27, p. 52, and note, II. 50; cf. a good passage in S. D. ii. 249, 250; and *ib.* 239, where S. D., while copying bodily from Fl. Wig. ii. 56, pointedly alters one of his sentences, which by implication makes York a suffragan of Canterbury). But (2) the Canterbury claim rested on a series of the most unblushing forgeries; see Bede, II. 84, 91, 92, 111, 205, 283; H. Y. ii. 100-102, 204. It is difficult to acquit Lanfranc of complicity in a very discreditable business. That documents cited should be garbled is comparatively a small matter, H. Y. ii. 242.

It rested on unblushing forgeries.

The real question was political, not legal.

There can be no doubt that the motives of William and Lanfranc were mainly political. In earlier times it had been attempted to guard against the dangers which might arise from the independence of the northern primate by allowing him (uncanonically) to hold the see of Worcester within the southern province. The risings in the north showed that these dangers were more threatening than ever; but under the reformed system of William and Lanfranc, the old remedy could no longer be applied. The York writer is probably correct in representing Lanfranc as urging on the king: 'utile esse ad regni integritatem et firmitatem conseruandam, ut Britannia tota uni quasi primati subderetur; alioquin contingere posse, . . . ut de Dacis, seu Norensibus, siue Scotis [including Edgar

Etheling] . . . unus ab Eboracensi archiepiscopo et a prouinciae illius indigenis . . . rex crearetur, et sic regnum turbatum scinderetur,' H. Y. ii. 100. It is not true that Lanfranc obtained from Thomas 'all that he craved.' The profession was strictly personal, the general question being expressly reserved. This is admitted by both York and Canterbury writers, H. Y. ii. 101; G. P. p. 42. An act of the council of 1072 on this subject is facsimiled in the publications of the Palaeographical Society, III. Plate 170; cf. Hist. MSS. Commission, v. 452. From the Saxon version of this annal it might be thought that the consecration of Thomas had only taken place after the return of the two archbishops from Rome. But the Latin version shows that the voyage to Rome was not till the following year, 1071, and that Thomas' consecration preceded it, *infra* i. 287, 288; cf. F. N. C. iv. 354.

pp. 204, 205. 1071 D, 1070 E] The date of E is correct. D gives the original form of the annal. E is largely interpolated with Peterborough matter; see Introduction, § 51.

Wælpeof gryðode, D, E] Waltheof's submission took place on the banks of the Tees in Jan. 1070, towards the close of the campaign in the north; see F. N. C. iv. 302, 303. Submission of Waltheof.

se kyngc let hergian . . . þa mynstra] Feb., March, 1070, Harrying of the monasteries. F. N. C. iv. 328, 329. Fl. Wig. says that it was done by advice of William Fitzosbern and others, and that the object was to get possession of the treasures which the English had deposited there for safety, ii. 5; cf. Chron. Ab. i. 486.

man hergade þ mynster æt Burh, D] On the rising in the fen country and the attack of Hereward and the Danes on Peterborough, May-June, 1070, see F. N. C. iv. 454-462. Rising in the Fens.

com Swegn cyng, E] Mr. Freeman, *u. s.*, throws doubt on this alleged visit of Swegen.

Xþistien þa Densce b] Christian, Bishop of Aarhus, Gams, p. 329; Langebek, *Scriptores*, iii. 247 (cited by Stevenson).

Osbearn eorl] See above, 1068 D, 1069 E.

Hereward 7 his genge] On Hereward, who has a brief life in history and a long one in romance, see F. N. C. iv. 455 ff., 469 ff., 484 ff., 805 ff. He evidently regarded a monastery under a Norman abbot as part of the enemy's country.

an Frencisce abbot] Turolde was originally a monk of Fécamp, and had been made Abbot of Malmesbury by William, who translated him to Peterborough because of his military qualities: 'per splendorem Dei, quia magis se agit militem quam abbatem, inueniam ei comparem, qui assultus eius accipiat,' G. P. p. 420. He is mentioned by H. H. in his *De Contemptu Mundi*, p. 318. He died 1098, *infra*. Some have wanted to make him the author of the *Chanson de Roland*. Turolde, Abbot of Peterborough.

cantelcapas] See the New Eng. Dict. *s. v.*

þ he dyde eall be þære munece ræde] 'He did that wholly by the monks' counsel.' *þæt* is the demonstrative pronoun, not the conjunction, which would require the insertion of an *and* before it. Professor Earle has rightly called attention to this, as most of the translators have gone wrong. It is a (true) statement by the chronicler; not a (false) allegation made by the sacristan to Turolf. It is correctly understood by H. Candidus: 'Ywarus . . . audito rumore, per consilium monachorum accepit quidquid potuit,' &c., p. 48; see *ib.* 48-52 for an account of this attack on Peterborough, mainly based on E, but with additional local traditions.

þe kynehelm . . . þet fotspure . . . golde] So of the crucifix at Waltham it is said that Gytha, the wife of Tofig Pruda, daughter of Osgod Clapa (see above, p. 221) 'capiti illius circumdedit coronam ex auro obrizo, . . . et ex eodem auro subpedaneum,' Waltham, p. 12.

on bokes] Above we have had the true old plural, 'Christes béc,' which may have been preserved by the technical character of the phrase.

p. 207. Leofwine lange] Cf. 'Alfwordus cognomine Longus,' St. Dunstan, p. 226.

secræman in] *i.e.* Séocra manna inn, the monastic infirmary, on which see Bede, I. xxvii; cf. 'infirmatorium, seocra manna hus,' Wülker, Glossaries, i. 185.

þa twegen kyngas . . . wurðon sæhtlod] To this Adam of Bremen seems to allude: 'Inter Suein [regem Danorum] et Bastardum perpetua contentio de Anglia fuit, licet noster pontifex [*i.e.* of Bremen] muneribus Willelmi persuasus, inter reges pacem formare uoluerit,' Pertz, vii. 356.

pp. 206, 207. Baldawine eorl forðferðe, D, E] This is Baldwin VI, the brother of Matilda, William's wife. His son Arnulf was a minor. His widow Richildis assumed the regency, and married William Fitzosbern, the Conqueror's confidant, who is the 'Willelm eorl' here mentioned. But her tyrannical government so incensed the Flemings that they called in Robert 'the Frisian,' Baldwin VI's brother, who, after the death of his nephew in the battle of Cassel here recorded, became Count of Flanders. The death of Baldwin belongs to 1070, the battle probably to Feb. 1071. See on these Flemish affairs, L'Art de Vérif. iii. 5, 6; F. N. C. iv. 531-537.

1072 D, 1071 E] The date in E is correct.

hlupon út, D, E] On the escape of Edwin and Morkere, and the revolt and reduction of the Isle of Ely, see F. N. C. iv. 462-487. According to Fl. Wig., Edwin was slain while attempting to escape to Scotland, ii. 9.

p. 208. scip fyrðe] Fl. Wig. calls William's naval force 'butsecarls,' *ib.* brygge worhte] 'pontem in occidentali [plaga] duorum milliariorum longum fieri iussit,' *ib.* He also, after the capture, built a castle; which may be what H. H. means: 'pontem parauit, domum belli artificiose construxit, quae usque hodie perstat,' p. 205; unless this is some siegework.

Ravaging of Peterborough.

The monastic infirmary.

Agreement of William and Swegen.

Death of Baldwin VI of Flanders; wars of succession.

Revolt in the Isle of Ely.

William's siegeworks.

on þa sæ healfe] 'in orientali plaga,' Fl. Wig. ii. 9.

buton Here werde anum] Mr. Freeman, *u. s.*, p. 457, notices (as I have already noticed on 878) that this is the same phrase as is there used of Alfred; cf. Gainar: All submit but Here-ward.

'Tuz alerent merci crier,

Fors Hereward, ki mult fu ber,' rr. 5549 f.

Ægelwine þ . . . forð ferde] Fl. Wig. gives two accounts of the death of Bishop Ægelwine; one under 1071 is evidently translated from the Chronicle. But under 1070 he has this: 'Ægelwinus Dunholmi episcopus ab hominibus regis Willelmi capitur, et in carcerem truditur; ubi dum ex nimio cordis dolore comedere nollet fame et dolore moritur,' ii. 8. Mr. Freeman, *iv.* 812, 813, suggests that this is due to a confusion with Ægelric. This is possible, but it does not help the text of Florence, for he has the death of Ægelric under the right year, 1072. It is worth while to note how S. D. deals with the difficulty. When embodying Florence in his *Gesta Regum*, he simply omits the earlier account, giving only the one derived from the *Chronicles*, ii. 195. In his earlier work (the *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*) he combines the two accounts, telling how Ægelwine was first sent to Abingdon, then fresh charges were brought against him, and he was thrust into prison, where he died as described by Florence, S. D. i. 105. This may be mere 'Harmonistik,' but it may be based on northern sources. On the other hand, H. Y. ii. 357, also northern, follows mainly the account of the Chronicle; while *Chron. Ab.* i. 485, 486, which embodies the Abingdon tradition, says distinctly that Ægelwine remained in captivity at Abingdon till the day of his death. The Abbot of Abingdon, Ealdred, was himself involved in the movements against William, and placed in the custody of Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, for the rest of his life, *ib.*

1073 D, 1072 E] The date in E is right.

Her Wyllelm kyng . . . to Scotlande, D, E] On this see Fl. Wig. ii. 9, 10; *Ann. Ult. s. a.* 1072; *F. N. C.* *iv.* 513-522; *S. C. S.* *i.* 423-425. William invades Scotland. The Forth.
ofer þ Wæð, D; æt þam Ge wæde, E] This is the Forth. Originally this was the northern boundary of Northumbria, 'Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat,' Bede, *H. E.* *iv.* 26. So in the *Vita Oswaldi*: 'Regnum . . . Berniciorum [antiquitus erat] de Tinae exordio usque in Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur,' S. D. *i.* 339; and a twelfth-century description of Scotland speaks of 'illa aqua optima, que Scottice uocata est Froch [Forth], Brittanice Werid, Romane [!] uero Scottewattre, id est Aqua Scottorum, que regna Scottorum et Anglorum diuidit,' *P. & S.* p. 136; cf. *Lib. de Hyda*, p. 15. (The admission that, technically at least, the 'regnum Anglorum' extended to the Forth should be noted as throwing light on the question of the Scotch homage. It also explains the 'ferde inn' D, 'inn lædde' E, of the *Chronicles* here. William was not strictly in Scotland till he had crossed the Forth.) Similar names were applied

The
Solway.

to the Solway on the other side of the island; *e.g.* Fordun: 'Flumen de Forth, quod . . . dicitur . . . mare Scoticum; fluuium Esk, quod dicitur Scotiswath, siue Sulwath' [Solway, cf. Silloth], i. 2; iii. 7.

he *pær naht ne funde*, D, E] The chronicler evidently regards the invasion as indecisive.

Death of
Bishop
Ægelric.

se *þ* *Ægelric forðferde*] On him, and on the story of his appointment to York, see p. 220, *supra*. His successor at Durham was Walcher, S. D. i. 105, 106; Fl. Wig. ii. 10; see on 1080 E.

William
conquers
Maine.

p. 209. 1074 D, 1073 E. Willelm . . . *ge wann þ* land *Mans*] On the revolt and subjugation of Maine, see F. N. C. iv. 543 ff. To William's English forces Fl. Wig. mainly ascribes his success: 'maxime Anglorum adiutorio . . . sibi subiugauit,' ii. 10. W. M. is evidently very proud of the exploit: 'Cenomannico solo pene exterminiuu indixit, ducta expeditione illuc de Anglis, qui sicut facile in solo suo potuerunt opprimi, ita in alieno semper apparuere inuicti,' ii. 316. Mr. Freeman seems inclined to accept the tradition that Hereward commanded the English contingent, but the story has a very legendary sound.

1075 D, 1074 E] On the events of this year, see F. N. C. iv. 568-572; S. C. S. i. 425-426. D seems here also to have interpolated from some source connected with St. Margaret.

Edgar re-
tires to
Flanders.

of *Fleminga lande*, D] Mr. Freeman, *u. s.* pp. 517, 518, connects Edgar's withdrawal to Flanders with the agreement of William and Malcolm in 1072. St. Grimbald's Mass day (see above on 903), on which he returned to Scotland, is July 8.

Precious
furs.

merðerne . . . grâschynnene . . . hearma scynnene] 'Of martin, miniver, and ermine'; all three words are adjectives. Miniver, 'menu vair,' in modern French 'petit-gris,' is the skin of a kind of grey squirrel, or, as some suppose, of the common squirrel under particular conditions; see Ducange, *s. v.* 'griseum'; Littré, *s. vv.* 'petit-gris,' 'vair.' For the derivation of the word ermine, see the New Engl. Dict. *s. v.* All three skins were highly esteemed in the Middle Ages, and are often mentioned in lists of articles of value: cf. 'pelles grisas atque mardelinas,' Ann. Erphesfurdenses, Pertz, vi. 540; 'pelles castorum uel marturum, quae nos ammiratione sui dementes faciunt,' Ad. Brem. *ib.* vii. 377; 'milites . . . quos pellibus martulinis aut cibelinis, aut renonibus uariis ['of vair'] et hermelinis ornauerat,' Landulfus, *ib.* viii. 56; 'uariis et griseis et armerinis,' Rolandinus Patau. *ib.* xix. 46, where 'vair' and 'gris' seem to be distinguished.

William
receives
Edgar.

p. 210. *se cyng hine ge inlagode*, E; *hine underfengc*, D] W. M. gives well the motives which made William glad to get Edgar into his hands: 'quod regi gratissimum fuisse ferunt, ut incentore bellorum Anglia uacaret; nam et ultro solitus erat quosunque Anglos suspectos habebat, quasi honoris causa, Normanniam ducere, ne quicquam se absente in regno turbarent.' He speaks strongly of Edgar's incapacity, 'useless for the

present, hopeless for the future.' We shall come across him again. The date of his death does not seem to be known; he slipped out of the world unnoticed. He must have lived to a considerable age, as he was still alive when W. M. wrote the *Gesta Regum*, about 1125: '*nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit*,' ii, 309, 310.

swilce gerihhta, D, E] 'liberationem,' Ann. Wav. p. 192, 'livery,' 'allowances.'

1076 D, 1075 E] On the conspiracy of the earls, see F. N. C. iv. 572-592; Ord. Vit. ii. 258 ff.; Fl. Wig. ii. 10-12. The last gives several details which are not in the Chronicle; and in some points differs from it. Thus he says that the marriage took place 'contra praeceptum regis'; and that the place of the bride-ale was not Norwich, but Yxning or Exning, then in Cambridgeshire, though according to modern arrangements it is in Suffolk; see Maitland, *Domesday*, p. 12. Mr. Freeman accepts these statements as corrections made by Florence in the Chronicle out of fuller knowledge. Throughout this annal 'Bryttisc' and 'Bryttas' mean 'Breton,' not 'Welsh.'

Conspiracy of the earls.

p. 211. Rawulf eorl. 7 Rogcer eorl, D, E] Ann. Wav. insert the name of Waltheof between these two.

Hacon eorl] 'On him see Munch, iii. 394,' Earle.

p. 212. Sume hi wurdon geblende] Cf. the rhymes on the Etheling Alfred, 1036 C, D.

getawod to scande, D] Cf. the passages in Bosworth-Toller, s. r. tawian; and Ælf. Lives, i. 164: 'se wæs yfele getawod.' Dr. Ingram translates 'towed to Scandinavia' (!).

1077 D, 1076 E. Swegen kyngc, D, E] 'Rex Danorum Suanus, bene literis imbutus obiit,' S. D. ii. 208.

Wyllelm cyngc geaf . . . Fipele, 7c.] On the translation of Vitalis from Bernay in Normandy on the Charentonne to Westminster, see Hardy, *Cat. Westminster*, ii. 29-31; Ord. Vit. ii. 116; F. N. C. iv. 401, 402. Some remains of the Abbey of Bernay still exist. Vitalis' monument, in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, is the earliest English tomb with an *effigies*, according to Mr. Westmacott, *Archaeological Journal*, 1860, p. 304, cited by Earle.

Vitalis, Abbot of Westminster.

pp. 212, 213. Walpeof eorl be heafodod] 'Pro interfectione Gualleui comitis Guillelmus rex . . . iusto Dei iudicio multa aduersa perpassus est, nec unquam postea diuturna pace potitus est,' Ord. Vit. ii. 290; cf. F. N. C. iv. 592-607; Fl. Wig. ii. 12; W. M. ii. 311, 312; G. P. pp. 321, 322; C. P. B. ii. 222, 227. Malmesbury hesitates greatly in both his works between the English and the Norman view of Waltheof, though he hopes the former is true: 'utinam a ueritate non dissideat,' G. P. p. 321. For the later legendary literature on Waltheof, cf. Hardy, *Cat. ii. 25-27*.

Execution of Waltheof.

on s̅c̅e Petronella m̅æsse d̅æg, D] May 3; see Hampson, ii. 317; she is said to have been the daughter of St. Peter.

be sæt pone castel æt Dōl, D, E] See F. N. C. iv. 635-638.

1078 D, 1077 E] Of the events here narrated, the agreement between William and the French king, and the fire of London (E), belong to 1077; the other events, both in D and E, belong to 1078, in which year there was an eclipse of the moon on Jan. 30.

Fire of London. for barn Lunden burh, E] 'This fire of London is found in no Saxon Chronicle except E; nor do I find it repeated by any of the Latiners,' Earle.

Ægelwig, Abbot of Evesham. Ægelwig . . . abþ on Eofes hamme, D, E] He had succeeded Manni, who resigned in 1059 and died in 1066. William made him governor of the shires of Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford, Warwick, Hereford, Stafford; and he aided Wulfstan in resisting the conspiracy of the earls, Chron. Evesh. pp. 46, 87-96; Fl. Wig. ii. 11.

Death of Herman. Hereman þ] On him, see above, 1045 C. D here calls him Bishop of Berks, Wilts, and Dorset; he was succeeded by Osmund.

Maelsnechtan. Malcholom . . . Mælslehtan modor, D] Maelsnechtan, whose defeat by Malcolm is imperfectly mentioned by D, was hereditary ruler of Moray; he died in 1085, S. C. S. i. 426, 427. His father, Lulach mac Gillachomgain, had been set up as king in opposition to Malcolm on the death of Macbeth, *ib.* iii. 78, 287.

1079 D, E. Her Rodbert . . . hleop fram his fæder, D] On this see Ord. Vit. ii. 386 ff.; F. N. C. iv. 638-650.

p. 214. Filippus mid his geþafunge] This is mentioned because his consent as feudal overlord was necessary.

Tokig Wig godes sunu] See F. N. C. v. 38.

p. 213. com Melcolm cyng, E] His invasion was possibly connected with Robert's rebellion, F. N. C. iv. 662, 663; Robertson, E. K. S. i. 140. On both events, cf. Fl. Wig. ii. 12, 13.

Malcolm's invasion. oð hit com to Tine] This phrase enables us to connect this invasion with a notice in S. D. how Malcolm in one of his forays was about to attack the church of Hexham, but was prevented by a sudden rising of the Tyne, miraculously caused by the saints who protected that sanctuary, ii. 36-38. The fact of the flood is likely to have been correctly preserved by tradition, though a legendary setting has been given to it.

Murder of Bishop Walcher. p. 214. 1080 E. wæs se þ Walchere ofslagen on Dunholme] See Fl. Wig. ii. 13-16; S. D. i. 10, 20, 105-118; ii. 195, 198, 208-211; W. M. ii. 330, 331; G. P. pp. 271, 272; Hardy, Cat. i. 907; ii. 100; F. N. C. iv. 663-676; Waltham, pp. xix, 33. Since the death of Waltheof, Walcher had had the temporal administration of the earldom as well. He is here called a Lotharingian, and so in many of the accounts. More precisely he was 'de clero Leodicensis ecclesiae,' *i.e.* Liège, S. D. ii. 195; hence his followers are here called Flemings; elsewhere Lotharingians. The words 'on Dunholme' must be taken with 'biseop,' not with 'ofslagen.' The murder took place at Gateshead-on-Tyne, at a church. H. H. says: 'in quodam palatio . . . iuxta Tinam,' p. 207. Mr. Arnold (note *a.l.*) corrects

the 'iuxta Tinam,' which is right, but says nothing of 'palatio,' which is wrong. Sigebertus Gembl. has a detail which is not in any of the English accounts. It may be genuine, but on the other hand it may have been added to increase the horror of the crime, which clearly made a great impression: 'Gualcherus ex clero Sancti Lambertii [St. Lambert in Liège, v. s.] in Anglia episcopus Anglorum odiis innocens inpetitur, et in celebrando missam ab eis quasi alter Stephanus Papa martirizatur,' Pertz, vi. 365. Both Fl. Wig. and S. D. give the day of the murder as ii id. Mai. (May 14th). In the Durham obituary it is variously given as ii and iii id. Mai, Lib. Vitae Dun. pp. 138, 143.

1080 D] This is evidently a later addition; and it has been entered Late addition in D. fifty years too early, MLXXX for MCXXX. On the rebellion of Angus, Earl of Moray, and its suppression, see S. C. S. i. 460 ff.; iii. 7, 287. He was a nephew of the Maelsnechtan mentioned in 1078 D. On the abrupt termination of MS. D, see Introduction, § 22.

1081 E. se cyng lædde fyrde in to Wealan] On this, cf. F. N. C. iv. Expedition of William into Wales. 678-681; H. & S. i. 297-299. Some of the Welsh Chronicles disguise it under the name of a pilgrimage. For another instance in which the conquest of a district is concealed under the guise of a pilgrimage, cf. *ib.* ii. 9. This Welsh expedition seems alluded to, Chron. Ab. ii. 10.

1082. Her nam se cyng Odan þ] See F. N. C. iv. 681-685. It called Arrest of Odo of Bayeux. forth strong remonstrances from the Pope, who failed to appreciate William's subtle plea that he arrested not the Bishop of Bayeux, but the Earl of Kent; cf. Chron. Ab. ii. 9; Lib. de Hyda, p. 296.

1083. seo un gehwærnes . . . betwyx . . . þurstan. 7 his munecan] Feud between the abbot and monks of Glastonbury. Not inaptly termed a war, Liebermann, p. 10; cf. Fl. Wig. ii. 16, 17; G. P. pp. 127, 194, 195, 421. Of Glastonbury, W. M. says: 'nescio quo infortunio semper post aduentum Normannorum pessimis infracta rectoribus,' G. P. p. 196. He contrasts William with Cnut in the way in which he refused to promote Englishmen, W. M. ii. 313; cf. *ib.* i. 278: 'nullus hodie Anglus uel dux, uel pontifex, uel abbas; aduenae quique diuitias et uiscera corrodunt Angliae, nec ulla spes est finiendae miseriae'; cf. Ann. Wint. p. 33; Ord. Vit. ii. 225, 226, 285; who is very strong on the uncanonical deposition of native abbots, 'pro quibus stipendiarii non monachi sed tyranni intrudebantur.' The dispute with Thurstan was on a question of chanting. On the contempt of Norman abbots for English saints, cf. Chron. Ab. i. 284. A very similar incident took place three centuries earlier in the monastery of Farfa, between Rome and Riati, where in 769 'episcopus quidam Wigbertus . . . Anglorum gente exortus,' was intruded on the monks: 'per xi menses exercuit tyrannidem, quosdam ex . . . monachis caedebat, quosdam . . . retrudebat in carcerem, atque alios in exilium mittebat . . . eos qui eius furoris uesaniem fugientes sese post . . . altare mittebant, cum ipso sacro uelamine altaris exinde pellere fecit.' Pertz. xi. 528.

hit mændon lufelice] In the Glossary I have taken 'mændon' as coming from 'mánan,' to mean, intend. Stevenson, however, takes it to be from 'mánan,' to complain of; and this may be right; 'humiliter quaesierunt,' Ann. Wav. p. 194.

Death of
Matilda.

p. 215. forð ferde Mahtild . . . cwen] 'Foemina nostro tempore singulari prudentiae speculum, pudoris culmen,' W. M. ii. 291; cf. F. N. C. iv. 655, 656. William's character is said to have degenerated after her death, Ang. Sac. i. 257.

Heavy
geld.

mycel gyld] The heavy Danegeld of six shillings per hyde is placed by Fl. Wig. under 1084, to the beginning of which it does belong; E dividing the year at Easter here, *v. s.* Mr. Eyton (in an interesting article in the Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc. i. 99 ff.) has shown that the Inquisitio Geldi, printed with the Exeter Domesday, and often treated as a part of it, is really the account of this levy for the south-western shires, and is, therefore, two years older than the Domesday Inquest. I owe this reference to Professor Earle.

Abbots of
Chertsey.

1084. Her . . . forð ferde Wulfuold a5b] His successor was a Norman named Odo, Ann. Wint. p. 34; F. N. C. iv. 389, 390; F. W. R. i. 350. He resigned in 1092, 'nolens abbatiam de rege more saecularium tenere,' Ann. Wint. p. 37.

Threatened
invasion of
Cnut.

1085. Cnut cyng . . . fundade hider ward] See F. N. C. iv. 685-690; Fl. Wig. ii. 18.

here ridendra manna. 7 gangendra] Cf. Oros. p. 112: 'he gegaderade . . . ægþer ge ridendra ge gangendra unoferwinnendlicne here.'

Brittany.

of Brytlande] *i. e.* from Brittany. Note that 'Brytland' is not part of 'Francic.' Fl. Wig. includes them both under the phrase 'de tota Gallia,' *u. s.* Of the Bretons, W. M. says: 'est . . . illud genus hominum egens in patria, aliasque externo aere laboriosae uitae mercatur stipendia,' ii. 478.

p. 216. se cyng let to scyfton pone here] On this, cf. Chron. Ab. ii. 11.

The Domes-
day Survey
ordered.

hæfde se cyng . . . ge þeaht. 7 . . . spæce wið his witan] Cf. Bede, p. 134: 'mid his wítum gesprec 7 geþeaht habban'; cf. *ib.* 248, 454. But 'geþeaht' means not only 'counsel' but 'council': 'hi tugon hine to heora geþeahte,' Ælf. Hom. i. 44; cf. *ib.* 46.

hu hit wære ge sett] 'Edictum a rege exiit ut tota Anglia describeretur, unde compilatus est liber qui Rotulus Regis dicitur,' Ann. Wint. p. 34; cf. Luke ii. 1, Vulgate. In Chron. Evesh. p. 97, Domesday is alluded to as 'Rotulus Wintoniensis.' William dates a writ 'post descriptionem totius Angliae,' Madox Formulæ, No. 396; cited by Hampson, i. 32. Of Domesday literature the following may perhaps be mentioned: Sir H. Ellis' Introductions; the various volumes of Mr. Eyton; the two volumes of Domesday Studies; Mr. Freeman's fifth volume; Mr. Round's Feudal England; and Professor Maitland's illuminating work, 'Domesday and

Beyond.' The taking of the Great Survey was ordered in the mid-winter gemót of 1085-6; the survey itself belongs to 1086, under which Fl. Wig. enters it; cf. Liebermann, pp. 21, 22; F. N. C. iv. 690-694.

p. 217. 1085 [1086]. *pa land sittende men. þe ahtes wæron*] 'Omnes terrarii . . . qui alicuius pretii erant,' Ann. Wav. p. 194. The Salisbury oath.

wæron þæs mannes men þe hi wæron] Literally: 'were they the men of what man they might be,' *i. e.* 'whosoever men they might be.' On the constitutional importance of this, cf. S. C. H. i. 266, 267; F. N. C. iv. 694-697.

hold aðas sworon] A Saxon formula of the 'holdað' will be found in Thorpe, Laws, i. 178; Schmid, p. 404.

Eadgar æpeling . . . beah þa fram him] On Edgar's Apulian expedition, see F. N. C. *u. s.*; Fl. Wig. ii. 19.

under feng halig reft] *i. e.* 'took the veil.' I have wrongly followed Professor Earle in reading 'rest.' Gibson, Ingram, and Thorpe have rightly 'reft.'

wæs swiðe hefelic gear] On these summaries, as characteristic of the annals in this part of the Chron., see Introduction, § 53, note. On the physical calamities of William's last years, cf. F. N. C. iv. 697-699; W. M. ii. 331. Physical calamities.

1086 [1087]. *Swyle coðe*] Cf. the curious account of the pestilence in Tighernach, *s. a.* 1084, where it is said to have been caused by demons from the isles of the north.

p. 218. *Hwam ne mæg earmian, 7c.*] On the querulousness of the national Chronicle of this time, cf. S. C. H. i. 213.

buton mid munecan ane] Cf. W. M. (of a somewhat earlier period): Monks. 'omnes uirtutes, terris relictis, caelum petiere; in solis fere sanctimonialium mentibus, si uspiam sunt terrarum, illas reperies,' i. 271; cf. *ib.* ii. 385 (of the Cistercians).

7 ne rohtan, 7c.] H. H., p. 209, quotes the line of Juvenal (itself derived from Ennius) 'Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere,' Sat. xiv. 207. For the king himself W. M. makes the excuse, 'quia nouum regnum sine magna pecunia non posset regere,' ii. 335. Rapacity.

pa ge refan] This had constantly been a cause of complaint; for similar complaints just a century earlier, cf. Blickling Homilies, p. 61; cf. Thorpe, Laws, ii. 320, where the decline is dated from the death of Edgar. Oppressions of the reeves.

unrihte tollas] 'iniustas teloniationes,' Ann. Wav. p. 196.

Eac on ðam ilcan geare, 7c.] On William's last campaign and death, see F. N. C. iv. 699-712; W. M. ii. 336-338; Ord. Vit. iii. 225 ff.

twegen halige menn . . . for bearnde] See, for a similar instance, my Bede, I. xxxi, note. W. M., *u. s.*, turns these two holy men into 'reclusa una ustulata.' Two anchorites burnt.

p. 219. *he næfde . . . buton seofon fot mæl*] And even that not without dispute. See the striking account of his burial, F. N. C. iv. 712-723, 821, 822; Ord. Vit. iii. 250 ff. William's grave disputed.

The
chroni-
cler's
sketch of
him.

Gif hwa gewilnigeð, 7c.] For a good sketch of William's character and administration, see W. M. ii. 326, 331-336, but it is inferior to this of the chronicler. It is a pity that we do not know who this was 'who looked on him, and formerly sojourned in his court.' It is an extreme instance of the mediaeval system of borrowing without acknowledgement that the compiler of Ann. Wav. translates this quite literally: 'nos dicemus qui eum uidimus, et in curia eius aliquando fuimus,' p. 196; cf. Introduction, § 50.

He favours
monasti-
cism.

he arerde mære mynster] On the foundation of Battle Abbey, v. F. N. C. iv. 402-410; Hardy, Cat. ii. 407, 408; and for the effect of the Conquest on architecture, F. N. C. ch. 26.

mid munecan] On the restoration of monasticism in the north, see S. D. i. 9, 108-113, 120 ff.; ii. 201, 202, 247, 267, 281, 284, 285, 298, 299, 304, 305, 321; F. N. C. iv. 664 ff.: on the previous decline of monasticism there, G. P. pp. 253, 254. Cf. the curious verses on William I's death:

'Bonos dilexit clericos

Verosque magis monachos,'

Bouquet, xii. 479; and cf. Ord. Vit. ii. 201; iii. 36.

His three
annual
courts.

priwa he bær his cynehelm] On this, see F. N. C. iv. 329; F. W. R. i. 222; S. C. H. i. 369, 370, and the references there given. It was a sort of minor coronation. The crown was placed on the king's head by one or both of the archbishops, and the ceremony sometimes occasioned an outbreak of the never-ending jealousy between Canterbury and York; cf. H. Y. ii. 104, 218.

Odo's
arrest.

p. 220. swiðe rice ð] On Odo's arrest, see above, 1082. W. M. calls him 'immane quantum opulentus, et qui diuitiis certaret cum rege,' Ang. Sac. ii. 255.

mægester] This is the right expansion of this contracted word, which till lately puzzled editors of the Chronicle, myself included. See Prof. Napier's letter in the Academy, December 26, 1891; he compares Exodus i. 11, 'Witudlice he sette him weorca mægestras = Praeposuit itaque eis magistros operum.'

William's
good police.

ân man . . . goldes] This is of course traditional and proverbial. H. H. improves it into '*puella auro onusta*,' p. 210; cf. G. G. p. 138.

pe him sylf aht wære] 'qui alicuius uigoris esset,' Ann. Wav. p. 197.

he forleas þa limu] This was merely a continuation of Anglo-Saxon law; cf. Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 78; Schmid, Gesetze, p. 86; cf. Bouquet, x. 133, note.

The Great
Survey.

næs an hid landes, 7c.] Again a reference to the inquisitorial character of the Great Survey, see above, 1085.

Wales
bridled.

Brytland] This is Wales; the chronicler first sketches William's position in Britain, and then proceeds to his continental dominions.

þær inne casteles ge wrohte] Note that the Conqueror began the

policy of bridling Wales with castles, which was developed by William II; see below, pp. 282, 284.

þet manncynn] I wrongly followed Prof. Earle in printing 'Mann-cynn' with a capital letter; it simply means 'that race,' *i. e.* the Welsh.

Mans] On William's conquest of Maine, see F. N. C. iii. 186 ff.; cf. *supra*, Maine, p. 268.

Yrlande] On this, cf. F. N. C. iv. 526 ff. Ireland has had many Ireland. misfortunes; among the heaviest may probably be counted the fact that she escaped both the Roman and the Norman conquests.

werscipe] In Wülker, Glossaries, col. 202, 4, 'wærscipe' glosses 'cautela .i. astutia'; contrast: 'þa ge forluron þurh unwærscipe,' Ælf. Hom. i. 68. The Ann. Wav. translate 'probitate sua,' as if from 'wer'; but 'werscipe' seems only to mean 'the married state.'

castelas he lét wyrcean] For the English hatred of castles, cf. F. N. C. Castles
iv. 66, 104, &c.; Ord. Vit. ii. 184. built.

p. 221. lægde laga þær wið] On William's Forest Laws, cf. F. N. C. The Forest
iv. 608 ff.; the 'mycel deorfrið' is perhaps an allusion to the New Forest; Laws.
cf. W. M. ii. 332, 333.

þa hea deðr] 'feras,' Ann. Wav. p. 197; and perhaps this is right; then it will be a generic term including all the animals previously mentioned.

Ðas ping, 7c.] W. M. makes the same claim of impartiality for his Imparti-
portrait of William, 'quia utriusque gentis sanguinem traho'; but his ality of the
assertion that the English 'pro gentilibus inimicitii, foedis dominum writer.
suum proscidere conuitiis,' ii. 283, is certainly not true of our author, to whom W. M. himself and all later writers are so much indebted.

þ þa godan men, 7c.] Compare with this Bede's Preface to his H. E.

Swa hit wæs on Denmearcan] The murder or martyrdom of Cnut Events in
really belongs to 1086. The writer has placed it here perhaps from a desire Denmark,
to bring all these great events together, F. N. C. iv. 689, 699; cf. W. M. ii. 319, 320.

Eac wearð on Ispanie, 7c.] 'The only notice of Spain in these and Spain.
Chronicles,' Earle. In 1085 Alphonso VI of Castile (= Anphos) won back Toledo from the Moors; but in 1086 he was defeated in the disastrous battle of Zalaka near Badajos. Mr. Freeman, *u. s.*, thinks that the chronicler has confounded these two events; or perhaps he has transposed them.

p. 222. manega ríce men, 7c.] See F. N. C., *u. s.* It was Stigand who transferred the South-Saxon see from Selsey to Chichester, G. P. p. 205. The three abbots were respectively Scotland, Ælfsige, and Thurstan.

Englæ landes cyng] 'I think this is the earliest use of the strictly 'King of
territorial style in English,' F. N. C., *u. s.* It occurs, however, 1077 E, 1085. England.'

Æfter his deaðe, 7c.] On the accession of Rufus and the determining Accession
influence of Lanfranc, cf. W. M. ii. 359, 360; F. W. R. i. 9-22; ii. 459- of Rufus.

465. It may be this close association with Lanfranc which has led one authority to place the coronation at Canterbury: '1087. Gulielmus Russet Cantuariæ rex consecratur,' Chron. Andegau., Bouquet, xi. 170. Another nickname of the Red King seems to have been 'Longsword': 'dono patris regnum suscepit Angliæ Willelmus cognomento Longus Ensis,' Heremanni Mirac. S. Eadmundi, Liebermann, p. 266. This is a strictly contemporary authority. According to the editor the name is found nowhere else. At this point H. H. says: 'Hactenus de his quæ uel in libris ueterum legendo repperimus, uel fama uulgante percepimus, tractatum est. Nunc autem de his quæ uel ipsi uidimus uel ab his qui uiderant audiuimus, pertractandum est,' p. 214. He continues, however, for some time longer to draw mainly on the Chronicle; see Introduction, § 54.

Rebellion
against
Rufus.

1087 [1088]. On *pisum geare . . . astirad*] On the rebellion against Rufus, see F. W. R. i. 22-140; ii. 465-469; Fl. Wig. ii. 21-26; W. M. ii. 360-363; S. D. ii. 214-217; H. H. p. 214.

Odo of
Bayeux

Oda b] The Conqueror on his death-bed had been persuaded, much against his own judgement, to release him, Ord. Vit. iii. 247 ff.; F. N. C. iv. 711. There are some verses by Serlo, Canon of Bayeux, on his release, which end: 'Lux patriæ fies, ecclesiæque dies,' a prophecy singularly falsified by the result, Hardy, Cat. ii. 37, 38. He was restored to his earldom of Kent, if not to greater power; see next note. His two episcopal associates are Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances ('qui magis peritia militari quam clericali uigebat,' Ord. Vit. iii. 406; cf. ii. 223), and William of St. Carilef. There is an allusion to Odo's rebellion in Chron. Ab. ii. 17.

The traitor
bishop.

· Swa wæll dyde se cyng be pam b . . . Drihtene] To which of the bishops mentioned in the preceding clause does this apply? It is commonly understood of the last, William of St. Carilef. So Freeman, *u. s.*; Thorpe; Fl. Wig. ii. 22; W. M. ii. 360 (cf. G. P. pp. 272, 273), who indeed traces the rebellion mainly to Odo's jealousy at the larger powers conferred on William of Durham, but fails to explain why in that case William himself should have joined the conspiracy; whereas Odo had his imprisonment to avenge. The Ann. Wav. expressly apply the words to Odo: 'rex autem in tantum benefecerat Odoni episcopo,' &c., p. 198; so Ingram and Stevenson; Gibson and Gurney are ambiguous. H. H. and S. D. both seem to understand the words of Odo. Thus H. H. calls Odo, after Rufus' accession, 'iustitarius et princeps totius Angliæ,' 'princeps et moderator Angliæ,' pp. 211, 212, 214; while S. D., who takes the former part of this annal from Florence, but in the latter part closely follows the Chronicle, says of Odo, 'fere fuit secundus rex Angliæ,' ii. 216, 217. Ord. Vit. uses almost the same phrase of Odo, ii. 222, 223; cf. *ib.* 265; iii. 189, 247, 263-266, in which last passage he gives one fine trait in his character: 'Dociles quoque clericos Leodicum [Liège] mittebat, et alias urbes, ubi philosophorum studia potissimum florere nouerat, eisque copiosos sumptus, ut indesinenter . . . philosophiæ fonti possent insistere largiter adminis-

Odo's
liberality
to students.

trabat.' Among those whom he thus educated were Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, his brother, and Thurstan, Abbot of Gloucester. 'Sic Odo pontifex . . . multa . . . laudabilia permiscebat illicitis actibus.' In his *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.*, Simeon gives William of St. Carilef an excellent character, i. 119 ff.; and says that his dissension with Rufus was due to 'aliorum machinamenta,' *ib.* 128 (cf. the tract *De iniusta uexatione Willelmi episcopi*, *ib.* 171: 'ab inuidis circumuentus'). No doubt in the case of Durham writers writing of the man who founded their glorious church and introduced the monks there, we must make allowance for the working of the principle, which the Carthusian of Pavia stated so naively to Commines, when he asked why he gave the title 'saint' to that 'grand et mauvais tyran,' Gian Galeazzo Visconti. 'Il me respondit bas: nous appellons, dict il, en ce pays icy, saintz, tous ceulx qui nous font du bien,' *Mémoires*, vii. 9. Still the extreme divergence between the northern and southern views of William of St. Carilef at this time is hard to be accounted for, and we must remember on the other hand (1) that Rufus was not such a guileless character that any one who differed from him must necessarily have been in the wrong; (2) that St. Carilef's later conduct to Anselm may easily have caused a prejudiced view to be taken of his earlier dealings with Rufus; (3) that this view would help and in turn be helped by an interpretation of the Chronicle, which transferred to him a judgement which S. D., H. H., and Ann. Wav. (the two last of which had no Durham sympathies to mislead them) seem to have understood as applying to Odo. It may be noted that the tract, *De iniusta*, &c., though written after the bishop's death, says nothing of his behaviour to Anselm.

Rogere eorl] Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury.

p. 223. Rodbeard a Mundbræg] Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland.

Beorcelea hyrnesse] 'Bercelea et quicquid illuc pertinebat,' Ann. Wav. Berkeley, p. 199; 'Berkeley Harness,' *F. W. R.* i. 44; 'the Saxon term occurs in many of the ancient evidences of Berkeley Castle,' Ingram, p. 299. There is still a Hundred of Berkeley; see a paper on Berkeley, in *Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Trans.* xix. 70 ff., by Rev. C. S. Taylor.

Da men þe yldest wæron] 'barones,' Ann. Wav. p. 199.

se arwurða b Wlstan] The only mention of Wulfstan in the *Wulfstan. Chronicles*. See on him, *Fl. Wig.* i. 218-221; *W. M.*'s life of him in *Ang. Sac.* ii. 239 ff.; *W. M.* ii. 329, 354, 355; *G. P.* pp. 278-289, 301-303; *Ailr. R.* cc. 779-781; *Hardy, Cat.* ii. 66, 69-75, 133, where it is suggested that *Fl. Wig.* may have written his Chronicle at the instigation of Wulfstan; see above on 1062.

Roger hêt an] Roger Bigod.

Hugo eac] Hugh of Grantmesnil.

ælc unriht geold] 'omnem iniustum scottum' (*sceat*), *S. D.* ii. 215.

slætinge] 'uenatus,' Ann. Wav. p. 199.

p. 224. 7 adrengton ma, 7c.] 'Ludibrio nostris, sibi exitio fuere, nam, ne uiui caperentur, e transtris se in mare praecipitarunt,' W. M. ii. 36.

ða arisan þa men, 7c.] S. D. here adds to the Chron., 'quidam asserebant hoc factum esse calliditate episcopi,' ii. 215; 'ipsius fallacia,' H. H. p. 215. W. M. says, 'uultus episcopi cum uerbis oratorum non conueniebat,' ii. 363.

Eustace of
Boulogne.

Eustatius þe iunga] Eustace III, Count of Boulogne, son of the old opponent of Godwine, above, 1052 D, 1048 E. He is mentioned again below, 1096, 1100, 1101.

Rogeres . . . þreo sunan] Probably his three eldest sons, Robert (of Belesme), Hugh, and Roger, F. W. R. i. 57. Of Robert we shall hear frequently. For Hugh and Roger, see below, pp. 282, 285.

'Nothing.'

þe wære unniðing] Note the appeal to English feeling; cf. Ord. Vit. iii. 272. To a Norman the term would be unmeaning; cf. W. M.: 'Nisi si qui uelint sub nomine Niðing, quod nequam sonat, remanere. Angli qui nihil miserius putarent quam huiusce uocabuli dedecore aduri, cateruatim ad regem confluent,' &c., ii. 362; the Ann. Wav. retain the word 'un-
nothing,' p. 200.

of porte 7 of uppe lande] 'sine in burgo, siue extra,' Ann. Wav. p. 200.

William of
St. Carilef
banished.

p. 225. for let his biscop rice] He was restored just three years later, S. D. ii. 218. Rufus seems to have treated the church of Durham with unwonted gentleness in his absence, *ib.* i. 128. According to the Iniusta uexatio, 'a Roberto . . . comite Normannorum, honorifice susceptus, totius Normanniae curam suscepit,' *ib.* 194, 195. S. D., however, uses almost the same words of Odo: 'totius prouinciae curam suscepit,' ii. 216. But I believe that in the latter case, S. D., by accidentally skipping a sentence of the Chronicle, which was very possible owing to the similarity of the phrases 'forlet þone wurðscipe,' 'forlet his bisceoprice,' has attached to Odo a description which really belongs to William of St. Carilef.

Death of
Lanfranc.

1089. On þisum geare . . . Landfranc] See above, on 1070 A. On his death, and the effect which it had in removing the last check upon Rufus' tyranny, see F. W. R. i. 140 ff.; W. M. ii. 367. There is some divergence as to the date of Lanfranc's death. Fl. Wig. gives May 24, and this is probably right. Some Canterbury authorities give May 28, Ang. Sac. i. 6, 55, 86; but this appears to be the day of his burial, *ib.* 108. May 11 and June 23 are also given, Hardy, Cat. ii. 58.

muneca feder] H. H. calls him 'doctor luculentus clericorum, et pater dulcissimus monachorum,' p. 215.

Earth-
quake.

mycel eorð styrunge] Cf. F. W. R. i. 176; W. M. ii. 374: 'ut aedificia omnia eminus resilirent, et mox pristino more residerent.'

Rufus'
designs on
Normandy.

1090] On the affairs of Normandy, and Rufus' designs on it up to this year, F. W. R. i. 177-272; W. M. ii. 363.

hu he mihte wrecon] If 'wrecon' is infin. for 'wrecan,' to punish,

as (following Earle) I have taken it in the Glossary, we almost need to insert 'and' before 'swiðost.' It would be possible to take it as dat. pl. of 'wræc' after 'swencean.'

7 he for his lufan oððe for his mycele gersuma] This is quite Tacitean. Neither Fl. Wig. nor W. M. seem to regard the former alternative as worth considering.

1091] With this year begins the system of recording the three annual Three courts, which extends to 1127, inclusive. On Rufus' invasion and the annual courts re events of this year in Normandy, see Fl. Wig. ii. 27; F. W. R. i. 272-295; corded. ii. 522-540.

p. 226. *Kiæres burh*] *Caesarisburgus*, Cherbourg. At this time it Cherbourg. belonged to the youngest brother, Henry, at whose expense this treaty was largely made, Freeman, *u. s.*

pa Manige] '*Le Maine*'; so in 1099, 'of *pære Manige*,' where Thorpe Maine. translates it rightly. Here, however, he translates it 'the many,' a mistake which is as old as the Ann. Wav. 'rex . . . promisit se adquisiturum illi plura quae pater eorum conquisierat,' p. 201; and has descended through a long line of translators, Gibson, Gurney, Ingram, and Stevenson. Fl. Wig.'s '*Cenomannica prouincia*' might have kept them right.

On *mang þam þe*, 7c.] On Malcolm's invasion and Rufus' Scotch Malcolm invades England. expedition, see F. W. R. i. 295-312; ii. 540-551; Fl. Wig. ii. 28; and note how the writer seems to connect Malcolm's raid with the return of Edgar to Scotland.

hine gecyrdon] The Scots had advanced as far as Chester-le-Street, a little north of Durham, S. D. ii. 221. Their withdrawal was ascribed to the special intercessions of St. Cuthbert, *ib.* 338 ff.

ac seo scip fyrde . . . forfōr] There is an interesting passage in the Rufus' navy wrecked. Miracles of St. Oswine, which apparently belongs here: '*Naues . . . l. quas apud Occiduos Anglos triticeis merceibus onustas, Scotiam dirigi praeceperat . . . in ostio Tynae . . . applicuerunt . . . In crastino . . . Coket perueniunt . . . Quae insula Coket fluminis ostiopi raeiacens, ab eodem nomen accepit. . . In summa tranquillitate aeris coeperunt naues uniuersae in scopulos offendentes sese inuicem collidere, et fluctus . . . nautas . . . omnes fere absorbere*,' Biogr. Misc. S. S. p. 23. This was in punishment for outrages done to the sanctuary of St. Oswine at Tynemouth. Mr. Skene reminds us that September is one of the stormiest months in the Scotch seas, S. C. S. i. 428; so we may probably set aside the 'summa tranquillitas' as part of the legendary setting of the tale. According to the same writer, Rufus had Earlier expedition against Scotland. previously sent an expedition against Scotland under Nigel of Albini, Biogr. Misc. pp. 21, 22. This may have been in consequence of Malcolm's refusal to do homage; and Malcolm's raid may have been in revenge for Nigel's invasion. Speaking of the invasion of 1091, the writer says that it was due to the fact that Malcolm 'a [Willelmi] dominatione se suamque gentem uelle surripere,' Biogr. Misc. p. 22; cf. Orderic's

phrase: 'seruitium ei denegauit,' iii. 394. If this view is correct, it does away with the difficulty which Mr. Freeman found in Orderic's words, *u. s.*, p. 296.

Restora-
tion of
William of
St. Carilef.
Lothian.

And se cyng 7 his broðer . . . ferdon] It was on his way north that Rufus restored William of St. Carilef to his see of Durham, to the great joy of the monks, *S. D.* ii. 218; i. 128, 195.

Loðene] This is of course Lothian, not Leeds as it is often taken; a view due to the difficulty of realising that Lothian is technically part of England. On the extent of the district to which the name was applied, cf. *S. C. S.* i. 240, 241.

p. 227. to uran cyng] Note that, as against the Scots, even Rufus seems quite a national king.

Restora-
tion of
Carlisle.

1092. se cyng . . . Cardeol . . . ge æðstapelede . . . 7 Dolfín út adraf] On Rufus' restoration of Carlisle and its significance, see *F. W. R.* i. 313-318; ii. 545-551; *Fl. Wig.* ii. 30. On the previous history of the district, which is very obscure, cf. *H. & S.* ii. 3, 4. Dolfín was a son of Gospatric, formerly Earl of Northumberland. He probably held the district of Malcolm, of whom his father, after the loss of his earldom, had held Dunbar, *S. D.* ii. 299; cf. i. 216, 217. On the form Cardeol, which Gibson needlessly altered into Carleol, see Zimmer, in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1890, pp. 525-527.

mycele mænige cyrlisces folces] The 'multos uillanos' of *Ann. Wav.*, p. 202, shows that this conjecture of Thorpe is right.

Rufus'
illness.
Anselm.

1093. warð se cyng . . . ge seclod] On Rufus' short-lived repentance, and Anselm's appointment, see *F. W. R.* i. 390-434; *H. Y.* ii. 104, 105. On Anselm generally, cf. *F. W. R.* chap. iv. §§ 2-5, 7; *App. Y*; the admirable life by Dean Church; Hardy, *Cat.* ii. 108-116. The chief contemporary authority is Eadmer, in his life of Anselm, and the *Historia Nouorum*; cf. Liebermann, pp. 282 ff.; *G. P.* pp. 73-125. *W. M.* confesses his obligations to Eadmer, *ib.* 74, 113; *W. M.* ii. 370, 489. In the last passage but one he says enthusiastically of Anselm: 'nemo unquam iusti tenacior, nemo hoc tempore tam anxie doctus, nemo tam penitus spiritualis . . . pater patriae, mundi speculum'; cf. Pertz, vi. 400; xvii. 14, 15; 'flos bonorum,' *Ord. Vit.* iv. 298.

cyrcean . . . wið feo gesyllan] On Flambard's system of administration, cf. *F. W. R.* i. 229-357; ii. 551-568; *S. C. H.* i. 298 ff.

se cyng of Scotlande] On these Scotch affairs, cf. *F. W. R.* ii. 3-36, 590-598; *Fl. Wig.* ii. 31, 32; *W. M.* ii. 366; *S. D.* ii. 221, 222.

Defeat of
the Scots.

p. 228. besyrede . . . beswikene] All the authorities seem to agree that Robert of Mowbray won his victory more by guile than by valour. But whether the guile amounted to actual treachery, or only to such ambushes and stratagems as are allowable in war, does not appear. Malcolm and Edward were buried at Tynemouth, but Alexander I (1107-1124) translated his father's body to Dunfermline, *W. M.* ii. 309, copied by

Fordun, v. 21; if this is correct, the bones discovered at Tynemouth in 1257, Matth. Par. Chron. Mai. v. 633, cannot have been those of Malcolm. A note in Matth. Par. *u. s.* vi. 372, says that the body translated by the Scots was that 'cuiusdam hominis plebeii de Sethtune' (?Seaton). In reference to the discovery of 1257, there is an interesting letter, *ib.* 370; Hexham, i. App. xi.

Moræl] There is a Moræl in the Liber Vitae Eccl. Dun. p. 55, col. 3, probably this man.

hire gerihtan underfeng] 'ibi confessa et communicata est,' Ann. Wav. p. 202.

heo hire gast ageaf] On the death of Margaret, cf. her life by Turgot, Pinkerton, ii. 179-182. Death of
St. Mar-
garet.
Duncan.

Dunecan] He was a son of Malcolm by his former wife or concubine, Ingibiorg, and had been given as a hostage to William I, as the chronicler here states. See above, 1073 D, 1072 E.

1094] On the continental campaign of this year, and the preparations for it, see F. W. R. i. 434-474; Fl. Wig. ii. 33-35; H. H. pp. 217, 218.

hine . . . betealde] 'se derationasset,' Ann. Wav. p. 203.

p. 229. þ mynster æt pære Bataille] Battle Abbey; the Conqueror's votive offering for his victory. See on it, F. N. C. iv. 404 ff. Battle
Abbey con-
secrated.

Herbearde Losange] This is the famous prelate who removed the East Anglian see from Thetford to Norwich, which Herfast had removed from Elmham to Thetford. See on him, F. N. C. iv. 421, 422; F. W. R. i. 354-356, 448, 449; ii. 267, 568-570; G. P. pp. 107, 108, 129, 151, 152; W. M. ii. 385-387. There is a modern life of him by Goulburn and Symonds. H. H. says of him: 'uir benignus et doctus, cuius extant scripta,' p. 316. His letters were printed by Anstruther in 1846, and translations of them are embodied in his life, *u. s.*, in the second volume of which his sermons are printed for the first time. No other works of his are known to be extant. He was born 'in pago Oxymensi,' which has much puzzled his biographers. It is the Hiémois, the district belonging to Exmes, east of Argentan in Normandy. The origin of his name, 'Losinga,' has been much discussed; that it came from his 'ars adulatoria,' Fl. Wig.; W. M.; G. P., is rendered unlikely by the fact that it was also borne by his father Robert, from which it would appear that it was in some way a family name. (This Robert, father of the Bishop of Norwich, must not be confounded, as is done by some, with the contemporary Bishop of Hereford, Robert the Lotharingian, sometimes called Robert Losinga. Nor will this furnish a key to the origin of the name, at least in the case of the Bishop of Norwich, for the widest application of the name Lotharingia would hardly take in Normandy.) Herbert Losinga died in 1119, S. D. ii. 254.

his stæf benam] This was because of his unauthorised dealings with the Pope. He appears to have made his peace with Rufus not long afterwards.

ge semede beon ne mihtan] Cf. 'hie mid nanum þinge ne mehton gesemede weorþan,' Oros. p. 64; cf. *ib.* 52; K. C. D. iv. 266.

mid þam ilcan mannan . . . makedon] *i. e.* the guarantors ('iuratores,' H. H. p. 217) of the treaty of 1091, twelve on each side; cf. 'Donne is her seo gewitnes ðe æt ðisum lóce wæs,' K. C. D. iv. 267.

Rogger Peiteuin] Roger of Poitou, son of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury.

Rufus
bribes
Philip to
retire.

purh ge smeah ge cyrred] The writer forbears this time his ironical suggestion that there was any love between Philip and Rufus. H. H. shows us the nature of the 'gesmeah': 'Ingenio . . . et pecunia regis Willelmi rex Francorum reuersus est; et sic totus exercitus pecuniæ tenebris obnubilatus euanuit,' p. 217.

Domfront.

his broðer Heanige . . . æt Damfront] The men of Domfront had, in 1092, chosen Henry as their lord; and he retained possession of the place to the end of his life, F. W. R. i. 319, 320; ii. 537, 538.

Affairs of
Wales.

p. 230. þa Wylisce menn] On the affairs of Wales up to the end of 1094, see *ib.* ii. 69-103. W. M. ascribes Rufus' comparative failure in Wales to the 'soli inaequalitas et coeli inclementia,' ii. 365.

castelas abræcon] Note again this feature of Norman policy towards Wales.

þa Scottas] On this counter-revolution, cf. F. W. R. ii. 35, 36; S. C. S. i. 439; Robertson, E. K. S. i. 154-160.

Death of
Wulfstan.

1095. This is the year of St. Wulfstan's death, an event not mentioned in the Chronicle, but told naturally at great length by Fl. Wig. ii. 35-37; and inserted in the chronicler's account by Ann. Wav. p. 204.

on þæs cynges heldan] 'in loco regis,' Fl. Wig. *u. s.*

Revolt of
Robert of
Mowbray.

se eorl Rodbeard . . . nolde to hirede cuman] On the conspiracy and revolt of Robert of Mowbray, see *ib.* 38, 39; F. W. R. ii. 36-59, 603-613; Liber de Hyda, p. 301. H. H. attributes it to his pride at having overcome Malcolm: 'in superbiam elatus, quia regem Scottorum strauerat,' p. 218. The occasion of the outbreak was an outrage committed by the earl on some Norwegian merchants; the object was said to be to set up Rufus' cousin, Stephen of Aumale, as king. Northern piety traced the downfall of the earl to his having unjustly transferred the church of St. Oswine at Tynemouth from Durham to St. Albans, S. D. i. 124, 125; ii. 345-347; cf. Biogr. Misc. p. 15.

wæron Eastron on .viii. k Apr̃.] March 25; this is quite correct for 1095, in spite of Thorpe.

on s̃ce Ambrosius mæsse niht] April 4 (ii Non. Apr.) is St. Ambrose's day, not the eve.

Falling
stars.

steorran . . . feollan] This phenomenon is noted in several Chronicles, its significance being variously interpreted; cf. Pertz, xiii. 83; Bouquet, xiii. 623, 672.

swa piclice] 'ut grando, nisi luceret, pro densitate putaretur,' Ord. Vit. iii. 461; cf. ii. 374.

p. 231. innan anan fæstene] *i.e.* Newcastle; on which see Round, G. de M. pp. 339, 340.

Malueisin] Cf. 'nouum illud castrum quod uulgo nominabatur Male- Malvoisin. sessum,' Bouquet, xii. 44, 211; cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 311; *i.e.* Malassis, south of Gani, Dép. Eure, built by Henry I against Louis VI. Malus Vicinus occurs also as a surname, *ib.* iii. 35, 222; iv. 353.

feorde se eorl . . . ut of Bēbba burh] According to Fl. Wig., *u. s.*, he was tricked by a false offer from the garrison of Newcastle to betray the fortress to him. If so, the guile which he used towards Malcolm was poetically avenged.

innan þam niwan castele] *i.e.* the Malueisin.

þa Wylisce men] See F. W. R. ii. 103-105.

p. 232. þæs Papan sande] On the mission of Walter of Albano, see F. W. R. i. 521-541; G. P. pp. 89-91; Hugonis Chron., Pertz, viii. 475. He appears not to have come till after Easter.

un tīd ge wīdera] Cf. the definition of such seasons in Orosius: 'of Bad untidlican gewideran, þæt is of wætum sumerum, 7 of drygum wintrum, seasons. 7 of reðre lenctenhæte, 7 mid ungemætre hær festwætan 7 æfterhæþan,' p. 102.

1096. Willelm bisċ . . . forð ferde] On this, see S. D. i. 132-135, 195; F. W. R. ii. 59-62.

to geares dæge] Note that the chronicler calls Jan. 1 'geares dæg,' Death of though he has just shown by his mention of the Christmas court that his William of own year begins with Dec. 25. Cf. Ælfric, Hom. i. 98 (Sermon on the St. Carilef Circumcision): 'we habbað oft gehyred þæt men hatað þysne dæg geares dæg; . . . ac we ne gemetað nane geswutelunge on cristenum bocum hwi þæs dæg to geares anginne geteald sy. þa ealdan Romani . . . ongunnon þæs geares ymbryne on ðysum dæge,' &c. The more precise statement of the Durham historian, *u. s.*, that William of St. Carilef died 'instante hora gallicantus iv non. Ian. feria iv,' *i.e.* very early on Jan. 2, may safely be accepted. He was taken to Durham and buried in the Chapter-house, Jan. 16, *ib.* The see remained vacant for three years. See 1099.

on Sear byrig] On the Salisbury gemót, and the punishment of those Gemót at charged with complicity in Robert of Mowbray's conspiracy, see Salisbury. F. W. R. ii. 62-69.

on orreste] For the word, see Glossary. It occurs in the same sense, Trial by K. C. D. iv. 156: 'ordel et oreste,' ordeal and trial by battle. In the battle. works of Avitus (Archbishop of Vienne †523) there is a curious dialogue between the author and Gundobald, King of Burgundy, who introduced wager of battle into Burgundy. Avitus argues: 'An forte sine telis et gladiis causarum motus aequitas superna non iudicat? cum saepe, ut cernimus, pars aut iuste tenens aut iusta deposcens laboret in proeliis, et praeualeat iniquae partis uel superior fortitudo, uel furtiua subreptio,'

Pertz, 4to, VI. ii. 2, 3. Yet it took the world some centuries to learn this somewhat elementary truth.

Willelm hatte] William of Alder. The accounts differ as to his guilt or innocence. See F. W. R., *u. s.*

Odo, Count of Champagne.

Eoda . . . pæs cynges aþum] Odo, Count of Champagne, husband of the Conqueror's sister Adelaide, and therefore uncle by marriage to Rufus. He was the father of that Stephen of Aumale whom the conspirators had wished to set up as King of England, F. N. C. v. 126; F. W. R. ii. 39.

The first Crusade.

mycel styrung] The first Crusade. For an account of it, see Archer and Kingsford, pp. 26-107; on it, and the mortgage of Normandy, cf. F. W. R. i. 545 ff. It was but an example in high places of what went on generally: 'praedia . . ., hactenus cara, uili pretio nunc uendebantur, et arma emebantur,' Ord. Vit. iii. 468; v. 192.

be Hungrie] Cf. Ann. Corbei. 1096: 'multi in Ungaria perierunt,' Pertz. iii. 7.

Heavy gelds.

p. 233. mænig fealde gylda] This was to pay the 10,000 marks advanced by Rufus to Robert on the security of Normandy. Cf. W. M. ii. 371, 372; G. P. p. 432; Fl. Wig. ii. 40.

into Wealon] See F. W. R. ii. 106-110.

Welsh campaign.

1097. in to Wealon ferde] 'Ut omnes masculini sexus interneconi daret,' Fl. Wig. ii. 41. On the Welsh campaign of 1097, see F. W. R. ii. 110-113.

mid . . . here . . . mid . . . fyrde] This seems to point to the two divisions of Rufus' troops, the foreign mercenaries, and the native levies.

Gruffydd of North Wales. Wales bridled with castles.

Griffines . . . cynges] *i. e.* of Gruffydd, King of North Wales, of whom we heard so much in the reign of the Confessor.

castelas let ge makian] On the importance of this in securing the subjugation of Wales, in spite of the small success of Rufus' actual campaigns against the Welsh, see F. W. R. ii. 69-77, 112, 113. The policy had, however, already been begun by William I. See above, p. 274.

uþpon s̄c̄e Michaelæs mæssan .iiii^o. No. Octobr̄.] Strictly taken, these two dates, Sept. 29 and Oct. 4, are inconsistent. Ann. Wav., p. 206, omit the former. Perhaps we should read 'tide,' or take 'mæssan' loosely in that sense.

Breach between Anselm and Rufus.

Ansealm] The final breach between Rufus and Anselm was connected with the Welsh campaign, and arose out of Rufus' complaint as to the equipment of the knights furnished for that service by the archbishop's fief. See F. W. R. i. 571 ff.; G. P. pp. 92 ff. It is noteworthy that the Chronicle says nothing of the dissensions of Anselm with Rufus from the date of his appointment to that of his exile. So untrue, as Mr. Freeman remarks, is the common charge that monastic chroniclers care for nothing but ecclesiastical affairs. Anselm was honourably received at the monastery of St. Bertin before he went on to Lyons and Italy; and an interesting

account is given of the discussions which he held with Lambert, the abbot of that house, Pertz, xv. 949; cf. *ib.* xxv. 788.

se cyng . . . íntō Normandig fōr] This was in preparation for the war with Maine, on which see F. W. R. ii. 176, 177, 191 ff.

p. 234. hired oððe here] *i.e.* the king's household and his mercenaries. swiðe hefig tyme gear] The annals of Tighernach say of 1097, 'malus annus et ueniat bonus annus.'

manege sciran . . . belumpon] Mr. Thorpe alters 'sciran' into Trinoda 'scipan,' which is neither sense nor grammar. It is the old 'trinoda necessitas.' Trinoda necessitas. necessitas' inequitably and oppressively exacted, as were the feudal dues under Rufus and Flambard. On the Tower, London Bridge, and Westminster Hall (cf. heall=palatium, Bede, p. 128), see F. W. R. ii. 257-265; F. N. C. iv. 369; Round, *u. s.*, p. 334; W. M. ii. 374. For an elaborate case of 'bridge-work' at Rochester, see Birch, iii. 657-659.

into Scot lande] On this forcible revolution, and the effect which it had in giving the predominance to English influences in Scotland, see Revolution in Scotland. F. W. R. ii. 114-126; F. N. C. v. 122, 123.

1098. Walcelin] On him, see F. W. R. ii. 265-267; G. P. pp. 71, 172, 173, where a very high character is given to him, except that he had at first been opposed to the monks. In the life of Wulfstan, W. M. cites him as the authority for a story there related, and calls him 'in uirtutibus tunc temporis Lanfranco, sed longo interuallo, proximum,' Ang. Sac. ii. 256; cf. *ib.* i. 255, 256. To him Folcard dedicated his life of St. Botulf, Hardy, Cat. i. 373. Death of Walcelin of Winchester,

Baldewine abb] He died on Dec. 29. Fl. Wig., in accordance with modern usage, places his death under 1097; the chronicler, beginning the year with Christmas, under 1098. Florence calls him: 'eximiae uir religionis, . . . genere Gallus, artis medicinae bene peritus,' ii. 41. He was a monk of St. Denys, and was appointed by the Confessor shortly before his death. He had a hard struggle with Herfast, Bishop of Thetford, for the independence of his house, in which he was supported by the Pope, Liebermann, pp. 244-257. Cf. Jaffé, Monum. Gregoriana, p. 49; F. W. R. ii. 267-270. and of Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmund's.

Turolde] On him see above, 1070 E. ân mere blod weoll] Cf. Oros. : 'hú mon geseah weallan blod of eorðan,' pp. 3, 162; 'an wielle weol blode,' *ib.* 184; and Virgil, Georg. i. 485: 'Nec puteis manare cruor cessauit.'

innan Angles ege] On this war of Anglesey, see F. W. R. ii. 126-147; War of Brut y Tywyfogyon, 1096; Ann. Camb. 1098; Ord. Vit. ii. 422; iv. 26 ff. Anglesey. The 'Hugo eorl' is Hugh of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury.

fram út wikingan] Two of the MSS. of H. H. have this reading in 'Out-a curiously corrupt form, 'apud Wilcinges,' *i.e.* 'ab útwicingis.' Others have 'ab Hibernensibus,' which Mr. Arnold places in the text. But this is a mistake. The Irish wikings whom the Welsh at first hired to help wikings.'

them went over to the Norman earls; and the chronicler probably uses the term 'out-wikings' to distinguish the Norwegian from the Irish sea-rovers. See Introduction, § 54. Their leader was none other than Magnus Bareleg, King of Norway, the son of Harold Hardrada; cf. C. P. B. ii. 233, 240-244. He had with him Harold the son of Harold, son of Godwine. This union of the sons of the victor and the vanquished of Stamford Bridge is an interesting fact. Nothing is known of the subsequent fate of Harold, W. M. ii. 318, 376.

Robert of
Belesme.

his broðer **Rodbert**] This is Robert the Devil of Belesme. On him and his position, see F. W. R. ii. 147-164; i. 182-184; H. H. p. 310.

swilce heo . . . byrnende wære] Cf. Oros.: 'micel wundor . . . swelce eal se hefon birnende wære,' p. 86; *ib.* 2, 184. Cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 1, 25; v. 159.

Heavy
gelds.

manig fealde ungyld] 'tributis . . . et exactionibus pessimis populos Anglorum non abradens sed excorians,' says H. H. of Rufus in this year, p. 231.

mersc lande] 'omnes aquaticae terrae,' Ann. Wav. p. 207.

Ralph
Flambard.

1099. **Rennulfe his capellane**] This is the famous (or infamous) Ralph Flambard. See on him and his appointment, F. W. R. ii. 270-274; W. M. ii. 368, 369; G. P., pp. 273-275; S. D. i. 107, 135; ii. 230; Ord. Vit. iii. 310 ff.; iv. 54 ff, 107 ff. He seems to have borne the title of royal chaplain in some special sense: 'propter quandam apud regem excellentiam singulariter nominabatur capellanus regis,' S. D. i. 135.

p. 235. æror . . . bewiste] For the phrase, cf. 'þa forleton hie ða firde þe hie bewitan sceoldan,' Oros. p. 66. For the fact, cf. the reff. given above under 1093. H. H. calls Flambard 'placitator sed peruersor, exactor sed exustor totius Angliae,' p. 232; cf. 'placitator ac totius regni exactor,' Fl. Wig. ii. 46.

Rufus
crosses to
the con-
tinent.

ofer sæ för] This was the occasion on which Rufus is said to have made his famous speech: 'Kings never drown.' On this, and on the second war with Maine, see F. W. R. ii. 274-302, 645-652. For Hélie de la Flèche, Rufus' high-minded antagonist, see *ib.* Index; Ord. Vit. iv. 38 ff.

Osmund,
Bishop of
Sarum,
dies.
Portent.

Osmund] On him, see Hardy, Cat. ii. 183, 184; G. P. pp. 183, 184. He died Dec. 3, Fl. Wig. ii. 44. For his work in connexion with the 'Use of Sarum,' see Register of St. Osmund, I. xii. ff, R. S.; above, p. 263.

1100. **blod weallan**] This looks like a doublet of the entry under 1098, and this was perhaps the view of Fl. Wig. and W. M., who only give this entry. In some accounts, by a later development, Rufus himself is made to be present at the spectacle, Pertz, viii. 495; ix. 392.

Death of
Rufus.

mid anre fla of sceoten] On the death of Rufus, and the endless legends which grew up in connexion with it, see F. W. R. ii. 315-343, 657-680; Ord. Vit. iv. 83 ff. The story of Walter Tyrell's chance shot appears early and is widely diffused. Against it is the solemn denial given by him to Abbot Suger when he had no motive left for concealment: 'quem [sc. Galterium Tirellum], cum nec timeret nec speraret, iureiurando saepius

audiuimus, et quasi sacrosanctum asserere, quod ea die nec in eam partem siluae, in qua rex uenabatur, uenerit, nec eum in silua uiderit,' Suger, Vita Ludouici Grossi, Bouquet, xii. 12. Other names are mentioned: Ralph of Aix, F. W. R. ii. 325, 334, 663; Walter de Belram, Pertz, xiii. 647 (a passage which seems to have escaped Mr. Freeman). A wholly different version appears in one authority: 'dum uenaretur, percussus ictu fulguris, obiit diuino iudicio,' Bouquet, xii. 208 (this passage also Mr. Freeman seems to have overlooked). Mr. Freeman thinks that if we had only the words of the Chronicle, we should naturally infer that Rufus was murdered. I am not sure. In the following passages very similar phrases occur, and in all (except possibly in the second) the idea of deliberate aim is excluded, the death taking place, not indeed by pure accident, but in the chance-medley of battle: '7 he . . . þær wearð ofscoten mid anre flane,' Oros. p. 30; 'þær wearð [he] þurhsctoten mid anre flan,' *ib.* 134; 'þær wearð [he] mid anre flán ofscoten,' *ib.* 144; 'Nicanor wearð gescoten mid anre fla . . . æt sumon gefeohhte,' Ælf. Hom. ii. 492; cf. Lives, i. 396 (of Ahab's death): 'an scytta ascét ana flán swylce on ungewis.' In some foreign Chronicles there is a curious story that Henry wished to found a monastery on the site of Rufus' death for the good of his soul, but Rufus appeared to him borne by two dragons, and told him that it was useless, Pertz, vi. 733; xiv. 404; xvi. 180.

He wæs swiðe strang] On Rufus' character, cf. F. W. R. i. 5, 6, 143 ff.; His ii. 244, 256, 337, 490 ff.; W. M. ii. 359, 366-374; Ord. Vit. iv. 9 ff. character, Against Mr. Freeman's view that Rufus had no special dislike for things English, *u. s.*, i. 133, 156, may be set the words of the Waltham writer: 'uilia censens omnia Anglorum instituta,' p. 32.

he ælces mannes . . . yrfe numa beon wolde] *i. e.* the theory was and fiscal rigidly acted upon that all land was held by grant of the Crown, and that policy. on the death of the holder it reverted, to be regranted for a sufficient consideration. For the mode of dealing with vacant benefices before Rufus, see Ord. Vit. iii. 313.

p. 236. bebyrged] The story of a sort of popular excommunication of His burial. Rufus, in virtue of which he was buried without any religious rites, rests only on a doubtful passage of Orderic. There is nothing of it in the Chron., Fl. Wig., or H. H.; while W. M. (as Mr. Freeman admits) looks the other way, for he says 'post iusta funeri regio persoluta,' ii. 470. The sentence in Orderic is this: 'ecclesiastici doctores . . . [eum] . . . ecclesiastica, ueluti biothanatum, absolutione indignum censuerunt, quem . . . a nequitiis castigare nequuerunt. Signa etiam pro illo in quibusdam ecclesiis non sonuerunt,' iv. 89, 90. Now it is hard to see how Rufus could have received absolution, seeing that he died without confession and repentance, 'buten behreowsunge 7 ælcere dædbote'; and we can easily understand that some clergy might refuse to toll their bells for the oppressor. But that he was buried without religious rites seems inconsistent with Orderic's own words

immediately preceding; '*Clerici . . . et monachi . . . obuiam processerunt, et pro reuerentia regiae dignitatis in ueteri monasterio celeriter tumulauerunt, ib.* Gaimar's account is really beautiful and pathetic, but is utterly unhistorical. For his view of Rufus' character, see Introduction, § 56.

Accession
of Henry I.

Heanrig] On the accession of Henry I, his charter, &c., see F. W. R. ii. 345-370, 680-682; Fl. Wig. ii. 47; W. M. ii. 468-471.

Rannulf of Dunholme] He was arrested on Aug. 15, S. D. i. 138.

His
marriage.

genam Mahalde] On this marriage, see F. W. R. ii. 382-391, 682-688. Mr. Freeman justly dwells on the significance of the contrast between the change from Edith to Matilda in the case of Henry's bride, and that from Emma to Ælfgifu in the case of Ethelred's. Matilda is called '*ualde litterata,*' Pertz, ix. 405; Bouquet, xii. 67, a suitable wife for Henry Beauclerc; who, according to Rudborne, was a M.A. of Cambridge University (!), Ang. Sac. i. 273. To her Turgot dedicated his life of her mother: '*ut quae faciem matris parum noueratis, uirtutum eius notitiam plenius habeatis,*' Pinkerton, ii. 159.

of þan rihtan Ængla landes kyne kynne] Cf. Introduction, § 75; and note on 1067 D; Ailr. R. cc. 773, 774; cf. '*for þon þe he ryht cyne-cynnes was,*' Oros. p. 150; '*hie wæron of Dauides cyne strynde, þæs riht cyne-cynnes,*' Blickl. Hom. p. 23.

Death of
Thomas of
York.
Opposition
to Henry.

Thomas of Eoferwic] On him, v. s. 1070 A. He died Nov. 18, at Ripon, H. Y. ii. 109, 364.

1101] On the events of this year, see F. W. R. ii. 392-415, 688-691; Fl. Wig. ii. 48, 49. Mr. Freeman justly remarks on the similarity of these events to those of 1088, the first year of Rufus' reign. There is an allusion to Robert's invasion in Chron. Ab. ii. 128.

to Xþes mæssan . . . on West mynstre] '*ubi interfuit Lodowicus electus rex Francorum,*' S. D. ii. 232; an addition of his own to the text of Florence which S. D. here follows.

Escape of
Flambard.

p. 237. Dises geares eac, 7c.] The escape of Flambard (Feb. 2) ought to have been placed, as Fl. Wig. places it, at the beginning of the year. It was, as the chronicler says, largely the cause of what ensued. According to S. D. i. 138, Robert made him Bishop of Lisieux; he is not mentioned in the list of bishops of that see, in which there seems to have been a schism about this time.

1102] On the events of this year, especially the reduction of Robert of Belesme, see F. W. R. ii. 420-457; Fl. Wig. ii. 50, 51; Ord. Vit. iv. 174, 177, 305.

Clerical
marriages.

p. 238. Ansealm heold . . . sinoð] On this, see G. P. pp. 118-121; F. N. C. v. 220-225. The chief measure was against the marriage of the clergy: '*prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores Anglorum, antea non prohibitas,*' H. H. p. 234, who has some good remarks on the subject. Another canon of the synod gives what is to a great extent the key to the Roman policy in this matter: '*ut filii presbyterorum non sint heredes ecclesiarum patrum*

suorum,' G. P. u. s. The danger of ecclesiastical offices becoming hereditary and feudal was a very real one. S. D., in an addition to Fl. Wig., represents the enactment as causing a sort of clerical strike: 'unde plures eorum ostia ecclesiarum obserauerunt omittentes omnia officia ecclesiastica,' ii. 235. This may, however, be only the result of the council's own action: 'ut presbyter quamdiu illicitam conuersationem mulieris habuerit, non . . . missam celebret,' G. P. u. s.

manige . . . heora stafas . . . for luron] A list of these deposed abbots Deposition is given in G. P. and Fl. Wig. u. s.; cf. F. N. C. v. 224. The crime of of abbots. most of them was simony. It would have gone hard with some of the bishops, had the same measure been applied to them.

of Aluearnie . . . of France] Note that Auvergne is not reckoned as Auvergne. part of France. It was a fief of the duchy of Aquitaine. Hugo Candidus has 'Alemannia.' He adds: 'et quamuis postea capti essent, nihil tamen de hiis quae acceperant ad proficuum ecclesiae prouenit, sed omnia regi data sunt,' pp. 64, 65.

1103] On the affairs of this year, see Fl. Wig. ii. 52, 53; who gives ecclesiastical matters at greater length than the chronicler. Cf. F. N. C. v. 215-228; G. P. pp. 109, 110. The whole trouble sprang out of the Contest about investitures. great contest about investitures. Anselm refused to consecrate those prelates who had received investiture from the king. Henry required them to receive consecration from Gerard of York, who was quite willing to act; but all, with the exception of Roger of Salisbury, refused.

Girarde of Eoferwic] He had been translated from Hereford on the Gerard of death of Thomas of Bayeux, 1100. In G. P., pp. 258-260, a very bad York. character is given of him; cf. F. W. R. i. 543, 544; while the northern writer calls him: 'clericus . . . scientia et eloquentia nulli aut paucis secundus, et qui Virgilio in metro, et Tullio in prosa parum cessisset,' H. Y. ii. 109-111. He died, suddenly, on May 21, 1108, *infra sub ann.*

swa swa him 7 þam cyngge gewearð] 'sicut ei et regi conuenit,' Fl. Wig.; see above on 918 C (Mercian Register).

Mathias aþb of Burh] 'misit eis rex quendam monachum, Matthiam Matthias, nomine, fratrem Galfridi Ridelli iusticiarii sui; . . . [quo] mortuo rex Abbot of Peter- tenuit in manu sua abbatiam iv annis,' Hugo Candidus, pp. 65, 66; cf. borough. Ord. Vit. iv. 429 f. He came from Mont St. Michel.

p. 239. 1104. gebroiden . . . gemette] Ingram quotes Matth. Westm. Celestial s. a.: 'albi, picti, et mirabiliter implicati'; cf. Fl. Wig.: 'quasi essent appear- picti'; 'métan,' 'gemétan,' mean literally to invent, hence to paint (cf. ance. the use of 'inuenit' in the signature of old pictures and engravings); 'métang' is painting. See Bosworth-Toller, s. v. The appearance lasted 'a sexta hora usque in nonam,' Liebermann, p. 76.

Rotbert de Bælesme] 'The first appearance of *de* in the Chron.,' Ingram, p. 326.

William,
Earl of
Mortain.

Willelm eorl of Moretoin] He was the son of Robert of Mortain, the Conqueror's uterine brother, and perhaps the greatest landowner in England, F. N. C. iv. 168.

hine se cyng ealles be næmde] Cf. 'Constantinus hiene benæmde . . . þæs onwaldes,' Oros. p. 284.

Reduction
of Nor-
mandy.

1105. he ge wann . . . Capum 7 Baius] 'Cadomum pecunia, Baiocum armis,' H. H. p. 235. In Fl. Wig. also, great stress is laid on the part which English gold played in Henry's reduction of Normandy, ii. 54.

'Honour' in
the feudal
sense.

p. 240. for his land lyre her on lande] 'propter honorem suum, quem perdiderat in Anglia,' Fl. Wig. u. s. 'Honor' is here used in its feudal sense of a large landed estate; see Glossary, s. v. ár; and cf. 'possessiones . . . magnas et uarias, quas uulgo uocant honores,' H. H. p. 306.

1106] For the events of this year, cf. Fl. Wig. ii. 54, 55; H. H. pp. 235, 236; W. M. ii. 463, 473-476.

án un gewunelic steorra] Cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 210, 211.

Victory of
Tinche-
bray.

p. 241. se sige wearð þæs cynges] In G. P., pp. 116, 117, is a letter from Henry to Anselm, announcing the victory of Tinchebray, which Fl. Wig. also alludes to, 'hoc per litteras Anselmo . . . indicauit,' u. s. W. M. treats Tinchebray as a reversal of the Norman Conquest: 'idem dies ante quadraginta circiter annos fuerat, cum Willelmus Hastingas primus appulit; prouido forsitan Dei iudicio, ut eo die subderetur Angliae Normannia, quo ad eam subiugandam olim uenerat Normannorum copia,' ii. 475; and there is a certain truth in this view; see F. N. C. v. 174-176. On Robert's clerical captor, cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 230.

Edgar
Etheling.

Eadgar æpeling þe . . . to þam eorle wæs ge faren] 'Hic corpore speciosus, lingua disertus, liberalis et generosus . . . sed dextera segnis erat, ducemque . . . quasi collactaneum fratrem diligebat,' Ord. Vit. iv. 70; cf. iii. 322.

Advantage
to Nor-
mandy.

Syððan geeode se cyng, 7c.] On the advantage to Normandy of the change of rule, cf. 'cum enim Normannia nescisset adhuc quid esset iustitia, huius temporibus facta est regula iustitiae,' Bouquet, xii. 210; F. N. C. v. 177. Orderic is strong on the same point.

Deposition
and death
of Henry
IV.

be twux þam Casere, 7c.] The Emperor, Henry IV, was deposed Dec. 31, 1105, and died Aug. 7, 1106.

1107] On the events of this year, see Fl. Wig. ii. 55-57; H. H. p. 236. to Eastran] 'uictoriosus et tunc primum rex fortis,' H. H. u. s., who perhaps rather exaggerates the weakness of Henry at the beginning of his reign.

buton . . . hyrde] Cf. 'Seo cyrice æt Hrofesceastre wæs heordeleas,' Bede, p. 150.

Vacant sees
and abbeyes
filled up.

Ðera wæron swa fela] This was owing to the dissension between Henry and Anselm about investitures; but in 1106 they had been personally reconciled, and in this very year, at a council at London, the question of investitures was settled, v. Fl. Wig. u. s.; F. N. C. v. 226, 227.

Ernulf,

Ernulf] 'quem libentissime acceperunt, quia erat bonus monachus et

sapiens, et pater monachorum,' Hugo Candidus, p. 66; he had been a monk of Beauvais, but because, owing to the disorders of that monastery, 'ibi animam suam saluare non posset,' he came by Lanfranc's advice to Canterbury, where Anselm made him prior, G. P. pp. 137, 138; cf. *infra* 1114, where his promotion to the see of Rochester is narrated. He was the compiler of the famous *Textus Roffensis*; see on him Hardy, *Cat.* i. 781; ii. 150, 151; *Ang. Sac.* I. xxx, xxxi.

Rotbert a5b] He had been Prior of Westminster, Liebermann, p. 131.

Ricard a5b] After his death Ely was erected into a see, with Hervé, who had been nominated to Bangor, as the first bishop, Fl. Wig. ii. 60; G. P. pp. 325, 326. Ely made a bishopric.

Eadgar . . . Alexander] On these Scottish affairs, see S. C. S. i. 444 ff. Ailr. R. calls Alexander 'homo litteratus,' c. 736; so he would seem to have inherited the bookish tastes of his mother, St. Margaret. The Durham obituary gives the date of Edgar's death as 'vi Id. Ianr.,' i. e. Jan. 8, instead of Jan. 13, Lib. Vit. Dun. p. 138; Fl. Wig. says 'viii id. Ianr.,' i. e. Jan. 6, ii. 55. Scottish affairs.

p. 242. 1108. **Philippus . . . Loðewis**] On the importance of this devolution of the French Crown, see F. N. C. v. 178 ff. According to H. H., p. 236, both these monarchs died of corpulence. Devolution of the French Crown.

Thomas] For a sketch of his pontificate, see H. Y. ii. 111-128. It was an important stage in the controversy between Canterbury and York. Thomas II. of York. Thomas agreed under pressure to make profession of obedience to Anselm: 'quod . . . nullatenus fecisset si exilii et fatigationis . . . corpus patiens haberet; sed corpulentus erat, et pinguior quam oporteret,' *ib.* 124; cf. G. P. pp. 260-263. Richard of Hexham, however, gives him a high character, Hexham, i. 50-54; he was a nephew of the former Thomas of York, being son of Sampson, the Bishop of Worcester. Both Sampson and his brother, the elder Thomas, had been canons of Bayeux, and were themselves sons of a priest named Osbert. These facts show that the celibacy of the clergy was no more established in Normandy than in England in the eleventh century; cf. *Ord. Vit.* ii. 397, 398; iv. 407-409; and see above, pp. 263, 264, on the importance of this Bayeux influence. Clerical marriages in Normandy.

1109. **his dohter þam Casere to gifene**] On this alliance of Henry with the Emperor, see F. N. C. v. 184 ff. Of the bride, who was at this time a mere child ('adhuc paruula,' Pertz, v. 27), W. M. says: 'exhibebat patrem fortitudine, matrem religione,' ii. 509. The actual marriage did not take place till 1114, Fl. Wig. ii. 67; Pertz, iii. 8, 113, though she was sent to Germany in 1110, *q. v.* Alliance of Henry I. with the Emperor.

þunra . . . ægeslice] Cf. Ælfric, *Lives*, i. 114: 'swiðlic eorðstyrung 7 egeslic þunor.'

Ansealm . . . forð ferde . . . xi. k Aþr.] The real date is 'xi Kal. Maii,' i. e. Apr. 21, as Fl. Wig. ii. 59, *et alii.* On Anselm's death, see the authorities given above under 1093. Lambert, Abbot of St. Bertin's, was Death of Anselm.

thought of as his successor, see his life in Pertz, xv. 952, a fact which seems to be mentioned nowhere else. Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon, was also thought of; see below, on 1117. As it was, the see remained vacant five years.

Latest possible Easter.

Easter dæg on Letania maior] *i. e.* April 25; the last day on which Easter can possibly fall; hence Ann. Wav. say: 'ipso anno fuit ultimuu Pascha, hoc est vii Kal. Maii,' p. 213.

1110. on þam niwan Windlesoran] 'quam ipse aedificauerat,' H. H. p. 237.

þam Casere forgeaf] 'et misit eam a Douere usque ad Witsand in initio Quadragesimae, quod fuit iiii id. Apr.,' S. D. ii. 241; it was, however, Easter Day, not Ash Wednesday, which fell on April 10 in 1110. The fact that the year 'quo rex filiam suam Romano Imperatori dedit' is used in dating documents, shows what importance was attached to this event, Chron. Ab. ii. 65, 108. She was crowned July 25, 1110, and her name Adelaide was changed to Matilda. Hugh the Chanter calls Henry V 'Exaugustus Henricus, Caesar Teutonicus, immo Cedar [*i. e.* Kedar] totus iniquus,' H. Y. ii. 176. This is because of his setting up the Anti-pope Gregory VIII in 1118.

p. 243. Elias eorl] On Hélié de la Flèche, see the references given above on 1099; Ord. Vit. seems almost to regard the comet as presaging his death, iv. 300.

7 on cweow] Ingram's idea that this is an attempt to represent the French phrase 'en queueage' is too ingenious to be true; and (apart from Professor Earle's criticism that it takes no account of the conjunction 'and') is open to the fatal objection that 'queueage,' 'cheuagium' or head-tax, 'census capitis' is one of the basest kinds of rent, and quite impossible for a great prince like the Count of Maine. Thorpe's conjecture 'Angeow' gives a result which is historically false, if taken in the obvious sense that Hélié held Anjou as well as Maine, while taken as Mr. Thorpe takes it 'of þam cyng . . . geheold, 7 [of þam eorle of] Angeow,' it leaves too much to be supplied. Professor Earle's conjecture, 'oncneow' from 'oncnawan,' to acknowledge, adopted by Leo and Bosworth-Toller, is satisfactory alike on textual and historical grounds; and is strongly supported by the feudal sense of the corresponding Latin words: 'cognoscere, cognitio, recognoscere, cognitio,' which are constantly used of acknowledging dependency, especially by doing homage; *e. g.* Chron. Ab. ii. 107: 'Walterius de Ripario . . . Abendoniam uenit, ibique abbati Faritio pro praedicta terra homagium fecit, et eam de ecclesia recognoscendam et tenendam suscepit' (so a little above); cf. W. M. ii. 483: 'Willelmus, filius regis [Henrici] homagium regi Francorum de Normannia fecit, iure legitimo de eo prouinciam cogniturus'; and see Ducange, *sub vv.* The contrast, then, is between Hélié's acknowledging, and Fulk's refusing to acknowledge, Henry's overlordship; cf. 1111, 1112. This was Fulk V; he

Henry gives his daughter to the Emperor.

Hélié de la Flèche.

A doubtful passage.

Thorpe's conjecture unsatisfactory.

Earle's conjecture solves the difficulty.

Dispute between Henry I and Fulk V

succeeded to Anjou in 1109, and claimed Maine in right of his wife, who was a daughter of Hélie, Art de Vérif. ii. 849. The contest was ended in 1113 by Fulk doing homage to Henry; cf. F. N. C. v. 183, 193, 196. of Anjou settled.

The importance which Henry attached to this agreement is shown by the fact that he dates thereby a charter of 1113: 'anno quo comes Andegauensis mecum pacem fecit, et Cenomannum de me, meus homo factus, recepit,' Ord. Vit. v. 199. The fact that Ann. Wav. omit the sentence seems to show that the corruption was in the MS. which this compiler used.

gyld . . . for his dohter gyfte] *i. e.* the feudal 'aide pour fille marier,' 'Aide pour an important landmark in the history of the growth of the incidents of feudal tenure in England. H. H. tells us that it was three shillings a hide, p. 237; cf. Ann. Wav.: 'magnum geldum quod rex cepit ad dandam filiam suam,' p. 214. file marier.'

on Ceortes æge] See on 964, 1084 *supra*. 'There seems to be no record of the final destruction of the abbey,' H. Shaw, 'Tile Pavements from Chertsey Abbey,' cited by Earle. Chertsey.

Under this year H. H. enters the death of his own father Nicholas, 'ut . . . omnes legentes . . . pietatis affectu dicere dignentur: Anima eius in pace requiescat. Amen,' pp. 237, 238. Death of H. H.'s father.

1111. coronan] Note the influx of foreign words. H., however, 1114 *infra*, keeps the old word 'cynehelm.' Influx of foreign words.

Baldewine] Baldwin VII (Hapkin). On the death of his predecessor, see Ord. Vit. iv. 290, 291. Baldwin VII of Flanders

1112. Rotbert de Bælesme . . . on prisune] He was imprisoned first at Cherbourg (not Carisbrooke, as Mr. Thorpe says), and then at Wareham, Fl. Wig. ii. 66; *infra*, 1113. His imprisonment was so strait that 'quem tantopere fama coluerat, dum uiueret, in carcere utrum uiueret uel obisset, nesciuit,' H. H., p. 310. 'Prisun' is another new-fangled word; the older words are 'carcern,' and 'cweartern.' We have had 'prisun' in 1076 D, where E has 'gēfestnode hine'; cf. Introduction, § 76, note. On Robert's capture, cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 305: 'capto itaque tyranno . . . erepta de iugo praedonis plebs Dei gaudebat.' Imprisonment of Robert of Belesme.

1113 H. On this fragment, see critical note, i. 245, and Introduction, § 29. The purity of the diction and grammar is in striking contrast with the corruption of E. We have, *e. g.*, 'midwinter,' 'kinehelm,' instead of 'Christmas,' 'Nativity,' 'crown'; 'on' maintains its place against the tendency in E to use 'of'; *e. g.* 'aḃḃ of Burh,' i. 245 E. Either then there must have been places where the language escaped the corruptions to which it was exposed at Peterborough, or the Anglo-Saxon renaissance (of which Professor Earle speaks, Charters, p. 348) must have come earlier than 'the close of the twelfth century.' The writer seems to have been chiefly interested in ecclesiastical affairs. Fragment of a lost Chronicle.

p. 244. 1114 E. in to Wealon . . . castelas weorcean] This shows Welsh castles.

that Henry continued Rufus' policy towards Wales. See above on 1097. The troubles lasted, however, to the very end of his reign, Ord. Vit. v. 43, 45.

be eastan þære brigge] 'inter pontem et regiam Turrim,' Fl. Wig. ii. 67.

Ralph of
Séez, Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

Raulfe] Anselm had appointed him to the see of Rochester on the death of Gundulf in 1108. He had previously been a monk and Abbot of Séez in Normandy, H. & S. i. 300; S. D. i. 256-259; G. P. pp. 125-132, who gives him a very high character; while in literature 'totas exhaust Athenas.' The 'prognosticon' at his consecration had been the very beautiful one, 'erunt similes angelis Dei.' He is highly spoken of also by the biographer of his opponent Thurstan of York, H. Y. ii. 262; cf. Ord. Vit. iii. 308, 309; iv. 192, 299, 430-432.

Thurstan
of York.

p. 245. Turstein] On Thurstan, and his controversy with Canterbury on the subject of the profession, see Fl. Wig. ii. 69, 73; G. P. pp. 131, 262-266; Hexham, i. 57, 58; S. D. ii. 254-258, 262, 302-305; Jaffé, R. P. pp. 515, 529, 531, 540, 551, 552, 565, 567; H. Y. ii. 129-269, 525-530; and the references given above, 1070 A. Nor was this the only matter in which he showed his steadfastness; one of his biographers narrates: 'quam firmus et constans in amicitia fuerit,' *ib.* 527.

Ernulf
appointed to Roches-
ter.

Ernulf] On him see above, 1107.

dærne sprece] 'quia erat confessor eius,' adds Hugo Candidus, p. 70.

pa neodde [se cyng] him . . . Hrofeceastre] Rochester was in the archbishop's gift, and H. H., G. P., and H say that Ernulf was appointed by Ralph; so Ann. Wint. p. 44. No doubt the king and primate were agreed.

p. 246. God ælmihtig wunie, 7c.] This shows that this passage, though a Peterborough interpolation, must have been written before Ernulf's death in 1124; while the change of 'is' to 'wæs' shows that Warner had died in the interval between the text and the correction.

John of
Séez, Abbot
of Peter-
borough.
Theobald,
Bishop of
Worcester.

an munec of Sæis . . . þurh þæs arceþ gearnunge] The archbishop himself, as we have seen, had been a monk and Abbot of Séez.

p. 244. 1114 H. Teobalde] Fl. Wig. ii. 66, and G. P. p. 290, call him Teoulfus, Thiulfus; like his predecessor Sampson, he was a canon of Bayeux. He was appointed Dec. 28, 1113. H, like E, begins the year at Christmas, and therefore counts this as part of 1114.

Ðornige] On Thorney, see G. P. pp. 326-329.

Sĕe Ebroulf] St. Evroul, the monastery of Ordericus Vitalis.

St. Evroul.
Grant of
the earl-
dom of
Northamp-
ton to
David of
Scotland.

pone eorldom on Northam tun scire Dauide] *As far as I know*, this is the only record of the date of the grant of the earldom of Northampton to David. He acquired a claim to that and the earldom of Huntingdonshire, through his wife Matilda, who was a daughter of Waltheof, F. N. C. iv. 604, 605; v. 209. Mr. Robertson's note, E. K. S. i. 188, would therefore seem to be wrong; see S. C. S. iii. 5.

Cernel] On Cerne, see G. P. pp. 184-186.

- p. 245. forbarn Cicestre] 'per culpam incuriae,' Fl. Wig. ii. 67; cf. Fire at
ib. 70; Bede, II. 91, 258. Chichester.
- Albolde wæs munuc on Becc.] At the time of his appointment he was Albold,
 Prior of St. Nigasius at Meulan, Liebermann, pp. 131, 162. Abbot of St.
 Edmund's.
- Myclan yge] On Michelney, cf. G. P. pp. 199, 200; above, p. 137.
- p. 246. 1115 E. his sunu Willelme] He had been born in 1103, William
 'optata uirilis suboles,' as Paschal II calls him, W. M. ii. 489. He was the Ethel-
 now, therefore, about twelve years old, *ib.* 495. On Henry's endeavours to ing.
 secure the succession for him, see F. N. C. v. 186, 192, 193. The Norman
 homage was repeated in 1120, just before the shipwreck, S. D. ii. 258.
- swa strang winter] 'ita ut omnes fere per Angliam pontes glacie Hard
 frangerentur,' Fl. Wig. ii. 67. winter.
- se wæs nefa] 'nepos ex sorore,' G. P. p. 128; he was Abbot of S. Sabas Abbot
 in Rome, Jaffé, R. P. p. 513; Wilkins, i. 377; 'papae familiaris et ab eo Anselm.
 Abbas S. Sabae confessoris effectus. Qui in diebus beati auunculi sui
 plurimo tempore in Anglia degens, pro mansuetudine sua ab indigenis
 terrae quasi unus eorum diligebatur,' Eadmer, Hist. Nou. p. 87. In 1121
 he became Abbot of St. Edmund's in East Anglia, and appears in that
 capacity, *infra*, 1123. See Liebermann, pp. 131, 316.
1116. 7 þær lét þ mynster halgian] 'rege Henrico praesente et coron- Consecra-
 nam ibi gestante,' Ann. Camb. 1116. On this dedication, see Gesta Ab- tion of St.
 batum S. Albani, i. 71; Matth. Paris, Chron. Mai., ii. 142; H. H. p. 239. Albans.
- Tædbalde de Blais] On this, see W. M. ii. 480, 481; F. N. C. v. 180; Theobald,
 Art de Vérif. ii. 617. Theobald was Henry's nephew, as being the son of Count of
 his sister Adela, wife of Stephen of Blois. Blois.
- p. 247. bærnðe eall þ mynstre of Burh] 'abbas enim eadem die Fire at
 maledixerat domum, et per iram, quia iracundus erat nimis, commendauit Peter-
 incaute inimico,' Hugo Cand. p. 71; cf. Liebermann, p. 13; and Intro- borough.
 duction, § 52.
1117. for þes cynges unsehte of France 7 his oðra nehhebur] League
 'iurauerunt namque rex Francorum et consul Flandrensis, et consul An- against
 degauensis, se Normanniam regi Henrico ablaturos, et Willelmo filio Henry I.
 Roberti ducis Normannorum eam daturus,' H. H. pp. 239, 240.
- ormætlica wædera, 7c.] Cf. H. H. p. 240; S. D. ii. 251. The date of Bad
 the eclipse, Dec. 11, is correct. seasons.
- seo mycele eorð byfung] See on this, Pertz, vii. 791 (=Muratori Earth-
 SS. RR. II. iv. 529); x. 112; Fl. Wig. ii. 70. It is mentioned also in the quake.
 Irish Annals. It was felt at Rheims, Pertz, xiii. 83.
- Farits aðb of Abbandune] He was a Tuscan of Arezzo, physician to Death of
 Henry I, and highly trusted by him. He had been a monk of Malmes- Faricius,
 bury; his appointment to Abingdon had been one of Henry's first acts on Abbot of
 his accession, Abingdon having been one of the many abbeys kept vacant Abingdon.
 by Rufus. He was a wise and most munificent ruler of that house; and
 his memory was warmly cherished there. He died repeating the verse:

'Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae' (Ps. xxv. 8, Vulg.), Chron. Ab. ii. 290. He had been thought of for the primacy, see above, p. 292. According to one account his strictness as a ruler was dreaded, G. P. p. 126; according to another his medical profession was objected to, Chron. Ab. ii. 287. See on him further, *ib.* 44-55, 96, 97, 146-159, 285-290, 382, 394, 400; G. P. pp. 192, 193; Fl. Wig. ii. 47, 70, notes. For his life of Aldhelm, cf. Bede, II. 308.

Defective entry.

on *pisum ylcan geare* . . .] Possibly the writer was going on to mention the refoundation of the monastery after the fire; cf. Ann. Petrob. 1117: 'Hoc anno noui monasterii nostri fundamentum iactum est iiii id. Marci,' Liebermann, p. 13.

The Count of Flanders wounded.

1118. *se eorl of Flandra warð . . . ge wundod*] On his wound and death, which followed in 1119, *q. v.*, after he had become a monk at St. Bertin's, see H. H. pp. 241, 242; Pertz, ix. 311; xiii. 656; xiv. 360; Bouquet, xiii. 463.

se cyng . . . micel for leas] Cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 323, 324, and note.

p. 248. Theophanie] 'As Epiphania became "Epiphany," so Theophania was Englished down to "Tiffany." See Miss Yonge's History of Christian Names, i. 433,' Earle.

Death of Queen Matilda.

seo cwén Mahald forðferde] The Hyde writer gives her a most elaborate panegyric both on the occasion of her marriage, and also of her death: 'foemina uere incomparabilis, in cuius uita floruit Anglia, et in eius morte decidit flos eius' . . . 'ex quo Anglia primum est subiecta regibus ex omnibus reginis non fuit inuenta illi similis.' He gives a curious account of the number of masses and psalms recited for the good of her soul, pp. 305, 306, 311-313; cf. H. H. pp. 240, 241; 'maternae pietatis aemula,' W. M. ii. 493-495; 'ab Anglis uocata *Molde the Good Queen*,' Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 276, 277. Her death is mentioned in the Irish Annals, where she is called Mary; cf. also Bouquet, xiii. 674, 675; Ord. Vit. iv. 95-97, 313; 314.

Robert, Count of Meulan.

Rotbert of Mellent] 'sapientissimus in rebus saecularibus omnium usque in Ierusalem degentium,' H. H. p. 240; cf. *ib.* 306, 307, for the curious story of his death-bed. On Robert, Count of Meulan, and his sinister wisdom, see F. W. R. i. 184-187, 417, 511; ii. 182, 243, 350, 362, 366, 400, 420. He had been excommunicated by name at Rome in March, 1105, as one of Henry's advisers in the investiture struggle, Jaffé, R. P. p. 488.

High wind.

mycel wind] Cf. Ann. Remenses, 1118: 'Vigilia natalis Domini fuit uentus uehemens, qui multa aedificia strauit,' Pertz, xiii. 83; Ord. Vit. ii. 460; iv. 324.

Succession of Popes.

Paschalis . . . Gelasius] Paschal II died Jan. 21, 1118; Gelasius II was elected Jan. 24, and consecrated March 10, dying Jan. 29, 1119.

Death of Florence of Worcester.

In this year, 1118, on July 7, 'obiit Dominus Florentius Wigornensis monachus. Huius subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, praeeminet

cunctis hæc Chronicarum Chronica,' Fl. Wig. ii. 72. The praise is thoroughly deserved. Next to the Chronicles themselves he has been our most trustworthy guide; cf. Introduction, § 84, note. His Chronicle is continued by various hands to 1295; and for brevity I shall still continue to cite this work as Fl. Wig.

1110. *þa twegen cyngas . . . coman togædere*] On this battle of Battle of Brémule, see Ord. Vit. iv. 354 ff.; Lib. de Hyda, pp. 315-318; H. H. Brémule. pp. 241, 242. It had been foreshadowed by a strange battle of birds at Roten, *ib.* 62. The date was Aug. 20.

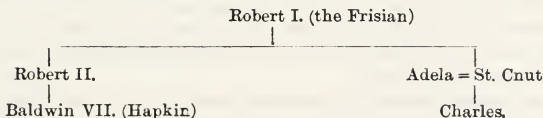
þæs eorles dohter of Angeow] This marriage had been arranged when Marriage of Fulk of Anjou made peace with Henry in 1113, *v. s.* on 1110. Either then William or now the county of Maine, which had been in dispute, was granted the Etheling and the bride, Matilda of Anjou, as her dower, F. N. C. v. 183, 193. She was Matilda of reclaimed by her father after her husband's tragic death, *infra* 1121; S. D. Anjou. ii. 262.

to *Ræins . . . concilium*] 'Numeratae sunt ibi personarum pastoralium Council of uirgæ ccccxxiii,' S. D. ii. 254-258; Ord. Vit. iv. 372 ff. On the affair of Rheims. Thurstan, see *reff.* given under 1114. Eadmer, *Hist. Nou.* p. 94, followed by Fl. Wig. Cont. ii. 73, does not hesitate to say that Thurstan bribed the Pope. But this is possibly a piece of Canterbury spite.

p. 249. *forðferde . . . Baldewine*] Cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 291, 315-317, 348, 460.

his faða sunu] The pedigree is thus:—

Counts of
Flanders.



Cf. W. M. ii. 315.

þæs haligan cynges] Charles himself attained the honours of martyr- St. Cnut. dom by a fate very like his father's; see on 1127.

1120. *on þam fare wurdon adruncene*] This happened in the night Wreck of between Nov. 25 and Nov. 26. See on it, Fl. Wig. ii. 74; W. M. ii. 495- the White 498; Hoveden, I. xxxv. 177; (from) S. D. ii. 258, 259, 263; H. Y. ii. 190; Ship. F. N. C. v. 195; Hardy, *Cat.* ii. 138, 139; *Brut y Tywys.*, 1117. H. H. gives the young prince and his companions a very bad character, p. 242; that he should use their fate to point the moral of his letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, was natural, *ib.* 303, 304; where he says that he had often thought that the excessive attention paid to the prince would bring down a nemesis. By those who regarded the marriage of Henry I and Matilda as unlawful the event was regarded as a special chastisement, Pertz, xiv. 280-282. It was said to have been foretold by Merlin, Bouquet, xii. 27; Hardy, *Cat.* ii. 302; Ord. Vit. iv. 491; cf. *ib.* 411 ff.

- Henry and Thurstan reconciled. **Turstein . . . wearð . . . acordad]** This was partly owing to the fact that Thurstan had made himself very serviceable in the negotiations between Henry and Louis of France, S. D. ii. 258; H. Y. ii. 188.
- Second marriage of Henry I. **1121. to wife forgyfen]** 'causa pulchritudinis,' H. H. p. 243; 'ne quid ulterius inhonestum committeret,' Eadmer, p. 101; Fl. Wig. ii. 75. There can be no doubt that the main motive was the hope of a male heir, F. N. C. v. 196; cf. W. M. ii. 575. Her father was Godfrey VII, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and Count of Louvain, Art de Vérif. iii. 102, 103. H. H. u. s. and S. D. ii. 259 follow the Chronicle in calling him Duke of Louvain; Eadmer and Fl. Wig. Cont. u. s. call him Duke of Lorraine; cf. W. M. u. s.
- Adelheid of Louvain. **Aðelis]** On her seal her name appears as 'Aalidis,' but Mr. Albert Way, in an article in Arch. Journ. xx. 281 ff., pointed out to me by Professor Earle, has shown that this form arises from her having used the matrix of the seal of Henry I's first wife, Mathildis being altered into Aalidis. In charters she is called 'Adeleidis' and 'Aelidis.' Below, 1127, the same name appears as Æðelic. The marriage was on Jan. 29, the coronation on Jan. 30, Fl. Wig. According to Gaimar she wrote, or perhaps caused to be written, a work on the history of her husband's reign:
' Del rei Henri ne frai memoire,
Kar Aeliz la bone reine . . .
En a traitie un livre grant,'
M. H. B. pp. 828, 829, notes. She was a benefactress and patroness of Waltham, and presented to his prebend the author of the tract on the Foundation of Waltham, pp. xx, xxi, 35, 53-55.
- Lunar eclipse. **on þære nihte Nonæ Aðr.]** The eclipse was at 9.30 p.m. on April 4. The word 'niht' is, therefore, here used in the ecclesiastical sense of 'eve'; cf. 'mæsseæfen,' 'mæsseniht.'
- Invasion of Wales. **p. 250. into Wealan fōr]** According to S. D. ii. 262, the Welsh had been excited by the news of the drowning of Richard, Earl of Chester, in the White Ship.
- The Welsh submit. **wið hine acordedan]** 'Datis decem millibus pecorum,' Ann. Cambr. **his dohter let feccean]** Seven years later she took the veil at Fontevraud, where she became abbess in 1150, dying in 1154, Ord. Vit. iv. 439. See above on 1119.
- Fire at Gloucester. **1122. Preteriens Iñc. . . viii. idus Mǣ.]** This is the Gospel for the Wednesday after the fourth Sunday in Lent in the Roman Missal; and this did fall on March 8 in 1122. Fl. Wig. Cont. has wrongly 'vii idus Martii,' ii. 77.
Tywesdæi . . . xi. ƿ Ap̄r.] The Tuesday after Palm Sunday fell on March 21 in 1122. Probably we should read 'xii Kal. Apr.'
- Sumer sete scire]** 'Probably the first occurrence of this compound,' Earle.
- Death of Ralph of **xiii. ƿ Nouem̄b.]** This date is confirmed by Eadmer, who seems to have been present, p. 103; and by Ang. Sac. i. 7, 56, 109; Liebermann, p. 5.

Fl. Wig. Cont. *u. s.* gives 'xiv Kal. Nou., feria v'; and so Ang. Sac. i. 86; Liebermann, p. 78. Oct. 19 was a Thursday in 1122, but the day of the week may have been taken from the day of the month, not vice versa.

p. 251. 1123. *pes eorles sander men of Angeow*] This was with reference to the dowry of his widowed daughter Matilda, which Fulk claimed, and Henry refused to surrender. This refusal threw Fulk on the side of Henry's nephew William Clito, to whom he gave his daughter Sibyl in marriage, S. D. ii. 267; *infra*, 1124. Henry got the marriage set aside on the ground of consanguinity, *infra*, 1127; though that argument would have told equally against the marriage of Henry's own daughter Matilda with Geoffrey of Anjou, the son of Fulk; and of his son William with Fulk's other daughter Matilda, *v. s.* 1119.

to Wudestoke] 'quod Latine dicitur siluarum locus,' S. D. ii. 267. Woodstock. Ethelred's earliest dooms were issued 'æt Wudestoce on Myrcena lande,' Thorpe, i. 280; Schmid, p. 198.

Wodnes dei . . . iiiid. idus Iaŋrū] This is right for 1123.

Rotbert Bloet] He had been appointed at the same time as Anselm, above, 1093. See on him, F. W. R. i. 13, 395, 445-448; ii. 584-588; H. H. pp. 216, 244, 245, 299, 300, 305; G. P. pp. 313, 314.

se ð of Ceastre Rotbert Peccetð wæs gehaten] 'Rodbertus Peccator,' S. D. ii. 259; 'cognomento Peccatum,' Fl. Wig. ii. 85; G. P. p. 310; so H. H. p. 316. He had been appointed in 1121. The ancient Mercian see of Lichfield had been transferred after the Conquest first to Chester and then to Coventry, G. P. pp. 307-311; Hardy's *Le Neve*, i. 543; H. H. *u. s.*, like the Chron., calls him Bishop of Chester; S. D. *u. s.*, more correctly, of Coventry; Fl. Wig. Cont. uses both phrases, ii. 76, 85; cf. Round, *G. de M.*, p. 427.

ða biscopas . . . se prior 7 se munecas] On the rival claims of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the bishops of the province of Canterbury to elect the archbishop, see Stubbs, Preface to *Canterbury Letters*, R. S. On the present occasion a compromise was arrived at. The bishops carried their point that the new primate should not be a monk, and four names were put forward, from which the final selection was made by the monks, S. D. ii. 268. No doubt it was the king's will which prevailed.

samodlice] 'in a body,' Earle.

se biscop of Særes byrig . . . wealde eall Engle land] 'iustitarius fuit totius Angliae, et secundus a rege,' H. H. p. 245. See also W. M. ii. 483, 484 (an important passage).

Willelm of Curboil . . . was canonie] In this too there was something of a compromise; for though not a monk he was a canon regular of St. Osyth's, Essex; cf. G. P. p. 146, where a high character is given to him; 'uir eximiae religionis, . . . canonicus S. Osgithae de Cice,' Fl. Wig. ii. 77; 'modestae uitae uir ac litteris bene litteratus,' S. D. ii. 269; he had been a friend of Anselm, and, strange contrast, in the household of Ralph

Embassy from the Count of Anjou.

Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln. Robert Pecceth. Bishop of Coventry.

Dispute as to the right to elect the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Election of William of Curboil.

Flambard; 'postea meliorandae uitae gratia apud Cice regularis canonicus effectus,' *ib.*; cf. *ib.* i. 258. (On the foundation of St. Osyth's, cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 276.) On the other hand, H. H. says of him: 'cuius laudes dici nequeunt, quia non sunt,' p. 314.

Conse-
crated by
the Bishop
of London.

p. 252. an Legat . . . Henri] See below, on 1127.

ge bletsod . . . fram se biscop of Lundene, 7c.] Thurstan claimed to consecrate him, but the eternal question as to the relations between York and Canterbury prevented this, H. Y. ii. 198-200; S. D. ii. 269. This controversy was during William's primacy also, R. P. pp. 551-553.

Bernard,
Bishop of
St. David's.

se ð Bernard of Wales] *i.e.* Bishop of St. David's; cf. 1130. He succeeded in 1115. See Fl. Wig. ii. 68: 'Wilfridus episcopus de S. David . . . obiit. Usque illum episcopi extitere Brytonici'; contrast 690 above. He was the first Norman Bishop of St. David's, and had been the queen's chancellor, *ib.* His appointment, therefore, marks a stage in the reduction of Wales to dependence. But, as is often the case with foreigners, he tried to be more national than the natives, and was the first Bishop of St. David's to claim a formal metropolitanship over Wales, with a view to throwing off the yoke of Canterbury. His dispute with Urban of Llandaff on this point, and

His dispute
with Urban
of Llandaff.

also as to the limits of their dioceses, may almost rank with the York and Canterbury controversy for complexity and persistence; see on it, H. & S. i. 149, 306-350; cf. W. M.: 'Tunc . . . [1132] contentio inter Bernardum . . . et Urbanum . . . aeterno fine sopita est; tot enim ad curiam Romanam appellationibus, tot itinerum expensis, tot causidicorum conflictibus multis annis uentilata, tandem aliquando morte Urbani . . . soluta, uel potius decisa est,' ii. 535; cf. *ib.* 573; i. 28; Hardy, Cat. ii. 408; H. H. p. 253; Fl. Wig. ii. 90; Z. N. V. p. 69. The name of his predecessor, 'Wilfridas,' Fl. Wig., 'Walfridus,' Eadmer, p. 89, might suggest that he was an Englishman, but the name in Welsh sources is Griffri.

The arch-
bishops at
Rome.

in þe lenten . . . to Rome] 'ii id. Mar.,' *i.e.* March 11, Liebermann, p. 5. For the controversy of the two archbishops at Rome, see the references given above, p. 294; on Bernard's appearance as the spokesman of Canterbury, H. Y. ii. 200 ff.

Sefred] Brother of Archbishop Ralph, S. D. ii. 269, who calls him Polochinus; he is the 'Sigefrid of Cicaestre' of 1130 *infra*; cf. H. H. p. 244; Fl. Wig. ii. 79.

Anselm] See above on 1115.

togeanes rihte] One of the things objected to him was 'quod in curia, quae a cruore dicitur, ibi enim sanguinum iudicia fiunt, sit electus,' S. D. ii. 272.

Godfrey,
Bishop of
Bath and
Wells.

Godefroið] He was consecrated by Archbishop William on his return from Rome, at St. Paul's, London, Aug. 26, Fl. Wig. ii. 78; cf. Gesta Abb. Gemblacensium: 'consensu et rogatu [Alexandri Leodicensium antistitis] . . . est consecrata aeclesia nostra in uilla, quae dicitur Castra, a domno Godefrido quamuis Anglorum episcopo, tamen compatriota nostro,

iii id. Nouemb. . . anno Domini 1133,' Pertz, viii. 553. I owe the reference to Mr. T. A. Archer.

p. 253. Alexander] He was consecrated at Canterbury on July 22, Alexander Bishop of Fl. Wig. ii. 78. To him H. H. dedicates his history, pp. 1-4, and applies to him a phrase like that which in his history he applies to his uncle Roger, 'princeps a rege secundus'; cf. *ib.* 280, and above on 1123.

æall ofer Pentecoste wuce] S. D. says that he crossed on Whit Monday, ii. 273.

wæpmen] Cf. 'wæpned men,' Oros. p. 46.

1124. On the continental warfare of this year, see F. N. C. v. 196-199.

pes kinges enihtes] Commanded by William of Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, H. H. p. 245.

7 afeندن hem] According to S. D. ii. 275, they were surprised, 'inconsulte . . . ab insidiantibus.'

p. 254. Se ilce Willelm . . . Angeow] See on 1123 *ad init.*

untime on Englelande] The famine was very severe in Flanders Famine. also; cf. Pertz, xii. 562, 563.

þ acer sæd hwæte] 'Semen frumenti ad tres acras,' Ellis, Domesday, Intro. i. 302; cf. Levit. xxvii. 16 (Earle). My friend Mr. H. Le B. Lightfoot tells me that this statement as to the *proportion* of seed required for an acre of wheat, barley, and oats respectively would hold good still.

se . . . biscop Ernulf] See above, 1107, 1114.

Alexander . . . ix kŕ Mai] S. D. says: 'vi kal. Maii,' ii. 275; cf. Death of Alexander of Scotland. S. C. S. i. 454. Fl. Wig. Cont. puts this under 1123. Succession of David.

Dauid . . . Norðhamtune scire] The long reign of David, 1124-1153, is an important turning-point in the history of Scotland. It marks the period when Anglo-Norman, especially feudal, ideas became predominant in Scotland; a change largely due to the personal position and taste of David himself. W. M. says of him: 'nostrorum conuictu et familiaritate limatus a puero, omnem rubiginem Scotticæ barbariei deterserat,' ii. 477; cf. i. 278; F. N. C. v. 208, 209; S. C. S. i. 454 ff.; iii. 5 ff. John of Hexham gives a beautiful character of him. He seems to have inherited much of his mother's piety, S. D. ii. 330, 331.

Rauf Basset] He is mentioned in H. H.'s De Contemptu Mundi, Ralph Basset and the Court of itinerant judicature. The justices of the Curia Regis sit in the County Court; but their presence makes it more than an ordinary 'scŕ-geniôt,' hog. and it is called by the higher name of 'Witenagemôt.' Thus 'the Norman curia meets the Saxon gemôt,' S. C. H. i. 391, 392; cf. *ib.* 277, 278.

p. 255. 1125. toforen Cristes messe . . . wið innon þa twelf niht] i. e. Christmas, 1124, to Epiphany, 1125.

þa minitere] According to Ann. Wint. p. 47, there were three Winchester moneyers who escaped. 'Contra trapezetas, quos uulgo monetarios uocant, præcipuam sui diligentiam exhibuit,' W. M. ii. 476; cf. *ib.* 487; Punishment of moneyers.

G. P. p. 442. In 1123 the Council of Rome had passed a decree against the coiner and issuer of false money, 'tanquam maledictus et pauperum oppressor,' S. D. ii. 272. Dunstan had been specially severe against this crime for the same reason, and on one occasion was said to have refused to celebrate Mass until a sentence of mutilation had been actually carried out, Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 106, 202, 203, 300, 342; G. P. p. 27. For Anglo-Saxon laws on coiners and the coinage, see Thorpe, Laws, i. 206, 296, 298, 301-303, 380; Schmid, pp. 138-140, 216-221, 274. Under Ethelred the penalty was death. H. H. has a very ideal conception of English coinage: 'omnis moneta eius argento puro conficitur,' p. 6.

The legate,
John of
Crema.

Iohan of Creme] H. H. tells a scandalous anecdote about him, the insertion of which he justifies by the fact that Moses 'secretarius Dei' gives the stories of Lot and Reuben, pp. 245, 246; cf. F. N. C. v. 236. He came to England in April, H. & S. i. 317, 318; ii. 23. Scotland was included in his commission, and between his arrival in April and the holding the Council of London, he traversed England, and held a council at Roxburgh in conjunction with David of Scotland, S. D. ii. 276 ff.; H. Y. ii. 209 ff.; H. & S. ii. 211. The canons of the Council of London are given by Cont. Fl. Wig. ii. 81 ff.; S. D. *u. s.*, evidently from a common source; though S. D. wrongly puts the council under 1126.

English
prelates at
Rome.

7 swa to Rome] The two primates had been summoned to Rome by the Pope with reference to the eternal controversy between their Churches; see H. Y. *u. s.* John of Glasgow (here called Bishop of Lothian) went thither with reference to the hardly less interminable question of the subjection of the Scottish bishops to York; v. H. & S. ii. 16-33, 192, 201, 205, 212-215. On this occasion the question was adjourned, H. Y. ii. 215, 217. This is the last mention of Thurstan in the Chron. He died in 1140. See the account of his death and character by John of Hexham in S. D. ii. 302-305; above, 1114, note.

Famine.

p. 256. micel untime] 'Iste est annus carissimus omnium nostri temporis, in quo uendebatur onus equi frumentarium sex solidis,' H. H. p. 246.

1126. þa com . . . Michaelæs messe] More precisely 'iii id. Sept.,' *i. e.* Sept. 11, S. D. ii. 281.

Return
of the
Empress
Matilda.

mid him com . . . his dohter . . . wife] 'Inuita, ut aiunt, imperatrix rediit, quod dotalibus regionibus consueta esset, et multas ibidem possessiones haberet,' W. M. ii. 527; 'Mathildis regina . . . ad patrem suum proficiscitur, manum S. Iacobi secum deferens; per quod irreparabile damnun regno Francorum intulit,' Pertz, xvii. 23.

Robert of
Normandy.

his broþer Rotbert] This is the last mention of him in the Chron. He died 1134, at Cardiff; v. F. N. C. v. 206, 208, 849, 850.

Robert,
Earl of
Gloucester.

his sune Rotbert] This is the famous Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry by an unknown mother. (The statement that his mother was Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, rests on a confusion; see F. N. C. v. 851-854.) He was the great supporter of his half-sister

Matilda against Stephen. He inherited from his father a genuine love of learning, and was a patron of learned men. W. M. dedicates to him both his *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Nouella*, and speaks enthusiastically of him, ii. 355, 356, 518-521, 525, 536, 555, 556, 578, 582, 585 ff. On the date of his earldom see Round, *u. s.* pp. 420 ff., who decides for 1121 × 1122.

1127. *æt Cristes mæsse*] *i. e.* Christmas, 1126. At this assembly it nearly came to an open rupture between the two archbishops; Thurstan, however, ultimately giving way, H. Y. ii. 217; Fl. Wig. ii. 84. Dispute between the archbishops.

Æthelric] She is called Aaliz and Adela by John of Hexham, S. D. ii. 302, 309. She is better known under her later name of Matilda, which she probably took on the occasion of her first marriage, F. N. C. v. 185. On the novelty of the idea of female succession, *v. ib.* 199-206, 856 ff. Marriage of the Empress

Alein Fergan] Alan Fergant, Duke of Brittany, 1084-1112.

Gosfreið Martæl] This is Geoffrey V of Anjou, called 'the Fair,' and more commonly Plantagenet, whence the name descended to the dynasty. The name 'Martel' belongs properly to Geoffrey II and IV of Anjou, but apparently not to Geoffrey V, Art de Vérif. ii. 838, 843, 852. to Geoffrey of Anjou.

Hit of puhte napema] We should expect 'napelæs,' and the translators translate as if the latter were the reading of the text, 'howbeit,' 'nevertheless.'

p. 257. *wæs se eorl Karle . . . manne*] With the exception of the martyrdom of Becket, no event so impressed the imagination of the twelfth century as the murder of Charles of Flanders. It took place March 2, in the Church of St. Donatian at Bruges, during Mass, while the count was in the act of giving alms, and just as he had finished reciting Ps. l. (li.) 9: 'Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor: lauabis me et super niuem dealabor.' It was said to have been foreshown by portents; and to have been followed by vengeance so signal as to be an evident token of divine judgement. The news of it travelled with miraculous rapidity. It was known in Laon and in London on the day after it occurred. Besides the numerous mentions of it in the Chronicles, there are three lives of the martyr, two of them by eye-witnesses of the murder; four poems were composed on the event, and many epigrams and epitaphs. It even formed the subject of a tragedy. A narrative of it was recited each year on the anniversary, Pertz, xii. 531 ff., and the references there given. Cf. also *ib.* iv. 30; v. 14, 28; vi. 380, 444, 449; vii. 547; ix. 312, 324; xiii. 658; xvi. 504; xxv. 792-794; xxvi. 216; Bouquet, xii. 54-56, 187; xiii. 412; Ord. Vit. i. 189; iv. 474 ff.; v. 160; H. H. p. 247 (when W. M. wrote he was still alive: 'Carolus, qui modo principatur in Flandria,' ii. 315); cf. Meyer, Ann. Flandriae, ff. 38-40; Kervyn de Lettenhove, Hist. de Flandre, i. 353 ff. Murder of Charles of Flanders.

A somewhat similar murder, which also sent a thrill through Europe, was that of Henry, son of Richard, King of the Romans, by Guy de Montfort in the Church of San Silvestro (now Chiesa di Gesù) at Viterbo in 1279; Murder of Henry, son of Richard.

King of the Romans. an event which Dante has made immortal by his verses, *Inf. xii. 118 ff.*; cf. Hampson, ii. 251.

William of Normandy forced on the Flemings. 7 se kyng of France, 7c.] William of Normandy was practically forced on the Flemings by Louis VI, who wished to use him as a piece in the game he was playing against Henry I (cf. H. H. De Contemptu Mundi: 'quibus curis demolitus est [Henricus], dum, nepote suo Willelmo Flandriam adipiscente, se diadema regni amissurum pro certo putaret!' p. 312). William had no connexion with Flanders, except through his grandmother Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror; and he never made good his position. His death in 1128 is recorded below. His wife was Joan, daughter of Rainier, Marquis of Montferrat, and uterine sister of Adelaide of Savoy, the queen of Louis VI. Ultimately Thierry of Alsace, who through his mother Gertrude was a grandson of Robert the Frisian, and was the candidate supported by Henry, established himself as count. See De Lettenhove, *u. s.* pp. 401 ff.; Art de Vérif. iii. 10; H. H. p. 249.

An ecclesiastical adventurer.

Heanri . . . of Peitowe.] On the abbacy of this ecclesiastical adventurer, see Hugo Candidus, p. 73-75, which is, however, little more than a translation of the Chronicle. He does not occur in the lists of any of the three sees which he tried to gain possession of, Soissons, Besançon, or Saintes, *v. Gams.* He was a son of William VII, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers, who died this very year, 1127, and was succeeded by his eldest son William VIII, Art de Vérif. ii. 358; cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 430. St. Jean d'Angely is (not five but) about fifteen miles north of Saintes. The abbey was destroyed in 1568 by the French Calvinists. Some remains of it still exist. Henry was elected abbot in 1104, Gallia Christiana, ii. 1096 ff., where nothing is said of his connexion with England. He died soon after his expulsion from Peterborough, Hugo Candidus, p. 75.

legat of ðone Rome scott] He is mentioned in that capacity under 1123.

oc hit ne wæs naðema eall swa.] Here, and in the next annal, 'naðema' is rightly used, 'it was not any the more [for all his words] so [as he said].'

The Wild Huntsman.

Sauenni] Savigny. The order came to England in 1123, S. D. ii. 247. p. 258. Ða huntas wæron swarte, 7c.] Cf. a similar story in Ælfric, Lives, i. 264; and on the legend of the Wild Huntsman, Hampson, i. 314. on þe selue derfald] 'in the very deer-fold; in the home-park itself.' Earle.

Contemporary writing.

of his ut gang . . . seggon] As he was expelled in 1132, *vide s. a.*, we see how strictly contemporary this writing is.

Death of William of Normandy.

1128. God gearo his sawle] All the English chroniclers seem to write with sympathy of the untimely fate of the young count: 'Comes Flandrensium, Willelmus nomine, Miser cognomine, . . . morte cunctis dolenda . . . defungitur,' Fl. Wig. ii. 90, 91; 'nobilissimus iuuenum aetate breui famam promeruit sempiternam,' H. H. p. 250, who also speaks of him in

the *De Contemptu* as 'solus regius haeres,' adding: 'omnes qui illum regem futurum securi expectabant, . . . illusi sunt,' p. 305; cf. *S. D.* ii. 282, 283; *De Lettenhove*, *u. s.*; *F. N. C.* v. 207; *Z. N. V.* pp. 277, 278. He received his fatal wound in a skirmish near Alost, having only a few days before gained a great victory over his rival Thierry. His death is said to have been made known to his father Robert, then in prison at Devizes, by a dream, *Ord. Vit.* iv. 292 ff., 464, 465, 479, 481-486.

p. 259. *Randulf Passeflambard*] On his death and repentance, see *Death of Ralph Flambard.* *S. D.* i. 140, 141. On the discovery of his grave in 1874, see an article by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, of Durham, *Archaeologia*, xlv. 385 ff. (1879). The see was kept vacant nearly five years.

Hugo of pe temple] This is Hugh de Payen, the founder of the Templars; cf. *H. H.* pp. 250, 251.

1129. *pær hi gisleden hem*] After the death of William of Normandy they were no longer dangerous, *F. N. C. u. s.* For the success of Henry's policy at this time, cf. *S. D.* ii. 283, whose *Chronicle* ends at this point; cf. also *H. H.* p. 250. *Success of Henry's policy.*

p. 260. *7 ne forstod noht ealle pa bodlaces*] On the council, cf. *Council against clerical marriages.* *H. H.* pp. 250, 251, who says: 'rex deceptit eos simplicitate Willelmi archiepiscopi. Concesserunt namque regi iustitiam de uxoribus sacerdotum, et . . . res summo dedecore terminata est. Accepit enim rex pecuniam infinitam de presbyteris, et redemit eos.'

Henri his nefe] This is the famous Henry of Blois, brother of Stephen, who played such a leading part in the next reign. *Cont. Fl. Wig.*, like the *Chron.*, calls him Abbot of Glastonbury; *S. D.*, however, says: 'Henrico qui apud Cluniacum ab infantia nutritus erat monachus, Wintoniensis ecclesiae dedit episcopatum, adiuncta ei in augmentum honoris abbatia Glastoniae, quam prius ad procurationem sui a rege acceperat,' ii. 283; *i. e.* the abbey was vacant and in the king's hands, and he appointed his nephew to administer it as his representative; cf. above on 943 a. *H. H.* calls the bishop 'nouum quoddam monstrum ex integro et corrupto compositum, scilicet monachus et miles,' p. 315. His predecessor, William Giffard, he calls 'uir nobilissimus,' *ib.* *Henry of Blois.*

forð ferde Honorius] The death of Honorius and consequent papal schism (which lasted till 1138) really belong to Feb. 1130; cf. *Milman*, iv. 299 ff.; *W. M.* ii. 530-534; *Gregorovius*, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*, iv. 386 ff. *Death of Honorius II; papal schism.*

Petrus . . . riceste men of Rome] Piero de' Pierleoni. His family was of Jewish origin, and had risen by the practice of usury. He took the title of Anacletus II. *Anacletus II.*

se duc of Sicilie] Roger II; 'perhaps the first instance of the title *duke* in English literature,' Earle. *Roger II. of Sicily.*

Gregorius] Cardinal of St. Angelo; he took the title of Innocent II. *Innocent II.*

Heanri of Engleland] He did not, however, acknowledge him until Jan. 1131, and mainly through the influence of St. Bernard. *II, acknowledged by Henry I.*

John,
Bishop of
Rochester.
Gilbert
Universal,
Bishop of
London.

1130. Iohan of Roueceastre] 'Willelmus archiepiscopus dedit episcopatum Roueceastriae Iohanni archidiacono suo,' H. H. s. a. 1125.

Gilbert Uniuersal] 'Magnus philosophus'; 'Non fuit adusque Romam par ei scientia. . . Quapropter dum scholas regeret Niuernis in Gallia, ad summum Londoniae sacerdotium . . . exoratus concessit,' H. H. pp. 307, 308, 316; he was appointed in 1128 and died 1134, *ib.* 247, 253; Fl. Wig. ii. 89. He was also 'causidicus famosus,' and had pleaded the cause of Canterbury at Rome against the rival claims of York, H. Y. ii. 215. H. H., *u. s.*, gives him a bad character for avarice, as does the York writer; cf. on him, Hardy, Cat. ii. 187, 188.

Audoenus of Euereus] He was a brother of Archbishop Thurstan, and died in 1139, S. D. ii. 301.

Proverb.

p. 261. hæge . . . dæleth] Thorpe's translation is the best: 'hedge abides that fields divides.'

1131. on an Mone niht . . . iiii Idus Iaŋr] Jan. 11 was a Sunday in 1131; therefore 'niht' must be taken, as in the case of ecclesiastical festivals, in the sense of 'eve'; see Glossary.

orf cwalm] See W. M. ii. 534.

Misery of
monks
under a bad
abbot.

p. 262. hi scolden nedes . . . an god dæi] For a picture of the misery which a monastery might suffer under a bad abbot, see the case of Evesham under Abbot Roger, Chron. Evesh. pp. 102 ff., 200 ff., 230, 236 ff.

Her him truceode . . . eall Cristene folc] "Here all his boasted astuteness failed him; now he had good cause to creep into his vast wallet [and explore it] in every corner, [to see] if by any chance there might be there just one poor contrivance, so that he might yet once more deceive Christ and all Christian folk." The figure is, that this Abbot Henry's stock in life was a wallet full of tricks and evasions, but that now, when he sorely needed one of them to serve his present occasions, they were all exhausted or worn out. Gibson caught the spirit of the passage: "omnis ei angulus tentandus est," Earle, who also compares Chaucer, Romaunt of Rose, 3263:

'So moche tresoun is in his male.'

So in Orkn. Saga, Earl Hakon is called 'fésjóðr fólginis glæps,' 'a very purse (or treasury) of secret wickedness,' p. 360.

nu hem behofeð Cristes helpe] As the help came the very next year, we see how strictly contemporary this writing is.

1132. faren ut of lande] According to Hugo Candidus, p. 75, he recovered his abbey of St. Jean d'Angely, but died soon after. He says he made a good end, and that he was at any rate liberal in alms-giving.

'With this annal begins the final continuator. . . His work has not much chronological arrangement, but it is full of vigour, earnestness, and pathos. The language is very rude. Saxon seems now to have reached the lowest stage of decline at which written literature is possible. But it is just this combination of the feeble with the strong, decrepit language

Contem-
porary
writing.
Fate of
Abbot
Henry.

The last
continua-
tor.

with indignant patriotism, that, while it cripples the narrative, enforces the lamentation, and makes us regard it with tenderness and reverence.' Against this well-weighed judgement of Professor Earle, p. 260, Mr. Freeman's declamation about 'all the matchless strength of our ancient tongue' will not count for very much, F. N. C. v. 284.

1135. On *pis gære for se king*] Henry really left England at Lammas, 1133, and never returned to it again. And there was an eclipse of the sun at noon on Aug. 2, 1133; but the chronicler, having omitted all events under 1133, brings the eclipse into closer and more dramatic relation with Henry's death than the facts warrant. Two days after the eclipse an earthquake occurred, Fl. Wig. ii. 93, 94 (who wrongly places the eclipse in 1132); W. M. ii. 535-537; Liebermann, p. 11.

On Henry's death, character, and burial, see further H. H. pp. 254-258, 311, 312; S. D. ii. 285, 286; W. M. ii. 485-488; Hardy, Cat. ii. 7; Pertz, vi. 385, 392, 396, 451; F. N. C. v. 154-166, 239-242. Henry is a great hero with Ord. Vit. iii. 267; iv. 92, 95, 163-168, 237-239, 490 (where he is identified with Merlin's Lion of Justice); v. 53 ff.: 'gloriosus pater patriæ'; cf. *ib.* 196. Gaimar, *vr.* 6505 f., calls him

'li reis meillur

Ke unkes fust ne james seit.'

The Welsh chronicler's description of Henry is noteworthy: 'gwr nis dichawn neb ymoscryn ac ef, eithyr Duw e hun,' *i. e.* 'a man whom none could contend against but God Himself,' Brut y Tywys., p. 128.

p. 263. *pa westre sona pas landes*] This passage, which has troubled all editors of the Chronicle, myself included, has been definitely cleared up by an ingenious and quite certain emendation by Mr. O. F. Emerson, of Cornell University, which consists solely in a different division of the words: 'pa wes treson a pas landes,' *i. e.* 'then was treason in (a for on) these lands.' For a copy of the letter in which Mr. Emerson communicated this discovery to 'Modern Language Notes,' I am indebted to the courtesy of the writer. I may add that a MS. note by Prof. Earle in his own copy of the Chronicle, which he kindly placed at my disposal, shows that he had anticipated within one letter Mr. Emerson's conjecture.

bebiriend in Redinge] The Abbey of Reading had been founded by Henry himself, W. M. ii. 489; G. P. p. 193; Ord. Vit. iv. 467; v. 49 ff.; Liebermann, pp. 10, 11; Ang. Sac. i. 262.

In connexion with Henry's monastic foundations may be cited an extraordinarily Dantesque vision said to have been seen in 1141 by a monk of Bec, who had formerly been one of Henry's knights. To him Henry appeared, followed by a troop of demons, who cut him into minute fragments with their swords. Next a crowd of monks appeared with crosses and tapers praying for his soul; whereupon he was restored to his former shape and said: 'En uides frater quid paciar, quidque passurus sum pro peccatis meis usque in diem iudicii. Ecce quantum mihi conferunt monachi pro

Henry I leaves England for the last time.

His death, character, and burial.

A certain emendation.

Reading Abbey.

A Dantesque vision.

modicis beneficiis que illis contuli. His dictis . . . disparuit.' This story I found in a Cambridge University MS., Ff. i. 27, f. 219^a. I do not know whence it comes. We are reminded of the punishments of the ninth bolgia of the eighth circle of the Inferno, Canto xxviii.

Coronation of Stephen. on *mide wintre dæi*] The authorities vary as to Stephen's coronation day between Dec. 22, Dec. 25, and Dec. 26 (St. Stephen's Day; Cont. Fl. Wig.'s Dec. 20 is probably a mere slip for Dec. 22, as he says it was a Sunday, and Dec. 22 was a Sunday in 1135). See Dr. Stubbs in W. M. II. cxxxix; Sir Harris Nicolas, Chron. of History, p. 297. The former decides for Dec. 22, the latter for Dec. 26. There is a curious statement in Rudborne that Stephen reckoned his regnal years from 1136, and that in reckoning regnal years it was usual to neglect any period between the accession and the beginning of a new year, Ang. Sac. i. 284. The latter statement is very doubtful (see against it Theopold, p. 45, who shows that regnal years are reckoned from accession). But if Stephen was crowned on Dec. 25 or 26, and the year began with Christmas, then he would date his reign from 1136. Sir H. Nicolas' suggestion that Dec. 26, as the day of his name-saint, would be likely to be chosen is ingenious, though not of course conclusive.

Baldwin de Redvers. **Balduin de Reduers**] This rebellion belongs to the following year, 1136, as does the agreement with David of Scotland at Durham, which preceded it, H. H. pp. 258, 259; Fl. Wig. ii. 96, 97; S. D. ii. 287, 288.

it litel for stode] See on 1138.

Leap years unlucky. 1136] Of this blank year Ord. Vit. says: 'Hic tumultuosus annus uere bissextilis fuit; et tunc ultimus in ordine concurrentium bissextus cucurrit, ac, ut uulgo dicitur, bissextus super regem et populum eius in Normannia et Anglia cecidit,' v. 66. For the idea that leap years are specially unlucky, cf. *ib.* 78; iv. 464.

Stephen in Normandy. 1137. for . . . *ofer sæ*] He went in March and returned in December, 1137, Ord. Vit. v. 81; Fl. Wig. ii. 98; H. H. p. 260; W. M. ii. 543, 544. **his tresor**] About £100,000, W. M. ii. 540.

Arrest of the bishops. **gadering æt Oxene ford**] The council at Oxford, in which the bishops were arrested, was in June, 1139, H. H. pp. 265-267; S. D. ii. 301, 302; W. M. ii. 547-555. This quarrel with the Church was of course one of the main causes of Stephen's ill-success; it gave the signal for the civil war, and the arrest of the great administrative prelates paralysed the whole framework of government, S. C. H. i. 324-326; see, however, Round, G. de M. pp. 99 f.

Roger of Salisbury. **Roger of Sereberi**] He died Dec. 4, 1139. On his career and character, cf. W. M. ii. 530, 556-560; and see above on 1123.

Alexander of Lincoln. **Alexander þ of Lincol**] On him, see above on 1123. He died in 1148.

hise neues] '*his nephews*, i. e. two nephews of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. Gibson rendered "suum nepotem," and this has been followed by all after translators. Yet the words are distinctly plural, to a degree that admits

not of being rendered in [modern] English, as both the pronoun and the substantive have plural forms. Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, was nephew of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury; while the other Roger, the Cancellarius, was his nephew by courtesy, or as Malmesbury sets it forth, "qui nepos esse, uel plus quam nepos, eiusdem episcopi ferebatur," W. M. ii. 549,' Earle.

There was another nephew, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, treasurer of the Exchequer, and father of Richard, Bishop of London, who held the same office, and wrote the famous 'Dialogus de Scaccario.' On these two prelates, see Liebermann, *Einleitung in den Dialogus*, pp. 16-54.

he milde man was 7 softe 7 god] On Stephen's character, cf. Fl. Wig. ii. 106, 117; Pertz, xxiii. 836; Bouquet, xii. 554; S. C. H. i. 322. It is a tragic instance of what might have been a really fine character ruined for want of a little strength of will; a want which made his very virtues more harmful to others than the vices of men like Henry I or Henry II.

pa diden hi alle wunder, 7c.] The following description of the anarchy of Stephen's reign is more often quoted than any passage in the Chronicle, except perhaps the description of the Conqueror. On the general characteristics of the anarchy under Stephen, see Fl. Wig. ii. 96; W. M. ii. 544, 545, 560-562; Waltham, p. 41; Gesta Steph. pp. 96 ff., 106, 120, 121; Will. Neub. i. 60, 61; Pertz, vi. 386, 451, 452; xx. 259; Bouquet, xii. 125; S. C. H. i. 323 ff.; F. N. C. v. 242, 253-256, 283 ff.; Round, G. de M. ch. 9. With the adulterine castles in England, cf. the 'adulterina municipia' erected in Normandy on the death of William I, Ord. Vit. iii. 290. On the diabolical cruelty of the tenants of the castles, see W. M. ii. 563, 564; Hardy, Cat. i. 7; S. D. i. 153, 154, 163, 164; H. Y. i. 302-305; Misc. Biogr. p. 34. All these authorities, except the two first, are northern; and they hardly support Mr. Freeman's view that the north of England was comparatively exempt from the evils of Stephen's reign, *u. s.* pp. 283, 317. Many of the atrocities described are identical with those in the Chronicle. Cont. Fl. Wig. says that the disorder was specially bad in Wales, ii. 96.

p. 264. carlmen 7 wimmen] *i. e.* men and women. For carl = male, *c. N. E. D. s. v.*

ð lastede pa .xix. wintre] This shows that this description was not written till after the reign of Stephen was over.

æure um wile] *i. e.* 'æfre ymbe hwile' = 'from time to time,' 'at regularly recurring intervals'; so in the Lay of Byrhtnôð, line 271:

æfre ymbe stunde
he sealde sune wunde.

I owe this explanation to Professor Napier.

7 clepeden it tenserie] This word has been illustrated by Mr. Round 'Tenserie,' and Mr. Paget Toynbee in the Academy for July 11, 1892. The former writes: 'Tenserie . . . was a generic name for certain irregular exactions, both in Latin and in Norman-French. . . Pope Lucius II, in one of his letters, strangely confirms the accuracy of the Chronicle, writing that

“quidam etiam sub nomine *tenseri*arum uillas et homines suos spoliant”; while the great judicial *iter* of 1194 had for one of its chief objects an inquiry “de prisīs et *tenseriis* omnium balliuorum,” etc. (R. Hoveden, iii. 267). As for the Norman-French form, it is employed by Jordan Fantosme, who, writing of the burgesses of Northampton (1174), tells us that David of Scotland “ne pot *tenserie* de eus aver.” Mr. Toynbee shows how, starting from the Low Latin ‘tensare,’ ‘to protect’ (*v.* Ducange, *s. r.*) various words were formed, ‘tensamentum,’ ‘tenseria,’ &c., signifying protection, and hence, the feudal dues exacted in return for such protection; and that similar words ‘tenseamentum,’ ‘tensaria,’ of which Ducange gives examples, with the evident meaning of ‘rapine,’ ‘plunder,’ are simply the same thing looked at from the taxpayer’s point of view. See also Round, *G. de M.* pp. 414-416.

Attacks on churches.

circe ne cyrce iærd] For attacks on churches, &c., cf. *S. D.* ii. 305, 314 ff.; *H. H.* pp. 276, 277; *W. M.* ii. 540, 543; *Biogr. Misc.* pp. 43, 44; *Chron. Ab.* ii. 178, 190, 201, 207, 208, 210, 215.

Town and township.

p. 265. tun . . . tunsceipe] *Tun* is the village, *tunsceipe* the body of villagers (hence construed with a plural verb); cf. Bede: ‘heht ðone tunsceipe [uicanos] ealne ofslean, 7 þone tun [uicum] forbernan,’ p. 416. The words occur also in Edgar’s Laws, Thorpe, i. 274; Schmid, p. 198: ‘mid his tunsceipes gewitnyse . . . þæs tunes men.’

‘He was asleep.’

hi sæden openlice ƿ Xpist slep] ‘*They said openly that Christ slept.*’ Was it His poor friends or His proud foes that said so? The latter, it would seem, from the word “openlice.” But there are examples for both. Perhaps in some sense He admits it Himself: “Dormio sed cor meum uigilat,” *Cantica Canticorum*. When He slept in the ship all this was indicated, Ezekiel viii. 12, ix. 9; 2 Pet. iii. 4; Ps. cxxi. 4, Earle. Cf. *F. N. C.* v. 284, note; where it is pointed out that *H. H.* answers the question in one way, and William of Newburgh in the other.

Martin, Abbot of Peterborough,

Martin abbot . . . viii. dæis] As he was installed on June 29, 1132 (*v. s. a.*), this would bring us to Jan. 1155, which again shows that this sketch was not written down till after the end of Stephen’s reign; *v. infra*, under 1154. Also, as Thorpe points out, Eugenius did not succeed till 1145.

obtains papal privileges.

begæt thare priuilegies, 7c.] Similar papal privileges for Abingdon are in *Chron. Ab.* ii. 190 ff.; the reason there given for seeking them would doubtless apply to Peterborough also: ‘uidens . . . abbas . . . regis litteras ad munimen ecclesie, cui praeerat, modicum aut nihil proficere, quia propter regni discidium diuersi principes diuersis ducibus obediebant, et quod unus confirmabat alter irritum facere studebat,’ &c.

‘Wican.’

circewican . . . horderwycan] ‘Mr. Stevenson’s version of this passage was (substantially) right, but Mr. Thorpe has involved it in obscurity again. Mr. Stevenson has it: “privileges, one for all the lands of the abbacy, and another for all the lands which belonged to the [office of] sacrist; and had he lived longer, he intended having done the same for

the [office of] treasurer." These words "circewican" and "horderwycan" should be the offices of which we have the officers' titles, p. 262 m., "circeward and hordere," churchwarden and treasurer. And there is a passage in Ælfric, Hom. ii. 592, in which "wican" is used of ecclesiastical *offices* in general: "Hu mæg oððe hu dear ænig læwede man him to geteon þurh riccetera Cristes wican"; *i.e.* How can or how dare any layman appropriate to himself through the insolence of power the *offices* of Christ! Earle. In 1120 'wican' is found in a quite general sense; though there it means probably 'officers' rather than 'offices'; but indeed in both passages it might be taken either way without much affecting the sense; cf. Ormulum, Glossary, *s. v.* 'wikenn,' 'office, duty.' One motive for appropriating certain estates and revenues to particular offices within the monastery was to prevent these revenues from falling into the king's hands during a vacancy in the abbacy. In the reign of Henry II there was a suit on this very point between the monks of Abingdon and the receiver appointed by the Crown on the death of Abbot Roger. It was tried before the famous justiciar Ralph Glanville and other justices, and was decided in favour of the monastery, Chron. Ab. ii. 297 ff.; cf. *ib.* 237 ff. In the customs of Evesham it is ordered that if any of these offices become vacant they are to be filled up at once, 'ne aliquo casu in manum regis deueniant ipsa officia, albate forte decedente,' Chron. Evesh. p. 206. In 1229 the abbey did fall vacant, and the king took into his hands all the revenues, 'exceptis redditibus specialiter ad obedientias monachorum assignatis,' *ib.* 272. A similar appropriation was made at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, about 1130, Thorn, c. 1799.

Reason for appropriating special revenues to separate monastic offices.

Aldewingle] 'Aldwinkle, Northants, the birthplace of Fuller the Church historian, and of Dryden,' Earle.

winiærd] On the growth of vines in England, see my Bede, II. 5, 6. Vines.

On his time] The date is vague. The life of St. William, *ut infra*, p. lxxxix, places it in 1144; so do two Chronicles in Liebermann, pp. 48, 133; Ann. Camb.; Chron. Fiscannense, Bouquet, xii. 779; Chron. Petrob. (the last gives another case at Gloucester in 1161). Two other foreign Chronicles give 1146, Bouquet, xii. 783; Pertz, vi. 472. From a story in Richard of Devizes under 1192, it would seem to have been the natural thing to charge the Jews with crucifying any missing Christian child, Ric. Diu. pp. 59-64. The charge against the Jews of using the blood of murdered Gentiles, especially Christian children, for ritual purposes is as old as the time of Josephus, see his *Contra Apionem*, ii. 8; and has been more than once revived within the last ten years. In 1889 a formal work was published in support of the charge, and gave rise to a correspondence between Cardinal Manning and the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler, which was published in the daily papers of Feb. 7, 1890; while in 1892 a Jewish butcher, named Buschkoff, was twice tried on the charge of murdering a Christian boy, aged five, at Xanthen. The second trial was at Cleves in

Alleged martyrdom of St. William.

Common charges against the Jews, in ancient and modern times.

July, 1892, and resulted in a complete acquittal. See also an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, xiv. 753 ff. (1883). In the Middle Ages the charge was frequently made; and more than one child-saint owes his saintship to this legend; of whom St. Hugh of Lincoln is the best known through Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale*. Chaucer represents him as having his throat cut; but Matth. Paris says distinctly that he was crucified like St. William, *Chron. Maiora*, iv. 516-519. Many Jews were executed on this charge. This was in 1255.

St. Hugh
of Lincoln.

Other cases.

In Robert de Monte's *Chronicle* under 1172, 1177, alleged instances are given. Under the former date the case of St. William of Norwich is cited along with other parallel cases; and the paragraph concludes: 'et frequenter, ut dicitur, faciunt hoc in tempore Paschali, si opportunitatem inuenerint.' There is a chapel in the old cathedral at Zaragoza to a saint of this class, San Domingito (little St. Domenic); cf. also AA. SS. March, iii. 494 ff. For St. William the chief authority is his *Life and Miracles* recently edited by Drs. Jessopp and James, 1896; cf. also 'St. Hugh of Lincoln, an examination,' by Rev. A. Hume, 1849. Both St. Hugh and St. William are commemorated in Capgrave's *Noua Legenda*, and M. Francisque Michel published a collection of Anglo-Norman ballads on St. Hugh (1834). In a vision of the other world recorded by Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, xxvii. 84, 85, St. William of Norwich was seen in Paradise. See Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, pp. 31, 32.

Chronologi-
cal confu-
sion.

p. 266. 1138.] It illustrates the chronological confusion of this section of the *Chronicle* that the writer, after himself mentioning the date 1140 in the preceding entry, now goes back to 1138. For a good account of Scotch affairs, see John of Hexham in S. D. ii. 288-295. The agreement of 1136 'litel forstód,' *v. s.* It was only with the utmost difficulty that Archbishop Thurstan prevented an outbreak of hostilities during Stephen's absence in Normandy in 1137. In Jan. 1138 the Scots invaded Northumberland, but retired on Stephen's approach. After Easter they invaded England again, and ravaged far and wide until they were defeated in the battle of the Standard, near Northallerton, Aug. 22, 1138; cf. also H. H. pp. 260-265; Fl. Wig. ii. 111 ff.; H. Y. ii. 266; all these accounts give the credit of organising this successful resistance to Archbishop Thurstatu, of whom the last named says: 'fieri iussit in uis subterraneis quaedam instrumenta sonos horribiles reddentia, quae Anglice dicuntur *Petronces*, quibus resonantibus, ferae et caetera armenta, quae praecedebant exercitum . . . Dauid regis . . . timore strepitus perterrita in exercitum . . . ferociter resiliebant.' All these accounts agree with the *Chron.* in giving the chief command to William of Albemarle. Ailred of Rievaulx, in his monograph on the battle (Twysden, *Decem Script.* cc. 337 ff.; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxcv. cc. 701 ff.), endeavours to give the first place to his own hero, Walter Espee, the founder of Rievaulx. Peace was made in 1139, S. D. ii. 300; H. H. p. 265; cf. F. N. C. v. 263 ff.

Scotch
affairs.

Battle of
the Stan-
dard.

1140.] This entry is made up of notices of the principal events of Stephen's reign, thrown together with very little regard for chronology. I give a list of these events in the order of the chronicler, with dates and authorities appended. To deal fully with these notices would be to write the history of Stephen's reign.

List of
events of
Stephen's
reign.

Attempt of Stephen to seize Earl Robert, April, 1137, W. M. ii. 543.

Eclipse of the sun, March 20, 1140, *ib.* 562. (This is quite correct according to the table of eclipses.)

Death of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 21, 1136, Stubbs' Ep. Succ. p. 26 [ed. 2, p. 43].

Consecration of Theobald as archbishop, Jan. 8, 1139, *ib.* 28 [ed. 2, p. 45].

War between Stephen and Randolph, Earl of Chester, Dec. 1140, W. M. ii. 569; S. D. ii. 306.

Siege of Lincoln, Christmas, 1140 — Feb. 1141, W. M. ii. 569-572; S. D. ii. 307, 308; H. H. pp. 268 ff.; Ord. Vit. v. 125-129.

Capture of Stephen, Feb. 2, 1141, W. M. ii. 571, 572; S. D. ii. 308; Fl. Wig. ii. 129; Ord. Vit. *u. s.*

Arrival of the Empress Matilda in England, Sept. 1139, W. M. ii. 555; Ord. Vit. v. 121.

Her flight from London, June, 1141, H. H. p. 275; W. M. ii. 577, 578; Fl. Wig. ii. 131, 132.

Henry of Winchester goes over to her, March, 1141, W. M. ii. 573.

Siege of Winchester by Stephen's queen, Aug.—Sept. 1141, *ib.* 578 ff.; Fl. Wig. ii. 133 ff.

Capture of Earl Robert, Sept. 14, 1141, W. M. ii. 581; Fl. Wig. ii. 134; H. H. p. 275.

He is exchanged for Stephen, Nov. 1141, W. M. ii. 582, 587-590; Thorne, c. 1807.

Stephen and the Earl of Chester reconciled, 1142, Round, G. de M. p. 159.

Fresh quarrel, 1146, H. H. p. 279.

Oxford surrendered to the Empress, March, 1141, W. M. ii. 573, 574; but according to Fl. Wig. ii. 130, which seems more precise, May, 1141.

The Empress besieged in Oxford, Michaelmas—Advent, 1142, H. H. p. 276; W. M. ii. 593, 596.

She escapes to Wallingford, Dec. 1142, H. H. p. 276; W. M. ii. 595, 596; cf. Round, *u. s.* p. 199.

She retires to the continent, before Lent, 1147, Gervase, i. 133.

Normandy goes over to the Count of Anjou, 1141-1144, Art de Vérif. ii. 853.

Eustace marries Constance, the sister of the French king, Feb. 1140, Fl. Wig. ii. 125.

Death of Eustace, Aug. 1153, Gervase, i. 155; Liebermann, p. 82; R. de Monte, p. 176; S. D. ii. 331; H. H. p. 288.

Death of Matilda, Stephen's queen, May 3, 1152, Liebermann, p. 82; Gervase, i. 151; S. D. ii. 327.

Death of Geoffrey of Anjou, Sept. 7, 1151, R. de Monte, p. 163; H. H. p. 283; S. D. ii. 326.

Divorce of Louis VII and Eleanor, March, 1152, R. de Monte, p. 164; Gervase, i. 149.

Marriage of Eleanor and Henry, May, 1152, R. de Monte, p. 165; Gervase, *u. s.*

Henry comes to England, Jan. 1153, R. de Monte, p. 171; H. H. pp. 284 ff.

Peace made, Nov. 6, 1153, R. de Monte, p. 177; Bouquet, xii. 475.

p. 268. *makede pais*] 'Henricus . . . antiquam pacem reformat,' Pertz, vi. 456.

1154. *Stephne ded*] He died Oct. 25; there were rumours that he had been poisoned, Pertz, vi. 397, 407.

Fauresfeld] Faversham, Kent, founded by Stephen and his queen. It was completed in 1148, Gervase, i. 139, 151; Liebermann, pp. 81, 82; H. H. p. 288; S. D. ii. 327; Pertz, xx. 545.

Willelm de Walteuile] On his abbacy, see Hugo Candidus, pp. 89 ff. He was deposed by Archbishop Richard in 1175, *ib.* 94.

Death of
Stephen.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

These notes have already extended to such length, that I must not attempt to comment on the metrical Calendar in Appendix A. The Latin Acts of Lanfranc in Appendix B are, however, so directly connected with the Chronicle, that a few words must be said on them. On their source, see Introduction, § 97.

p. 287. Hoc anno] *i. e.* 1070, see above on 1070 A.

p. 288. abbate Scotlando] On him, see Ord. Vit. ii. 209; Thorne, cc. 1788 ff.

Secundo anno] Lanfranc was consecrated Aug. 1070. The second Lanfranc year of his consecration would therefore be Aug. 1071 to Aug. 1072. He goes to Rome. went to Rome in 1071, Fl. Wig. ii. 8; G. P. pp. 65, 66. On the two pallia, see above on 1022 D. The Council of Winchester was held at Easter, 1172, F. N. C. iv. 357 ff. On Osbern of Exeter, see G. P. pp. 201, 202.

p. 289. Tercio anno] Aug. 1072—Aug. 1073. The consecration of Peter of Lichfield was in 1072; cf. G. P. p. 308. The great moot on Pinnenden Heath is also placed by Freeman under 1072. Stubbs (I know not on what authority) places it in 1076, St. Dunstan, p. 144 note. (Is he confusing Bishop Æthelric's appearance at Pinnenden with his appearance at the Council of Winchester, 1076, when his *own* trial was finally determined? Wilkins, Concilia, i. 367.) On this 'famosa congregatio,' see F. N. C. iv. 364 ff.; S. C. H. i. 277, 278. Great moot on Pinnenden Heath.

Quarto anno] Aug. 1073—Aug. 1074. The consecration of Patrick was in 1074; see F. N. C. iv. 528, 529. The Irish call him Gilla Patraic; he was drowned in 1084, Four Masters, *s. a.* His form of profession is in Ang. Sac. i. 80; cf. Z. N. V. p. 214.

Quinto anno] Aug. 1074—Aug. 1075. For the Council of London, Council of see Wilkins, i. 363 ff. It was held during a vacancy of the see of London. Rochester, which proves that it belongs to 1075, as Siward did not die till that year.

Sexto anno] Aug. 1075—Aug. 1076. The consecration and death of Arnost, and the Council of Winchester, all belong to 1076.

Septimo anno] Aug. 1076—Aug. 1077. Gundulf was consecrated

March 19, 1077; cp. G. P. pp. 136, 137. The consecration of Ralph, Bishop of the Orkneys, by Thomas, Wulfstan, and Peter, was on March 5, 1077; see H. & S. ii. 162-164. On Gundulf, see Ang. Sac. ii. 271 ff.; Hardy, Cat. ii. 103, 104; Round, *u. s.* pp. 337 ff.

Æthelnoth
of Glaston-
bury de-
posed.
Attempt to
depose St.
Wulfstan.

Octavo anno] Aug. 1077—Aug. 1078. Æthelnoth of Glastonbury was said to have been a great dilapidator of his monastery; see W. M. Antiq. Glast. p. 324. After his deposition he lived at Canterbury, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 420. This may be the same council in which the attempt was made to depose St. Wulfstan, which was frustrated by the miracle related by Ailr. R. cc. 779-781. Wilkins places that event in 1078. It cannot be 1075 (F. N. C. iv. 381 note), as Gundulf is spoken of as Bishop of Rochester on the occasion, Ailr. R. c. 780.

Anno xi] Aug. 1080—Aug. 1081. The consecration of William of St. Carilef was Jan. 3, 1081.

Relations
of Lanfranc
with Ire-
land.

p. 290. misit . . . Donaldlo . . . litteras] Lanfranc's Epistle, No. xxxiii, Migne, Pat. Lat. cl. 532, 533, is addressed 'ad Donnaldum Hiberniæ Episcopum,' in answer to questions received from him. I am not sure as to the person meant; it may be Domnall O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel, who died 1098, F. M. *sub anno*.

Sexto decimo anno] Aug. 1085—Aug. 1086. Donatus appears as Donnghus, or Donagh O'Haingly, in Irish sources; he died 1095, F. M. *s. a.* He was consecrated 1085. His form of profession is in Ang. Sac. i. 81. The Council of Gloucester is the famous midwinter gemót of 1085-6, in which the Great Survey was ordered. All the three prelates here named received their appointments in that gemót, *v. s., s. a.* Their consecrations belong to 1086.

Feud at
St. August-
ine's, Can-
terbury.

Octavo decimo anno] Aug. 1087—Aug. 1088. On the death of William I and the accession of Rufus, *v. s.* pp. 275, 276. Godfrey of Chichester's consecration belongs to 1087, John of Bath's to July, 1088. Wido or Guy was consecrated on St. Thomas' Day, Dec. 21, 1087, Thorne, cc. 1092 f. It is difficult to make out the cause of the feud between Guy and his monks. Freeman says: 'he must have been nominated either by Lanfranc or by the new king,' F. N. C. iv. 413. Unfortunately both the Augustinian historians, Thorn, *u. s.*, and Elmham, pp. 345, 346, distinctly say that Lanfranc tried to force on St. Augustine's one of his own Christ Church monks as abbot, that the Augustinians resisted, and on exhibiting their privileges before Rufus, obtained from him licence to elect Guy, one of their own number, and that Lanfranc for some time refused to consecrate him, but eventually gave way.

Death of
Lanfranc.

p. 291. Nono decimo anno] Lanfranc died May 24, 1089. The Wido mentioned here as a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, must be a different person from the abbot, unless the Augustinian historians have very definitely lied. On the vacancy in the archbishopric, and the appointment of Anselm, see above, p. 280.

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EXPLANATION OF THE INDEX

Names printed in thick type occur in the Texts printed in Vol. I; names printed in small capitals occur only in the Introduction and Notes.

All names and forms of names which occur in our texts are included in the present index. Of course it is only as to the two principal texts **A** and **E** that the list is exhaustive.

It has not been found possible to indicate which of the various forms of a name occur in each separate citation as was done in the Glossary; but after each form an indication is given of the MSS. in which that form occurs.

One reason for this is that in many cases it is not the name but only the title of the person meant which is given. Thus Fulk V of Anjou is frequently mentioned, but his actual name, Fulk, only once occurs; elsewhere he is simply 'se eorl of Angeow.'

References to the texts are given in the same way as in the Glossary (See the explanatory note prefixed to the Glossary.) Where the notes are cited separately, the pages of Vol. II are given. A small Roman numeral preceded by the letter p, indicates the pages of the Introduction.

A dagger after a reference indicates that there is a note on the passage in question.

Facts contained in the notes are not included in the index where they refer directly to the passage of the text to which the note belongs; where they are not so connected they have been carefully indexed. For instance, on 1054 C, D, there is a long note referring to Macbeth, who is mentioned in the text. The facts in that note referring to Macbeth are not given in detail in the index, because it is assumed that the dagger following the reference in the index under his name will be a sufficient warning to the student to consult the note as well as the text. Statements relating to Macbeth occurring in other notes not directly connected with him are all given under his name. Without this limitation the index would have exceeded all bounds.

Entries in MS. F are not indexed, unless either in form or substance they add something to those contained in the other texts.

Names which occur only in genealogies are marked with a †; those which occur only in charters are marked with a ||.

Only those forms of names which actually occur in our texts are given. There can therefore be no question of phonological consistency, for the scribes are not consistent. Even if we limit ourselves to the first scribe of the oldest MS., A, we find the same names spelt differently; thus we have Eadbald and Edbald, Eadwine and Edwine, Ealchstan and Ealhstan, Egferþ and Egferþ, Gewis and Giwis, Gleawanceaster and Gleaweceaster, Hreopedun and Hreopadun, Norðhymbre and Norðanhymbre. In the very same annal (694A) we find Erconbryht and Arcenbryht; so Wyhtlæg and Wihltæg (755A). Those forms which do occur I have tried to arrange consistently; but I shall be neither surprised nor greatly concerned to find that I have not wholly succeeded. The order is strictly alphabetical, and abundant cross references are given to facilitate research.

Persons bearing the same name are arranged (with few exceptions) chronologically.

To save space a few abbreviations are used: bp. abp., for bishop, archbishop; dr. for daughter, &c.

Where the identification of place-names is uncertain, the authorities for the various views which have been held are sometimes cited under the following abbreviations: Ca. = Camden's *Britannia*; Ea. = Earle; Fr. = Freeman; Gi. = Gibson; I. = Ingram; P. = Pearson, *Historical Maps*; R. = Robertson, *E. K. S.*; S. = W. H. Stevenson, in *New Oxford Historical Atlas*; T. = Thorpe.

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- Æpelwold (D), son of Ethelred I, seizes Wimborne and Twinham, 901A, D†; joins the Danes in Northumbria, *ib.*†; abduction of nun by, *ib.*†; comes to Essex, 904A, D.; stirs up the Danes in East Anglia, 905A, D†; slain at the Holme, *ib.*†.
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- ALBANO**, *v.* Albin.
- Albanus**, St. Alban, martyrdom of, 286E, 283 a†; translation of, 793E†.
- Albemare**, **Albamar**, **Albemarle** *or* **Aumale**, dép. Seine Inférieure, Rufus wins castle of, 1090; William, earl of, 1138†.
- Albin**, Albano, S.E. of Rome, Walter, bp. of, 1095, p. 232†.
- ALBINI**, Aubigny, dép. Manche. Nigel of, *v.* Nigel.
- Albold**, abbot of St. Edmund's, formerly monk of Bec, 1114†.
- ALCHFRID**, son of Oswy, husband of Cyneburg, ii. 26.
- ALCHMUND**, son of Alchred, slain by Eardwulf, ii. 53.
- Alchmund**, *v.* Ealhmund.
- ALCHMUND**, father of St. Edmund of East Anglia, ii. 61, 62, 86.
- Alchred**, **Alhred** (E), **Alcred** (F), king of the Northumbrians, accession of, 765E†; expelled, 774E†; Osred, son of, 789E.
- ALCUIN**, pupil of abp. Ethelbert, ii. 52; superintends the building of York Cathedral, *ib.*; master of the monastic school, and librarian. *ib.*; sent to Rome for Eanbald I's pallium, ii. 55; his relations with Charlemagne, ii. 55, 56; goes to Rome with Ethelbert, ii. 56; leaves England finally, ii. 62; letters of, to Æthelthryth, queen of the Northumbrians, ii. 49; to Eanbald II, ii. 52, 65; to Ethelbert of Hexham, ii. 54; to Offa, ii. 57, 63; to Egferth, ii. 57; to Æthelheard of Canterbury, ii. 61, 66; to Ethelred of Northumbria, ii. 61-63; to Ælfæd, ii. 62; to Higbald of Lindisfarne, *ib.*; poem on the destruction of Lindisfarne, *ib.*; to the bps. of Britain, *ib.*; to Charlemagne, ii. 63, 65; to Osbald, ii. 63; to Cenwulf, *ib.*; to monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, ii. 64; to Arno of Salzburg, ii. 64; to the clergy of York, ii. 65; to Leo III, ii. 65,

- 66; to Tidfrith of Dunwich, ii. 66; to Cynebert of Winchester, ii. 66; present at the northern legatine synod, Addenda.
- Aldberht**, abbot of Ripon, dies, 788E; cf. ii. 56.
- Aldbryht**, *r.* Ealdberht.
- ALDERI**, William of, *r.* Willelm.
- Aldewingel**, Aldwinkle, Northants, rent of, recovered by abbot Martin from Hugh of Walteville, 1137, p. 265.
- Aldferþ (A)**, **Aldfrið (E)**, **Ealdferþ (B, C, E)**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his brother Egfrid, 685E†; dies, 705*†; Osred reigns seven years after, 716*†; husband of Cuthburg, 718*†.
- †**Aldhelm**, father of Egwald, son of Oega, 731A; cf. ii. 5, 6.
- Aldhelm**, bp. of Sherborne, dies, 709*†; is succeeded by Forthhere, *ib.*; West Saxon diocese divided between Daniel and, *ib.*†; his letter to Gerontius on the Paschal question, ii. 36, 37; spurious charter of, ii. 38; Faricius' life of, ii. 296.
- ALDRED**, dux, slays Ethelred of Northumbria, ii. 63.
- ALDRED**, earl of Bernicia, (?) son of Utred, ii. 195.
- Aldred**, *r.* Ealdred.
- Ald-Seaxe**, *r.* Eald-
- Aldulf**, bp. of Rochester, consecrated by Berhtwald, 727E†; one of Tatwine's consecrators, 731E.
- Aldulf**, *v.* Ealdulf.
- Aldwine**, bp. of Lichfield, one of Tatwine's consecrators, 731E.
- ALDWINKLE**, *r.* Aldewingel.
- ALDWULF**, bp. of Mayo, consecrated, ii. 55.
- ALDWULF**, dux of the South Saxons, ii. 72.
- Alein Fergan**, *i. e.* Alan Fergant, duke of Brittany, Brian son of, 1127.
- Alemannia**, Charlemagne traverses, 788E.
- Alexander**, pope, introduces holy water, 114E.
- Alexander**, bp. of Lucca, elected pope (= Alexander II), 1061D; Lanfranc and Thomas of York plead their cause before, 1070A, p. 206; i. 288; orders Lanfranc to assume the primacy, i. 287; Lanfranc writes to, i. 288.
- Alexander I**, king of Scotland, succeeds his brother Edgar, 1107†; dies, and is succeeded by his brother David, 1124, p. 254†; translates Malcolm III's body to Dunfermline, ii. 280.
- Alexander**, bp. of Lincoln, nephew of Roger of Salisbury, 1123, p. 253†; 1137†; goes to Rome, 1125; present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130; protects the monks of Peterborough, 1132; arrested, 1137†.
- Alexandria**, Cyril, patriarch of, 433E.
- Alfegus**, *r.* Ælfheah.
- Alfhun**, bp. of Dunwich, dies at Sudbury, buried at Dunwich, 798F†.
- ALFWARDUS** cognomento Longus, a follower of Dunstan, present at Ælfheah's translation, ii. 205; cf. ii. 266.
- Alfwold**, bp. of Dorset (*i. e.* Sherborne), dies, 978C.
- For other names beginning with Alf-, *r.* Ælf-.
- Algar**, *v.* Ælfgar.
- ||**Alhhun**, bp. of Worcester, signature of, 852E.
- Alhred**, *r.* Alchred.
- Aller**, Somerset, baptism of Godrum at, 878*†.
- ‡**Aloc**, father of Angenwit, son of Benoc, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- ALOST**, Flanders, William Clito wounded at, ii. 305.
- ALPHONSO VI**, *r.* Anphos.
- ALPS**, the, *v.* Munt.
- Alric**, son of Heardberht, slain, 798E†.
- ALSACE**, Thierry of, *v.* Thierry.
- ALTON**, *v.* Æþelingaden.
- Aluearnie**, Auvergne, thieves from, plunder Peterborough, 1102†.
- Alured**, *v.* Ælfred.
- ‡**Alweo**, father of Æthelbald, son of Eawa, 716A; cf. ii. 6.

Alwold, *v.* Ælf.

Amalri, Hamalri, of Mundford, *i. e.* Amaury IV, count of Montfort, rebels against Henry I, 1123, p. 253; defeated, 1124; steward (*i. e.* seneschal) of France, *ib.* (cf. Art de Vérif. ii. 677).

Ambresbyri, Amesbury, Wilts., Ælfric elected to Canterbury at, 995F; monastery of, said to have been founded by Ælfthryth, ii. 166.

AMIENS, *v.* Embene.

ANACLETUS II, *v.* Petrus.

Anagus, i. e. Angus, earl of Moray, slain, 1080D†; cf. p. xxxii.

||**Ancarig, Thorney, grant of, to Medeshamstead**, 656E, p. 31m.

Andefera, Andover, Hants, Ethelred stands sponsor to Anlaf Tryggvason at, 994E†; council at, under Edgar, ii. 154.

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Andred, the Weald, Kent and Sussex, Cynewulf drives Sigberht into, 755*; Limenemouth at the east of, 893A, 892E†; size of, *ib.*; cf. p. xlii.

Andredesceaster (E), -cester (A), Anderida, perhaps Pevensey, destroyed by Ælle and Cissa, 491*†.

Andredesleag (A), -leg (E), the Weald, Kent and Sussex, Ælle drives the Britons into, 477*†.

ANDREDESWEALD, ii. 11, 12.

Angæu, *v.* Angeow.

Angelcynn* (C, D), -cin (E), Ongolcynn (A), Ongel- (A), the English race, England, Britons ask help of the chiefs of, 443E, a; invited by Wyrtegeorn, 449E; Ceolwulf fights against, 597*†; school of, at Rome, burnt, 816*; Burgred of Mercia buried in church of that school, 874*; Marinus makes free the school of, 885*; all, outside the Danish

districts submit to Alfred, 886*†; not entirely ruined by the Danes, 897A†; Alfred king over, 901A; free from ravage under Edgar, 975E, p. 121; movements in, after Edgar's death, *ib.*†; Oslac banished from, *ib.* p. 122†; great famine in, 976C; chief witan of, meet at Calne, 978E†; Edward's murder the worst deed done in, 979E†; Ethelred crowned with joy of the witan of, *ib.*, *ad fin.*; murrain in, 986C, E†; Anlaf Tryggvason promises never to invade, 994E; all the Danes in, ordered to be slain, 1002E†; worst hand-play experienced by the Danes in, 1004C, D, *ad fin.*; severe famine in, 1005E†; Danes provisioned throughout, 1006E, *ad fin.*; naval levy ordered in, 1008E†; largest fleet ever collected in, 1009E; hopes of, deluded, *ib.* p. 139; abp. Ælfheah head of, 1011E, p. 142; witan of, meet in London, 1012E†; elect Edmund Ironside, 1016F, p. 148; Etric Streona deceives the people of, *ib.*D, p. 152; principal men of, slain at Ashingdon, *ib.*D, E; Cnut succeeds to the whole kingdom of, 1017E†; Danegeld throughout, 1018D, E†; famine in, 1096, p. 233.

Angelcynnslond (A), -land*, the land of the English, England, first Danish ships come to, under Beorhtric, 787*†; Egbert expelled from, 836*; large Danish army comes to, 866*†; troubles in, owing to the Danes, 1001A.

Angeli, 1130, 1131; *v.* Sçe Iohannes of Anieli.

†**Angelpeow**, father of Eomær, son of Offa, 626B, C; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.

ANGELY, *v.* St. Jean d'Angely.

†**Angenwit**, father of Ingui, son of Aloc, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5.

Angeow, Angou (1140), Angæu (ib.), Anjou, earl of, *i. e.* Fulk V, 1110†; 1111; 1112; 1118; 1119; 1121; 1123; 1124; 1127 (4 times); Matilda, countess of,

- 1140; Geoffrey, earl of, *ib.*, pp. 267, 268; Henry, *ib.*
- Angle**, (i) the Angles, the Britons send to, for help, 443E, a†; further influx of, 449E, a; one of three invading tribes, *ib.*; dwelt between the Jutes and (Old) Saxons, *ib.*; East Angles, Middle Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians derived from, *ib.*; (ii) the English, Edgar, ruler of, 975E; Hardacnut received by, 1039E; *v.* Engle.
- Angleseg**, Anglesey, Hugh of Montgomery slain in, 1098†.
- Angli**, *v.* Engle.
- ANGLO-SAXON**, ousted by Latin in historical writing, pp. xxxvii, xliv; knowledge of, in Middle Ages, p. xliv.
- ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES**, *v.* Chronicles, the Anglo-Saxon.
- Angou**, *v.* Angeow.
- ANGUS**, *v.* Anagus.
- Anieli**, *v.* Sċe Iohannes of Anieli.
- ANJOU**, *v.* Angeow.
- Anlaf the Black**, slain, 911B, C.
- Anlaf**, son of Guthfrith *or* Godfrey, Danish king, (?) fights at Brunanburh, 937A, pp. 108, 109†; (?) elected king in Northumbria, 941D†; dies, 942E†; *cf.* ii. 144.
- Anlaf (A, B, D), Onlaf (C)**, son of Sitric (944A), Danish king, (?) fights at Brunanburh, 937A, pp. 108, 109†; (?) elected king in Northumbria, 941D†; captures Tamworth, 943D†; besieged by Edmund at Leicester, but escapes, *ib.*; makes peace with Edmund, and becomes his godson, *ib.*; *cf.* 942A†; son-in-law of Constantine of Scotland, ii. 140, 141; expelled by Edmund, 944A†; called Cwiran (Cuaran), 949E†; comes back to Northumberland, *ib.*; expelled, 952E; dies in 980, ii. 143.
- Anlaf (E), Anelaf (F), Unlaf (A)**, *i. e.* Olaf Tryggvason, king of Norway, invades England, 993A, 994E†; Ethelred sends to, and stands sponsor to, *ib.*†; promises not to invade England again, *ib.*;
- his famous ship, the Long Serpent, Addenda to ii. 186.
- Anna (E), Onna (A)**, king of the East Angles, father of Sexburg, 639E; slain, 654A, 653E; Æthelhere, brother of, 654E.
- ANNALES ROTOMAGENSES**, *v.* Roðem.
- ANNALES UTICENSES**, *v.* Sċe Ebrouli.
- ANNALS OF ST. NEOT**, *v.* Neot.
- ANNALS OF WAVERLEY**, *v.* Waverley.
- Anphos**, *i. e.* Alphonso VI of Castile, his wars with the Moors, 1086 [1087], p. 221†.
- Ansealm, Anselm**, abp. of Canterbury, previously abbot of Bec, appointed, 1093†; i. 292; pallium sent to, 1095, p. 232; goes abroad, 1097†; recalled by Henry I, 1100, p. 236; marries him to Edith-Matilda, *ib.*†; holds a synod at Westminster, 1102†; goes to Rome by arrangement with Henry I, 1103†; dies, 1109†; abbot Anselm nephew of, 1115†; conduct of William of St. Carilef to, ii. 277; letter of Henry I to, after Tinchebray, ii. 290; reconciliation of Henry I with, ii. 290; makes Ernulf prior of Canterbury, ii. 291; Thomas II, of York, professes obedience to, *ib.*; William of Curboil a friend of, ii. 299; laws of, renewed, 1125.
- Ansealm, Anselm**, abbot of St. Sabas, Rome, nephew of abp. Anselm, brings pallium to abp. Ralph, 1115†; abbot of St. Edmund's, goes to Rome, 1123, p. 252†.
- ANSIAN**, a herd, slays Sigberht, ii. 44.
- Antiochia**, Antioch of Syria, St. Peter bishop of, 35*; Ignatius, *q. v.*
- ANTIPAS**, *v.* Herodes.
- Antipater**, father of Herod, 11a.
- Antoninus (Pius)**, Roman emperor, accession of, 137F.
- Antonius**, sub-prior of Christ Church, made prior of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, i. 292.
- Anwynd (A), Anwend (E)**, Danish king, 875*.
- Apulder**, Appledore, Kent, the

- Danes fortify themselves at, 893A, 892E; 894A, p. 86; cf. ii. 107.
- APULIA, *v.* Puille.
- AQUAE, Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle, Baldwin submits to the emperor at, ii. 229.
- AQUITAINE, Carloman, king of, ii. 97; Auvergne a fief of the duchy of, ii. 289; dukes of, ii. 304.
- Arcebryht, *v.* Ercenberht.
- ARCHENFIELD, *v.* Ircingafeld.
- Archilaus (A), Archelaus (E), succeeds his father Herod, 2E, 3A.
- Arelatense concilium, *i. e.* council of Arles, 311E.
- Arewe (D), Arwe (E), R. Orwell, Suffolk, the Danish ships enter, 1016D, E, pp. 150, 151.
- AREZZO, Tuscany, Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, comes from, ii. 295.
- Argentse, Argentan, *dép.* Orne, castle of, captured by Robert of Normandy and Philip I, 1094, p. 229.
- ARGYLL, Iehmarc possibly prince in, ii. 207.
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- Armenia, Britons come from, E Pref. p. 3†.
- ARNO, bp. of Salzburg, letter of Alcuin to, ii. 64.
- ARNOST, *v.* Hernostus.
- ARNULF I, count of Flanders, protects Dunstan, ii. 150.
- Arnulf, *v.* Earnulf.
- Arnulf (III), count of Flanders, succeeds his father Baldwin VI, 1070E, 1071D, pp. 206, 207†; slain, *ib.* †.
- Arnwi, abbot of Peterborough, elected, 1041E; resigns, and survives eight years, 1052E, p. 183†.
- ARTHUR, wars of, ii. 13.
- Arundel, Sussex, Rufus lands at, 1097; Henry I besieges, 1102.
- Arwe, *v.* Arewe.
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- Ascanmynster (A), Axan- (E), Axminster, Devon, the Etheling Cyneheard buried at, 755*, *sub fin.*
- ASENDYKE, *v.* Esendic.
- ASHDOWN, ASHINGDON, ASHTON, *v.* Æscesdun, Assandun, Æsectun.
- Assandun, Ashingdon, Essex, battle of, 1016D, E, p. 152†; Cnut goes to, 1020D, E; consecration of minster at, *ib.* C, D†.
- Asser, bishop of Sherborne, dies, 910A, D†; relation of, to Florence of Worcester, pp. lxxxiii f.; ii. 97; to the Chronicle, p. lxxxiv n. Annals of, pp. ciii f.
- ATILA, *v.* Ætla.
- Ætelard, Ætelbald, Ætelhard, *v.* Æpelbald, Æpelheard.
- Ætelis, *i. e.* Adelaide of Louvain, married to Henry I at Windsor, 1121†; Godfrey, bp. of Bath, chancellor to, 1123, p. 252; returns to England, 1126.
- ATHELM, abp. of Canterbury, date of death of, ii. 133; translated from Wells, ii. 135.
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- ATHELNEY, *v.* Æpelingaeigg.
- Athelnot, *v.* Æðelnoð.
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- ATHELSTAN Etheling, son of Ethelred II, bequeaths Offa's sword to his brother Edmund, ii. 62.
- Æpelwald, -wold, *v.* Æpelwald, -wold.
- Ætelwulf, *v.* Æpelwulf.
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- Apulf, alderman, brother of Ealhswith, dies, 903A, D†.
- Apulf (D), Opulf (B, C), a Danish hold, slain, 911D.
- ||Apulf, bp. of Hereford, signature of, 963E, p. 117.
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- AUBIGNY, *v.* Albini.
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- Audoenus, bp. of Evreux, present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
- Augustinus (E, a), Agustinus (A, D, F), abp. of Canterbury, 995F, p. 130; sent to Britain by Gregory, 596E, 595a†; cf. 785E; 995F; M. 97 ff.; receives the pallium, 601*†; cf. 995F; con-

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- Autianus, archbishop of Rouen, at the council of Arles, 311E.
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- Badecanwiellon (to), Bakewell, Derbyshire, Edward builds a fort near, 924A.
- Badewulf. *v.* Baldwulf.
- Bægere, the Pavarians, defeat the Danes, 891A†.
- †Bældæg, father of Brand, son of Woden, A Pref. p. 2†; 547B, C; cf. ii. 5; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- Bælesme, Bælæsme, Bellême, dép. Orne, 1102; 1104; 1105; 1106; 1112; 1113; *v.* Robert.
- Bærnice, *v.* Beornice.
- Bagsecg, *v.* Baelsecg.
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- Baldewine, abbot of St. Edmund's, dies, 1098†.
- Baldewine, *i.e.* Baldwin VII (Hapkin), count of Flanders, succeeds his father, Robert II, 1111†; invades Normandy, but retires, 1117; wounded in Normandy, 1118†; dies, 1119†.
- Baldred, king of Kent, expelled, 823*†.
- Balduin de Reduers, rebels against Stephen, but submits, 1135†.
- BALDWIN II, count of Flanders, Addenda, p. viii.
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- ||**Barwe**, ? Barrow, Rutland, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
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- Bauaria**, Bavaria, Charlemagne comes to the borders of, 788E.
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- Bearddanig** (A), **Beardanigg** (C, D), **Bearðaneg**, **Barðanig** (E), Bardney, Lincs., Oswald buried at, 641E; cf. ii. 34; Ethelred of Mercia buried at, 716*; cf. ii. 35; granted to Medeshamstead, 675E, p. 371; Oswald translated from, to Mercia, 909C, 906D†.
- Bearn**, v. Siward.
- Bearrucscir*** (D), **Barruc-** (E), **Bearruh-** (D), Berkshire, men of, defeat the Danes, 860*; Danes ravage, 1006E, p. 137; 1009E, p. 139; 1011E; Hereman, bp. of, 1078D; fountain of blood in, 1008†; 1100†; 1103; alderman of, v. Æpelwulf.
- BEAUMAIS**, dép. Calvados, Richard de, v. Richard.
- BEAUMONT**, v. Belmunt.
- BEAUVAIS**, dép. Oise, Ernulf originally a monk of, ii. 291.

- ‡Beaw, father of Tætwa, son of Sceldwea, 855A†; cf. ii. 4.
- Bebbanburh* (a, D), Bebbā- (E), Bēbba- (E), Bamborough, Northumberland, built by Ida, 547E, a†; Oswald's hands preserved at, 641E†; Ealdred of, 926D†; cf. 924A†; captured by the Danes, 993E; Moræd of, 1093, p. 228†; siege of, 1095, p. 231; Robert of Mowbray steals out of, *ib.*†; surrender of, *ib.*; Alchred retires to, ii. 53.
- Becc (H), Bec (E), Bæc (E), Bec, Normandy, Anselm, abbot of, 1093; i. 292; Albold, monk of, 1114H†; Theobald, abbot of, 1140.
- Beda (E), Bieda (A), the Venerable Bede, dies, 734*†; his *Hist. Eccl.* cited, 995F†; obligations of the Chronicles to, pp. lxi, lxxviii, cxiii; ii. 6-10, 14, 15, 18-25, 28-36, 38-40; use made of, by compiler of MS. F, pp. xli f.; nature and influence of his chronological epitome, pp. xxi n., lxi, cxiii; omission by Chronicles of matter contained in H. E., p. xviii n.; Winchester and Durham group of MSS. of H. E. of, originate at Ripon, p. lxxi; relation of AS. version of H. E. of, to Chron., p. cvii; Wheloc's *editio princeps* of AS. version of, p. xxviii; AS. version of H. E. cited by Rudborne, p. xliv; testifies to existence of lists of kings, pp. cix f.; influenced by Canterbury, p. cx; ill-informed as to Wessex, p. cxi; MS. of his lives of Cuthbert, ii. 138; Felix wrongly made a member of the monastery of, ii. 37.
- Bedanford* (B), Beda- (D), Bedcan- (A), Biedcan- (E), Bedford, Britons defeated at, 571*†; chief men of, submit to Edward, 915D, 918A; Edward recovers and fortifies, 919A; Danes repulsed from, 921A; Thurcytel, abbot of, carries abp. Oscytel's body to, 971B; Danes come to, 1010E.
- Bedanfordscir (Beda-, 1016E), Bedfordshire, the Danes ravage, 1011E; Cnut marches into, 1016D, E, pp. 148, 149.
- Bedanheafod (E), Biedan- (A), Bedwin, Wilts., battle of, 675*†; cf. ii. 13.
- Bedcanford, r. Bedan-.
- BEDDINGTON, Surrey, bp. Æthelwold dies at, ii. 170.
- BEDFORD, &c., v. Bedan-.
- ‡Bedwig (Beowi, D), father of Hwala, son of Sceaƿ, 855B, C; v. ii. 4.
- BEDWIN, r. Bedanheafod.
- BELLÈME, v. Balesme.
- Belmont, Beaumont-le-Roger, dép. Eure, belongs to Waleran, count of Meulan, 1124.
- BELRAM, Walter de, *q. v.*
- BENEDICT BISCOP, founder of Wearmouth, grants of Egfrid to, ii. 25.
- Benedict (VIII), pope, receives abp. Æthelnoth and gives him his pallium, 1022D, E†; absolves Leofwine, abbot of Ely, *ib.*E†.
- Benedictus, Benedict of Nursia, his 'claruit,' 482F; his death, 509F†; cf. M. 40 ff.; his monastery destroyed by the Lombards, 596E; rule of, 1086 [1087], p. 219.
- Benedictus, *i. e.* Benedict VII, pope, dies, 983C.
- Benedictus, antipope, made pope, 1058D, E; sends Stigand a pallium, *ib.*†; expelled, 1059D, E.
- Beneficce (A), -fice (D), R. Beane, Herts., the northern fort at Hertford near, 913A, D†.
- Benesing, a Danish hold, slain, 911B, C.
- Benesingtun*, Bænesing- (A), Bensington or Benson, Oxon., captured by the West Saxons, 571*†; by Offa, 777*†.
- BENFLEET, v. Beamfleet.
- BENNINGTON, Long, Lincs., a cell of Savigny, p. xxxvi; MS. belonging to, *ib.*
- ‡Benoc, father of Aloc, son of Brand, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Beocca, alderman, conveys Alfred's alms to Rome, 888*.
- Beoferlic, Beverley, Yorks., bp. John buried at, 721E†; offerings of Athelstan to St. John of, ii.

- 138; abp. Oswald's mitre preserved at, ii. 176; cf. Derawudu.
- ||**Beonna**, abbot of Medeshamstead, grants lease of lands to alderman Cuthbert, 777E, p. 52 l.†; signature of, *ib.* p. 53t.; succeeded by Pusa, *ib.*
- BEONNA**, bp. of Hereford, perhaps identical with preceding, ii. 54.
- Beorcelea**, Berkeley, Glouc., district of, ravaged, 1087 [1088], p. 223†; Henry I spends Easter at, 1121; Ceolburg, abbess of, ii. 68.
- Beorgford** (A), **Beorhford** (E), Burford, Oxon., Cuthred defeats Æthelbald at, 752*†.
- Beorhhamsted**, ? Berkhamstead, Herts.; or, Berstead, near Maidstone, Kent, Edgar Etheling and others submit to William at, 1066D, p. 200 (cf. Addenda).
- Beorhsige**, *v.* Beorht-.
- Beorhtfrif**, Northumbrian alderman, fights against the Picts, 710*†.
- Beorhtnoð** (D, C), **Byrt-** (B), **Beor-** (A), father of Berhtsige, 905A. D†.
- Beorhtic** (A), **Byrht-** (836E), **Briht-** (E, F), **Breocht-** (E), king of the West Saxons, succeeds Cynewulf, A Pref. p. 4†; 784*†; descended from Cerdic, *ib.*†; *ib.*†; succeeded by Egbert, *ib.*; *ib.*; buried at Wareham, 784*: marries Eadburg, dr. of Offa, 787*† (cf. 836*); first Danish invasion in his day, *ib.*; dies, 800*†; combines with Offa to expel Egbert, 836*; not present at the legatine synod of 787, ii. 58.
- Beorhtsige** (D), **Byrht-** (A), **Beorh-** (C), **Byrh-** (B), son of Beornoth, slain, 905A, D†.
- Beorhtulf**, alderman of Essex, dies, 897A.
- Beorhtwald** (A), **Brihtwold** (E, F), -wald (E), abp. of Canterbury, succeeds Theodore, 690A, 692E† (cf. 995F, p. 130); English primates begin with, *ib.*†; formerly abbot of Reculver, *ib.*E; consecrated by Godwin of Lyons, 693E†; consecrates Tobias of Rochester, *ib.*†; and Aldulf, 727E; dies, 731*†.
- Beorhtwulf** (A), **Briht-** (E), king of the Mercians, expelled by the Danes, 851*†.
- Beorn**, Northumbrian alderman, burnt at Seletun, 779E†.
- Beorn**, earl of the Middle Angles, opposes the restoration of Swegen Godwineson, 1046^bE, 1049C, p. 168†; promises to help him, 1050D, p. 169†; goes with Godwin and Harold to Pevensy, *ib.*C, D, E†; Harold gives up his ship to, *ib.*E†; Swegen persuades him to accompany him to Edward, *ib.*C, D, E†; treacherously murdered by Swegen, *ib.*†; buried at Dartmouth, *ib.*C, D†; at Axmouth, E†; translated to Winchester, *ib.*C, D, E†; Swegen deserted after murder of, *ib.*C, D, pp. 170, 171†.
- Beorngar**, *i. e.* Berengar, markgrave of Friuli, contends for the Italian crown, 887*†.
- Beornhelm**, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, takes Alfred's alms to Rome, 890*†.
- BEORNHETH**, **BERNHÆTH**, Northumbrian leader, father of Berhtfrith, ii. 34-36.
- Beornice**, **Bœrnice**, the Bernicians, Bernicia, Eanfrid succeeds to, 634E†; Eata, bp. of, 678E; beginning of kingdom of, ii. 14; extent of, ii. 267; connexion of, with Wessex, ii. 6, 14. Kings of, Hussa, ii. 19; Æthelric, Ida, *q. v.* Earls of, *v.* Aldred, Eadulf, Eadwulf Cudel.
- Beornmod**, bp. of Rochester, consecrated, 802*†.
- Beornoð**, *v.* Beorht-.
- Beornred**, king of the Mercians, accession of, 755*, *sub fin.*†; expelled by Offa, *ib.*E, F.
- Beornulf**, wick-reeve of Winchester, dies, 897A.
- Beornwulf** (A), **Beornulf** (E), king of the Mercians, accession of, ii. 69; defeated by Egbert at Ellendun, 823*†; slain by the East Angles, *ib.*†.

- Beowi, *v.* Bedwig.
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 BERENGAR, *v.* Beorngar.
 Berht, Northumbrian alderman, slain by the Picts, 699E†; cf. ii. 36.
 Berhtin, Bertin, St., monastery of, at St. Omer, Grimbold a monk from, ii. 122; Athelstan's benefactions to, ii. 137; Edwin Etheling buried at, *ib.*; Dunstan stays at, on his way to Rome, ii. 154; liberality of Cnut to, ii. 203; Anselm received at, ii. 284; Lambert, abbot of, ii. 285, 291; Adalolfus, do., *q. v.*; Baldwin VII becomes a monk at, ii. 296; William Clito, do., 1128; dies and is buried at, *ib.*†.
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 BERKHAMSTEAD, *v.* Beorhhamsted.
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 Bernard, bp. of Wales, *i. e.* of St. David's, 1130; one of the consecrators of William of Curbuil, 1123, p. 252†; goes to Rome, *ib.*†; present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
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 Bleggent, brother of Gruffydd of N. Wales, set up as joint king in Wales, 1063D†; ravages Herefordshire, ii. 259.
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- to Cutlbert, abp. of Canterbury, ii. 42; letters on martyrdom of, *ib.*; ii. 53.
- Bosa, consecrated bp. of the Deirans, 678E; dies, 685E.
- Bosanham (C, D), Bosenham (E), Bosham, Sussex, Swegen Godwineson comes to, 1046^bE; 1049C, p. 168†; Swegen and Beorn come to, *ib.*C, D†; Godwin and Swegen come to, 1048E, p. 176†.
- BOSBURY, near Ledbury, Athelstan, bp. of Hereford, dies at, ii. 246.
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- BOSTON, *v.* Icanho.
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- Botulf (A), Botuulf (E), founds a monastery at Icanho, 654A, 653E†; life of, by Folcard, dedicated to bp. Walkelin, ii. 285.
- Botwine, abbot of Ripon, dies, 785E†.
- BOULOGNE, *v.* Bunne.
- BOURNE, Lincs., identified with Brunanburh by Sir J. Ramsay, Addenda to ii. 140.
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- BOWYER, keeper of the records, formerly owned MS. C, pp. xxix, xxxi f.
- ||Bradanea, -æ, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30b.
- Bradan Relice (æt), Reolice (D), Flatholme in Severn estuary, Danes starved out of, 918A†; Gytha, Harold's mother, retires to, 1067D, p. 202†.
- Braden (A), Bræden (D), Bredon Forest, Wilts., the Danes ravage about, 905A, D†.
- Bradford (be Afne), Bradford-on-Avon, battle of, 652A†.
- Bramtun, Brampton, Hants, Henry I spends Christmas at, 1121†.
- †Brand (A, B, C), Brond (A), father of Frithugar, son of Bældæg, A Pref. p. 2†; 547B, C; 552A; 597A; 855A; cf. ii. 5, 6.
- Brand, provost of Peterborough, made abbot, 1066E, p. 199†; makes peace with William, and dies, *ib.*; 1069E.
- BRANDON, R., *v.* Bradanea.
- Braus, Briouze, dép. Orne, Philip of, 1110; 1112.
- BRAYTON, near Selby, Yorks., Harold Hardrada leaves his ship at, ii. 255.
- Brecenanmere, ? Brecon, Æthelflæd captures, 916C†.
- BREDON, *v.* Breodun.
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- ||Bredune, Bredon, Leicestershire, in Peterborough Charter, 675E, p. 37m.†.
- Bregentford (C), Brægent- (D), Brent- (E), Brentford, Middlesex, Edmund defeats the Danes at, 1016D, E, pp. 150, 151; crosses the Thames at, *ib.*
- Bregowine*, Bregwine (F), abp. of Canterbury, 995F, p. 130; consecrated, 759*†; dies, 762F (i. 50 note); cf. ii. 60.
- BREMEN, Addenda, p. x.
- Bremesburh, Bromesberrow, near Ledbury, Herefordshire, Æthelflæd fortifies, 909D, 910C†.
- BREMULE, dép. Eure, battle of, between Henry I and Louis VI, ii. 927.
- BRENDAN, St., voyage of, ii. 104.
- Brentford, *v.* Bregent-.
- Breodun, Bredon, Worcestershire, Tatwine a priest of, 731E; Eanwulf, founder of, ii. 48.
- Breohtric, *v.* Beorht-.
- Breon, *i. e.* Brian of Brittany, defeats Harold's sons, 1068D†.
- BRESCIA, Lombardy, battle of, ii. 101.
- Bretene, Bretenlond, Brettas, Brettisc, Bretwalda, Bretwealas, *v.* Bryt-.
- BRETONS, the, *v.* Bryttas, Lidwiccias.
- BRIAN, *v.* Breon.
- Brian, son of Alan Fergant of Brittany, goes to Normandy with Matilda, 1127.
- Brieg, Bricgstow, Bricstow, *v.* Brycg.
- Bricius, St., massacre of Danes ordered on mass day of, 1002E†.
- BRIDGENORTH, *v.* Brycg, and Cwatbrycg.
- Briht, alderman of Egfrid, ravages the Irish, 684E†.

- Brihteh** (D, E), **Byrhteh** (C), bp. of Worcester, appointed, 1033 D†; dies, 1038 C, D, E†.
- Brihthelm**, 693 E; miswritten for **Dryhthelm**, *q. v.*
- BRIHTHELM**, bp. of London, ii. 153.
- BRIHTHELM**, bp. of Wells, nominated to Canterbury, but the appointment is cancelled, ii. 154.
- Brihtnoð**, a monk, made abbot of Ely, 963 E.
- Brihtnoð** (E), **Byrht-** (A), **Byriht-** (D), alderman of Essex, signature of, 963 E, p. 117; slain at Maldon, 991 E, 993 A†; Ælfæd, dr. of Ælfgar, wife of, ii. 147; resists the antimonastic reaction, ii. 163.
- Brihtric**, brother of Edric Streona, accuses Wulfnoth the South Saxon, 1009 E†; attempts to seize him, *ib.*
- Brihtric** (E), **Bryhtric** (D), son of Ælfheah, slain, 1017 D, E†.
- Brihtric**, *v.* **Beorht-**.
- Brihtwold** (D, E), **Bryht-** (C), bp. of Wilts. (*i. e.* Ramsbury), appointed, 1006 E†; dies, 1043 E, 1045 C, 1046 D†.
- BRIHTWOLD II**, abbot of Malmesbury, treatment of his remains, ii. 218.
- Brihtwold**, **Brihtwulf**, *v.* **Beorht-**.
- BRIOUZE**, *v.* **Braus**.
- BRISTOL**, **Bristow**, *v.* **Brycgstow**.
- BRITFORD**, *v.* **Bryt-**.
- BRITANY**, *v.* **Brytland**.
- Brittas**, **Brittene**, **Brittisc**, *v.* **Bryt-**.
- BRIXTON**, *v.* **Ecgbrightesstan**.
- BROCMAIL**, ii. 19; in Chron. miswritten **Scrocmail**, *q. v.*
- PROMESBERROW**, *v.* **Bremesburh**.
- BROMLEY**, Staffs., **Leofric** of Mercia dies at, ii. 247.
- Brond**, *v.* **Brand**.
- || **Brorda**, signature of, 656 E, p. 32b.
- || **Brorda**, alderman under Offa, grants Woking to Medeshamstead, 777 E, p. 53†.
- BROTHERHOOD BY COMPACT**, ii. 25, 26.
- BRUGES**, *v.* **Brycg**.
- Brunanburh**, position uncertain (see note), battle of, 937*†; Ælfwine and Æthelwine slain at, ii. 141, 142.
- BRUNEMUE**, ? Bournemouth, **Tostig** ravages, ii. 254.
- Brycg** (D), **Briçg** (B, C), **Brigg** (E), **Bridgenorth**, Shropshire, Danes fortify themselves and winter at, 896 B, C, D†; Æthel-fæd fortifies, 912 C†; Henry I captures, 1102; **Waleran** of Meulan imprisoned at, 1126.
- Brycg** (C, D, E), **Briçg** (C, E), **Brigg** (F), **Bruges**, Flanders, Ælfgyfu-Emma takes refuge at, 1037 C, E†; **Hardacnut** comes to, 1039 C†; sent for to England from, 1040 C†; **Gunhild** goes to, 1045 D; **Swegen Godwineson** goes to, 1045 E; **Baldwin** of, 1049 C, 1050 D; 1052 D, p. 175; **Osgod** leaves his wife at, *ib.* pp. 168, 169; **Swegen Godwineson** takes refuge at, *ib.* C, E, p. 171; **Godwin**, **Swegen**, &c., take refuge at, 1051 C, 1052 D, p. 176†; 1052 C, D, pp. 178, 179; **Godwin** leaves, but returns to, 1052 E; **Swegen** leaves, 1052 C, p. 182; **Charles** of Flanders murdered at, ii. 303.
- Brycgstow** (D), **Briçg-** (E), **Bric-** (1126), **Bristow** (1140), **Bristol**, **Harold** and **Leofwine** go to, 1052 D, p. 175†; **Harold** sets out from, 1063 D; **Harold's** sons repulsed from, 1067 D, p. 203; occupied by the rebels, 1087 [1088], p. 223; **Robert** of Normandy imprisoned at, 1126; **Stephen** imprisoned at, 1140.
- Bryhtric**, **Bryhtwold**, *v.* **Briht-**.
- Bryhtwine**, bp. of Wells, assists at the translation of **St. Ælfheah**, 1023 D† (*lis*); date of his death, ii. 208.
- Brytenland** (E), **Bryton-** (E), **Bretenlond** (A), **Bretene-** (A), **Britain**, **Julius Caesar** invades, B.C. 60 A; **Claudius** invades, A.D. 47 A; **Maximus** born in, 381 A, 380 E; Ælle comes to, 477* ; English invade, 979 E.
- Brytenwealda** (D, E), **-wald** (B), **-weald** (F), **Bretenanwealda** (C), **Bretwald** (A), list of **Bretwaldas**, 827*†; cf. ii. 11; **Alfred**

- and Edgar reckoned among, ii. 113.
- Brytford**, Britford, Wilts., Tostig with Edward at, 1065C, p. 192.
- Brytland**, Britain, Claudius invades, 46F.
- Brytland**, Wales; Ælfgar collects forces in, 1055C, D; Harold and Tostig invade, 1063D, E†; Portskewet in, 1065C, D; William I bridles with castles, 1086 [1087], p. 220; people of, ravage Worcestershire, 1087 [1088], p. 223.
- Brytland**, Brittany, William I invades, 1076E, 1077D; brings mercenaries from, 1085†; Alan Fergant, duke of, 1127.
- Bryttas** (E, B), **Brittas** (E, C), **Brettas** (A), **Britoni**, the Britons (once in the singular Brit, Bret, 491*), come from Armenia to Britain, E Pref. p. 3†; Julius Caesar defeats, B.C. 60A†; Wyrtegeorn, king of, A.D. 449A†; Hengest and Horsa come to help, *ib.*†; defeated at Crayford, and abandon Kent, 457*; Stuf and Wihtgar defeat, 514*; Cerdic and Cynric fight against, 519*; cf. 527*; Cynric defeats, at Salisbury, 552*; Cynric and Ceawlin fight against, 556*†; Columba comes to, 565B,C; defeated at Dyrham, 577*†; Ceawlin and Cutha fight against at Fethanleag, 584*†; hide their treasures in the earth, ii. 9; Alfred descended from, ii. 82.
- Bryttas** (C, D, E), **Brettas** (D), the Welsh, under Edwin, join Morcar, 1065D, 1064E; Edward Conf. rules over, *ib.*C, D, pp. 192, 193†; attack the castle-guard at Hereford, 1067D†.
- Bryttas** (E, D), **Brettas** (A), **Brittanes**, **Brytones** (F Lat.), the Bretons, St. Lo between the Franks and, 890*; defeat the Danes, *ib.*†; some of, join the revolt of the earls, 1075E, 1076D†; punished, *ib.*, *ad fin.*; hold Dol against William, 1076E, 1077D†; Athelstan gives help to, against the Normans, ii. 141; *v.* Lidwiccias.
- Brytten** (E), **Bryten** (A, a, C, E, F), **Britten** (E), **Breten** (A), **Breton** (A), **Britan** (F), **Brittannia**, Britain, description of, E Pref. p. 3†; languages spoken in, *ib.*†; Britons occupy south of, *ib.*; Picts occupy north of, *ib.*†; Scots occupy part of, *ib.*; Julius Caesar invades twice, B.C. 60E; Claudius invades, A.D. 47E; nearly lost by Nero, *ib.*; Lucius, king of, 167A; Severus invades, 189E; Roman rule ceases in, 409*; Romans hide their gold hoards in, 418*; Angles and Saxons come to, 937A, *ad fin.*; Hengest and Horsa come to, 449*†; Cerdic and Cynric come to, 495*†; Port and his sons come to, 501*; Stuf and Wihtgar come to, 514*†; Ethelbert of Kent, first Christian king in, 552F; great battle in, 592E; Gregory sends Augustine to, 596E, 595a†; Gregory sends pallium to, 601*†; Edwin rules nearly all, 617E†; great pestilence in, 664E; Theodore sent to, 668E; rain of blood in, 685F†; Edgar king over all, 958F; Cyneweard departs from, 975A†; Gregory arranges bprics. in, 995F; Jan. 6 called Twelfth Night in, M. 14; St. Gregory celebrated in, M. 40; Bartholomew celebrated in, M. 155; Augustine received in, M. 98; rests in, M. 104; king of Saxons rules throughout kingdoms of, M. 230; [no certain instance of the nominative occurs in our texts; in E Pref. p. 3, Brittene might be *nom.* in apposition to igland; it is more probably *gen.* depending on it.]
- Bryttisc***, **Brytisc** (E), **Brittisc** (E), **Brettisc** (A), **British**, one of the languages of Britain, E Pref. p. 3†; a B. noble slain, 501*†; a B. king, Natanleod, 508*†; a B. hostage, sole survivor of Cynewulf's followers, 755A, p. 48h.†.
- Bryttisc**, **Breton**, Ralph Guader B. on his mother's side, 1075E, 1076D.

- Brytwalas** (E, a), **Britwalas**, -wealas (E), **Bretwalas**, -wealas (A), the Brit-Welsh, Britons, fly before Julius Caesar, B.C. 60E; Lucius, king of, A.D. 167E; remain orthodox till Diocletian, *ib.*; Severus builds wall to protect, 189E; send to Rome for help, 443E, a†; 'naughtness' of, 449E, a; Cynric puts to flight, at Salisbury, 552A†; defeated at Bedford, 571*; driven to the sea by Ceutwine, 682*†; Cynewulf fights against, 755*.
- Bryt Wylisc**, Brit-Welsh, one of the five languages of Britain, D Pref. p. 3†; a B. hostage, sole survivor of Cynewulf's followers, 755E, p. 49h.†.
- Buccingaham**, Buckingham, Edward fortifies, 915D, 918A.
- Buccingahamscir** (D, E), **Bucinga-**(E), **Bucing-**(E), **Buckinghamshire**, Danes come to, 1010E; and ravage, 1011E; Cnut marches through, 1016D, E.
- BUELT**, Builth, Fernmail, king of, ii. 17.
- BUGGE**, dr. of Centwine, ii. 31.
- BULENDUN**, Rhys of S. Wales executed at, ii. 242.
- Bunne** (A), **Bune** (E), **Boulogne**, Danes embark at, 893A, 892E†; count of (*i.e.* Eustace III), 1096; 1100, p. 236; *v.* Adalolfus, Eustace II.
- Bures**, dép. Seine Inférieure, Rufus captures castle of, 1094, p. 229.
- BURFORD**, *v.* Beorgford.
- Burga** fife, *v.* Fifburga.
- Burghelm** (A), **Burh-**(E), alderman, slain, 822*†.
- Burgred***, -ræd (A), **Burhred** (E), **Burhcred** 868E), king of the Mercians, signature of, 852E; reduces the North Welsh with Æthelwulf's help, 853A, 852E†; marries Æthelwulf's dr., *ib.*†; allows the Danes to winter at Nottingham, ii. 86; invokes the aid of Wessex, 868*; expelled by the Danes, and goes to Rome, 874*†; buried in the English school at Rome, *ib.*
- Burgundia**, **Burgundy**, bp. Felix comes from, 636F Lat.; abp. of, *i.e.* Halinard, abp. of Lyons, 1046E, *ad init.*†; Mary, duchess of, ii. 21; Carloman, king of, ii. 97; Rudolf, count of Upper, ii. 101; Rudolf III, king of, ii. 206, 207; Gundobald, king of, ii. 283.
- Burh** (C, D, E), **Burch** (E), **Burhc** (1127), later name of Medeshamstead, *q. r.*, Peterborough, 656E, p. 33m.; 963E, *ad fin.*†; bodies of SS. Cyneburg and Cyneswith translated to, *ib.*†; called Gildeneburh, 1052E, p. 183; 1066E, p. 199; abp. Ælfric buried at, 1050C†; earl Ralph buried at, 1057D†; abp. Cynesige buried at, 1060D; *cf.* ii. 52; bp. Ægelric retires to, 1056D†; 1068D *ad fin.*, 1069E†; tower at, consecrated, 1059D; benefactions of abbot Leofric to, 1066E, p. 198; misery of, *ib.*, p. 199†; ravaged, 1070E, 1071D†; Turol comes to, *ib.*E, p. 207; plundered, 1102†; sorrow of monks of, at Ernulf's departure, 1114; monastery of, burnt, 1116†; *cf.* p. liv; strange appearance at, 1127, p. 258†; abbot Henry promises to live at, 1128; comes to, 1130; tries to subject, to Cluny, *ib.*; 1131; 1132; accuses the monks of, *ib.*; wants to make his nephew abbot of, *ib.*; goes from, to Normandy, 1131; forced to resign, 1132; Peter abbot of Cluny comes to, 1130; misery of, 1131; benefactions of abbot Martin to, 1137, p. 265†; abbot William comes to, 1154.
- Abbots of, Ealdulf, 992E†; Kenulf, *ib.*†; Ælfsige, 963E, *ad fin.*; 1013E, p. 144†; 1041E; Arnwi, *ib.*, 1052E, p. 183†; Leofric, *ib.*†; 1066E, p. 198†; Brand, *ib.*, p. 199†; 1069E; Turol, 1070E†; 1098; Matthias, 1103†; Ernulf, 1107†; 1114†; 1124, p. 254; John of Sézéc, *ib.*, p. 246†; 1115; 1125, p. 256; Henry of Poitou, 1127, pp. 257, 258†;

Martin, 1132; 1137, p. 265; 1154; William of Walleville, *ib.*†; Washington belonged to, p. lx; MS. E written at, pp. xxxv, xlv, lii, liv, cxxii; additions in E relating to, pp. xl, xlv, liii f., lv n., lvi n.; entries in D relating to, pp. lvii f.; Wulfstan educated at, p. lxxviii n.

BURLINGHAM, Norfolk, Robert Talbot, rector of, p. xxxi.

Burne, Eastbourne, Sussex (T.), Ernulf appointed to Rochester at, 1114.

BURTON, *v.* Byrtun.

BURY ST. EDMUND'S, *v.* Beadorices-wyrthe, S \ddot{c} e Eadmund.

Butsecarls, character of, ii. 239, 240.

Buttington, Buttington Tump, at the junction of the Wye and Severn, Danes besieged and defeated at, 894A, p. 87†.

Byferestan, Beverstone, Glouc., Godwin, Harold, and Swegen meet at, 1048E, p. 174†.

Bylgesleg, Billingsley, Shropshire, Harold makes peace with Ælfgar at, 1055C, p. 184.

Byrhsige, *v.* Beorht-.

Byrhteh, Byrhtnoð, *v.* Briht-.

Byrhtmær, bp. of Lichfield, dies, 1039C†.

Byrhtic, Byrhtsige, *v.* Beorht-.

Byrnewudu, Bernwood Forest, Bucks., Danes ravage between Aylesbury and, 921A.

†BYRNHOM, father of Eanwine, and son of Bofa, ii. 50.

Byrnstan, bp. of Winchester, consecrated, 931A†; dies, 933A†.

Byrtnoð, *v.* Beorht-.

Byrtun, Burton-on-Trent, abbey of, held by Leofric, 1066E, p. 198; Nigel, abbot of, 1114H; Geoffrey, abbot of, *ib.*

Bysincun, Besancun, Besançon, abp. of, *i. e.* Hugues de Salins, 1046^bE†; Henry of Poitou tries to get abp. of, 1127†.

BYWELL, Northumberland, Egbert of Lindisfarne consecrated at, ii. 67.

C.

Several names beginning with C must be sought under K.

†Cadda, Cada, father of Cenberht, son of Cutha, 685A.

Cadwalla, CADWALLON, *v.* Ceadwala.

Caduugaun, nephew of Gruffydd son of Llewellyn, elected chief by the Welsh, 1097†.

CÆGINESHAM, Keynsham, Somerset, bp. Heahmund buried at, ii. 88.

CAELIN, Northumbrian form of Ceawlin, *q. v.*, ii. 5 note.

CAEN, *v.* Caþum.

Cære, R. Carron, Stirlingshire, battle between the Avon and, 710E†.

CAERLEON-ON-USK, Monmouthshire, Chester confused with, ii. 162.

CAESAR, *v.* Gaius Iulius.

Cæster, *v.* Ceaster.

CAITHNESS, Athelstan's navy reaches, ii. 138.

Calcedon, council of, 439E; 449E.

CALIGULA, *v.* Gaius.

Calixtus (II), Calistus (1124), pope, elected, 1119; holds the Council of Rheims, *ib.*†; consecrates Thurstan of York, *ib.*†; reconciles him to Henry I, 1120†; goes towards Rome, 1119; summons Thurstan to Rome, 1123, p. 252; gives the pallium to William of Curboil, *ib.*; dies, 1124, p. 254; letter of abp. Ralph to, ii. 264.

Caln, Calne, Wilts., witenagemót at, 978E.

Caln, *v.* Coln.

CAMBRIDGE, *v.* Grantebrycg.

Cameleac (A), Camelgeac (B, C, D), bp. of Archenfield, *i. e.* of Llandaff, captured by the Danes, and ransomed by Edward, 915D, 918A†.

Camermuða, miswritten for Tamer-, 997D.

†Camon (Cainan), 855A, B, C.

Campaine, Champagne, Odo, count of, 1096†.

Candidan, *v.* Condidan.

Caneganmerse (C, D), Caningan-

- (E), Canning Fen, Somerset. Danes ravage, 1010E, *ad fin.*
- Cantia, *r. Cent.*
- Cantwaraburh, Canterbury [the former part of the word appears as Cantwara-* (C, F, H), Contwara- (A), Cantware-* (C, D, F), Cantuare- (E, a), Cantuare- (A), Cantwar- (E, F), Kantwara- (E), Kantware- (A); the latter part appears in *nom.* and *acc.* as -burg (A), -burh (E), -byrig (E); in oblique cases, -byrig (C, E, H), -berig (A), -birig (C), -byri (A, D, a), -beri (E, F, a), -biri (F)], Deusdedit consecrated at, 655E; Medeshamstead subject to abp. of, 656E, p. 33†; abbot of M. to be consecrated by abp. of, 675E, p. 36m.; Theodore buried at, 690E; burnt, 754*; slaughter by the Danes at, 839C†; Danes make a breach in, 851*; abp. Ethelred comes to, 870F, i. 283; submits to the Danes, 1009E, p. 139†; besieged by the Danes, and betrayed by Ælfmær, 1011E† (cf. Addenda, p. x); desolation of, *ib.* p. 142†; Ælfheah's relics translated to, 1023C, D, E†; Ælfric of York consecrated at, *ib.* F†; Eustace of Boulogne comes to, 1048E, p. 172; Thomas of York comes to, 1070A; i. 288; is consecrated at, *ib.*, p. 206; *ib.*; church of, built under William I, 1086 [1087], p. 219; Anselm receives his pallium at, 1095, p. 232; see of, in Rufus' hands at his death, 1100; Ernulf to be consecrated at, 1114; abp. Ralph receives the pallium at, 1115; Thurstan's aggression on the rights of, 1119†; abp. William received and consecrated at, 1123, p. 252; John, archdeacon of, *ib.*; cf. 1114; John of Crema received at, 1125; (?) Constance, wife of Eustace, sent to, 1140, p. 267; Lanfranc comes to, i. 287; L. consecrates abbots and bishops at, i. 288-290; Odo of Bayeux comes to, i. 290; Lanfranc buried at, i. 291; citizens of, i. 291, 292; Walkelin and Gundulf come to, i. 292; Anselm comes to, *ib.* Abps. of, Deusdedit, 656E, pp. 30h., 32l.; Theodore, *ib.* p. 33m.; 675E, pp. 35b., 37l.; Æthelheard, 796F; Ethelred, 870a, F, i. 283; 888F; Plegmund, 890F; Wulfhelm, 925a†; 941a; Dunstan, 963E, pp. 115, 117; Living, 1013E; Eadsige, 1051D; Robert of Jumièges, *ib.*, 1050C, 1048E; Stigand, 1052E, p. 183; cf. 1053C, p. 184†; Lanfranc, 1070A, i. 287 ff.; Anselm, 1093†; 1097†; 1100; 1103†; 1109†; i. 292; Ralph, 1114E, H†; 1115; 1120; 1122; William of Carboil, 1123†; 1125†; 1129 (*ter*); 1140†; Theobald, *ib.*†; see also Ælfheah, Ælfsige, Ælfstan, Æthelgar, Æthelstan, Athelm, Augustinus, Beorhtwald, Bregowine, Brihthelm, Ceolnoth, Cuthbert, Felogild, Honorius, Iænberht, Justus, Laurentius, Mellitus, Nothelm, Odo, Siric, Siward, Tatwine, Wulfred; bp. of, always to be a monk, 995F; election of abp. of, disputed between the monks and bishops, 1123†. A school of historical writing at, pp. cx f.; influence of, on Bede, p. cx; the section 983-1018 of the Chron. probably written at, pp. cxvi, cxx n.; rights of, curtailed by Offa, ii. 56, 57; restored by Leo III, *ib.*, ii. 66; rapid succession of abps. of, ii. 173; head of St. Swithun said to have been taken to, ii. 183; garrisoned by Edward Conf., ii. 228; controversy between York and, ii. 264, 265, 274, 291, 294, 297, 300, 302, 303, 306; cf. i. 288; forgeries in interest of, ii. 259, 260, 264; Alexander of Lincoln consecrated at, ii. 301; Æthelnoth, ex-abbot of Glastonbury, lives at, ii. 316. Dean of, *v.* Wotton. St. Martin's, Godwin, bp. at, 1061D, E†; bp.'s see at, ii. 217. Christ

Church, abp. Ethelred a monk of, 870F, i. 283; history of, from Augustine to Ælfric, 995F; Ælfric expels secular clerks from, *ib.*; made abp. of, 996E†; Æthelnoth, dean of, made abp. of, 1020D, E†; Ælfheah's relics translated to, 1023D†; grant of Sandwich harbour to, 1031A†; bp. Grimcytel buried in, 1047C; abp. Robert installed at, 1048E, p. 172; Stigand holds the see of, 1053C, p. 184; Ægelric of Selsey a monk of, 1058E†; Osbern, do., *q. v.*; burnt, 1066A, 1067D, E†: cf. p. xxv n.; Ernulf, prior of, 1107†; Lanfranc receives primacy in, i. 287; L. received at, i. 288; Rochester given to Arnost in chapter of, i. 289; Maurice, bp. of London, gives gifts to, i. 290; rebellious monks from St. Augustine's committed to, i. 290, 291; Guy, abbot of St. A., flies to, i. 292; monks and prior of, intercede for rebels of St. A., *ib.*; Wido or Guy, and Norman monks of, *ib.*; Antonius, sub-prior of, *ib.*; monks of, transferred to St. A., *ib.*; MS. F belonged to, pp. xxxvi, xcvi, cxxii; MS. I belonged to, p. xxxvii; MS. A transferred from Winchester to, pp. xxvii, xcvi ff., c, cxviii; MS. of Chron. lent by St. Augustine's to, pp. xcvi f.; catalogue of Library of, p. xcvi; influence of, on the Chron., less than that of St. Augustine's, p. cx; Henry of Eastry, prior of, p. xcvi; feud with St. Augustine's as to burial of abps., ii. 48, 50, 60; Felogild possibly abbot of, ii. 74; Athelstan gives a Gospel book to, ii. 141; Siric said to have expelled secular clerks from, ii. 173; Ælfwine one of the clergy of, ii. 204; Godric, decanus of, p. xxiv n.; ii. 205; possible coronation of Edward Confessor in, ii. 222; monks of, claim to elect the abp., ii. 299; Cnut's relations with, Addenda, p. x. St. Augustine's,

abbots of, Ælfstan, 1043^bE†; 1044E; Wulfric, *ib.*; *ib.*†; 1046^bE†; 1050D, *ad fin.*; 1061D, E†; Æthelsige, *ib.* E†; Scotland, 1086 [1087], p. 222†; i. 288 (*bis*); Wido, or Guy, i. 290-292; Iaenberht, ii. 50, 60; Wernoth, ii. 74; Beornhelm, ii. 102; Ælmær, *q. v.*; Forthred, not abbot of, ii. 67; monks of, receive Lanfranc, i. 288; abbot Guy installed by Lanfranc at, i. 290; monks of, refuse to receive him, and are sent to Christ Church, i. 290, 291; Ælfwine, prior of, i. 290; Antonius, prior of, i. 292; Alfred, a monk of, i. 291; restoration of monks to, *ib.*; plots against abbot of, *ib.*; Columban, a monk of, degraded at, *ib.*; renewed rebellion at, punished, i. 291, 292; tracts relating to, pp. xxvii, xcvi; formerly owned MS. B, p. xxix; first continuation of E written at, pp. xlvi ff.; cxxii; MS. of Chron. lent to Ch. Ch. Cant. by, pp. xcvi f.; influence of, on the Chron., greater than that of Ch. Ch., p. cx; privileges claimed for, ii. 30; feud with Christ Church as to burial of abps., ii. 48, 50, 60; rents left to, ii. 74; appropriation of revenues to monastic offices at, ii. 311; *v.* Dorobernia, Dorwitceaster.

Cantware* (a, C), Cont- (A), the people of Kent, Kent, derived from the Jutes, 449E, a; Augustine buried in, M. 105; exempt from rule of Edwin, 617E; Paulinus returns to, 633E; make peace with Ine, 694*†; fight with the Mercians at Otford, 773A, 774E†; Cenwulf of Mercia ravages, 796*†; Cuthred dies in, 805*; submit to Egbert, 823*†; had formerly belonged to his race, *ib.*†; slaughters by the Danes in, 838A; fight with the Danes at Thanet, 853A, 852E; purchase peace from the Danes, 865*†; fight with the Danes at the Holme, 902C†; cf. ii. 124.

- Kings of, Æsc, 488†; Ethelbert, 616*; 827*; Eadbald, 640A, 639E; Ercenberht, 664E; Egbert, 673*; Hlothhere, 685E; Wihtréd, 725*; Eadberht, 748*; Ethelbert II, 760*†; v. Baldred, Ædwine. Kingdom of, succession to, Ethelbert, 565E, a†; Wihtréd, 694*†; Athelstan, son of Egbert, 836*†; Ethelbert of Wessex, 855A†. Siric, bp. of, ii. 126; relations of, to Mercia, ii. 60, 61, 63-65, 70; changes in coast line of, ii. 105; Swegen alleged to have been made king of, ii. 178; abp. Ælfric bequeaths a ship to the folk of, ii. 186; v. Cent., Cantwic, v. Cwantawic.
- CAPGRAVE, JOHN, nature of his Chronicle, pp. xxi n., xxii, xliv, cxxvii.
- CARACALLA, v. Bassianus.
- Cardeol, Carlisle, Rufus rebuilds, 1092†.
- CARDIFF, Robert of Normandy dies at, ii. 302.
- Cariei (A), Caziei (E), Chézy-sur-Marne, the Danes winter at, 887*†.
- CARISBROOKE, v. Wihthgarburh.
- Carl (A), Karl (E), Carolus, king of the Franks, i. e. Charlemagne, accession of, 769E; his victories, 778E; passes through Alemannia to Bavaria, 788E; made emperor, 800E; punishes the mutilators of Leo III, *ib.*; crowned by him, *ib.*; makes peace with Nicephorus, 810E; receives ambassadors from Constantinople, 812E†; dies, 812*; son of Pippin, and father of Louis the Pious, 885A†; embassy of Alchred to, ii. 51; relations of Offa to, ii. 63; indignation of, against the Northumbrians, *ib.*; letter of Alcuin to, *ib.*; restores Eardwulf of Northumbria, his son-in-law, ii. 68; letters of, to Leo III, *ib.*
- Carl*, Karl*, king of the Franks. i. e. Charles the Bald, dr. of (Judith), married to Æthelwulf, 855*†; 885*†; Louis (the Stammerer), son of, *ib.*†; Louis (the German), brother of, *ib.*†
- Carl, king of the Franks, i. e. Carloman, king of Aquitaine, killed by a boar, 885*†; son of Louis (the Stammerer), *ib.*†.
- Carl*, Karl (A), king of the Franks, i. e. Charles the Fat; reunites the dominions of Charlemagne, 885A†; son of Louis (the German), *ib.*†; deposition and death of, 887*†.
- Carl, Karle, count of Flanders, son of St. Cnut, succeeds Baldwin VII, 1119†; Henry I makes peace with, 1120; murdered, 1127†; cf. ii. 215.
- CARLISLE, v. Cardeol.
- Carloman, king of Austrasia, letter of Stephen IV to, ii. 79.
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- CARRON, R., v. Cære.
- Carrum (æt), Charmouth, Dorset, Egbert fights the Danes at, 833*†; Æthelwulf fights the Danes at, 840*†.
- CASSEL, Flanders, battle of, ii. 266.
- Castles, building of, 1066D, p. 200; 1086 [1087], p. 220†; 1137, p. 264†; Wales bridled with, 1097†; 1114E, H†.
- ||Castra, Castor, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116; SS. Cyneburg and Cyne- swith buried at, *ib.* p. 117†.
- CASTRA, Chastre, Belgium, church of, consecrated by Godfrey, bp. of Bath, ii. 300.
- CATIGERN, son of Vortigern (Wyr- tegeorn), ii. 11.
- CATTERICK, v. Ceterecte.
- Capum (E), Kadum (A), (on), Caen, Lanfranc, abbot at, 1070A; i. 287; William I founds St. Stephen's at, and is buried there, 1086 [1087], p. 219†; captured by Henry I, 1105†; Rainald and William, monks of, 1114H.
- Caziei, v. Cariei.
- Ceadda, or Chad, bp. of Lichfield, consecrated, 664*; cf. p. lxxi n.
- Ceadwala, Cadwalla, i. e. Cadwal-

- lon, king of Gwynedd, slays Edwin and ravages Northumbria, 633E†.
- Ceadwalla**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Centwine, A Pref. p. 2†; descended from Cerdic, *ib.*†; succeeded by Ine, *ib.*†; son of Cenberht, 685A; Mul, brother of, *ib.*; aspires to the throne, *ib.**†; ravages Kent and Wight, 686*†; ravages Kent again, 687*†; goes to Rome, 688*†; his baptism and death, *ib.*†; cf. ii. 21; grant of, to Medeshamstead, 686E.
- Cealchyð**, ?Chelsea (see, however, ii. 70), contentious synod at, 785*†; synod at, in 788, ii. 58; in 789, ii. 47, 58.
- Ceardic**, A Pref. p. 2b., p. 4t. (*bis*), v. Cerdic.
- CEARDICESBEORG**, at Stoke, near Hurstbourne, Hants, perhaps the burial mound of Cerdic, ii. 14.
- Ceaster**, York, John, bishop of, 685E†; Wilfrid II, bp. of, *ib.*; Frithewald of Whithern, consecrated at, 762E (in plural, Ceastrum); abp. Ethelbert dies at, 779E†; v. Eoferwic.
- Ceaster**, *i.e.* Winchester, *q.v.*, secular priests expelled from, 964A†.
- Ceaster**, Cæster (1140), Chester, Hugh (of Avranches), earl of, 1094, p. 229; Richard, earl of, 1120; Robert Pecceth, bp. of, 1123†; i. 290†; Randolf, earl of, 1140; Peter, bp. of, i. 289†; v. Legaceaster.
- Ceasterford**, ?Chesterfield, Derbyshire, Danes attack Edred's rear-guard at, 948D†.
- Ceasterscir**, Cheshire, Robert, bp. of (*i.e.* Lichfield), 1085.
- Ceawlin*** (β), Ceaulin*, Ceawling (E), king of the West Saxons, succeeds his father Cynric, β Pref. p. 3†; cf. A Pref. p. 4; 685A; 688A; 855A; father of Cuthwine, A Pref. p. 4†; 688A; 728A; 855A; father of Cutha, 685A; brother of Cutha, 571E†; fights against the Britons at Barbury, 556*†; accession of, 560*†; fights against Ethelbert of Kent, 568*†; against the Britons at Dyrham, and Fethanleag, 577*†; 584*†; takes many towns, *ib.*†; retires in anger, *ib.*A†; expulsion of, 592*†; death of, 593*†; the second Bretwalda, 827*.
- ||Cedenac**, in Charnwood Forest, in Peterborough Charter, 675E, p. 37m.†.
- Celestinus (E)**, Cæl- (A), pope, sends Palladius (Patrick, E, a) to the Irish, 430*†; Council of Ephesus under, 433E.
- †**Celm**, A Pref. p. 4, miswritten for Celin, *i.e.* Ceawlin, *q.v.*
- †**Cenferp**, father of Cenfus, son of Cuthgils, 674A.
- †**Cenfus**, father of Ætscwine, son of Cenferth, 674A.
- †**Cenred**, father of Ingild, Ine, Cuthburg, and Cwenburg, son of Ceolwald, A Pref. p. 4†; 688A; 855A.
- ||Cenred**, miswritten for Ceolred, 852E†.
- Cenred**, v. Coenred.
- Cent**, Cænt (616E), Cantia, Kent, Ethelbert driven back into, 568*†; Mul burnt in, 685A, 687*†; ravaged by Ceadwalla, 686*†; 687*†; abp. Æthelheard dies in, 803E; Æthelwulf sent by his father to, 823*†; Sandwich in, 851A; treacherously ravaged by the Danes, 865*†; Lamenemutha in the east of, 893A, 892E; Edward collects a fleet in, 911A, D; men of, besiege Colchester, 921A, p. 102; the Danes come to, 1009E, pp. 139, 140; Edmund marches into, 1016D, E, p. 151†; Godwin ordered to, 1048E, p. 173; Odo ravages his earldom of, 1087 [1088], p. 223; kings in, Wihtrud and Wæbleard jointly, 692E†; Ealhmund, 784a, F†; Eadberht Præn, 794*†; abps. in, Laurentius, 616E, a (*bis*); Theodore, 686E; aldermen of, Ceolmund,

- 897A; Æthelwold, Ealhhere, *q. v.*; reeve of, *v.* Ægelric; satrap of, *v.* Ægelnoth; final conquest of, ii. 11; *v.* Cantware.
- Centbriht**, *v.* Coenbryht.
- Centingas**, the people of Kent, ravaged by the Danes, 1011E; won over by Godwin, 1052C, D, pp. 178, 179; *v.* East-, West Centingas.
- Centisc**, Kentish, *pa* Centiscan, the Kentish men, disobeys Edward's orders to retire from East Anglia, 905A, D†; defeated by the Danes, *ib.*†; the K. fyrd defeated by the Danes, 999E†.
- Centland (E)**, -lond (A), **Kentland (E)**, the land of Kent, abandoned by the Britons, 457*; Ethelred of Mercia ravages, 676*†; ravaged by the Danes, 994E; Cnut coasts along, 1015E.
- Centrice**, the kingdom of Kent, Eadberht succeeds in, 725a.
- Centwine**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Æscwine, A Pref. p. 2†; son of Cynegils, *ib.*†; 676A; accession of, *ib.**†; drives the Britons to the sea, 682*†.
- Cenulf**, abbot, slain, 905A, D.
- Cenwalh***, **Cenwealh (E)**, **Cynwalh (F)**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds his father, Cynegils, A Pref. p. 2†; 643A, 641E†; succeeded by his wife, Sexburg, A Pref. p. 2†; builds the (Old) Church at Winchester, 643A, 641E†; cf. 648F; expelled by Penda, 645A, 644E†; cf. 658*; baptised, 646A, 645E†; makes grant at Ashdown to Cuthred, 648*†; fights at Bradford-on-Avon, 652A†; at Penn, against the Britons, 658*†; Ægelberht leaves, 660*†; fights at Pontesbury, 661*†; dies, 672*†.
- Cenwulf***, **Cynulf (B, C)**, king of the Mercians, ravages Kent, 796B, C†; dies, 819*†; name of, on coins of Æthelheard of Canterbury, ii. 61; letter of Alcuin to, ii. 63; harbours opponents of Eardwulf, ii. 67; joins in expelling him, ii. 68.
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- ||**Ceolred**, abbot of Medeshamstead, lets land to Wulfred, 852E†.
- ||**Ceolred**, miswritten for Ceolnoð, in Peterborough Charter, 852E.
- CEOLRED**, bp. of Leicester, signature of (miswritten Cenred), 852E.
- Ceolric**, king of the West Saxons, accession of, 591E, a†; probably identical with Ceol, *q. v.*
- ‡**Ceolwald**, father of Cenred, A Pref. p. 4†; 855A; and son of Cuthwulf, A Pref. p. 4; son of Cuthwine, 688A; son of Cutha, 855A; brother of Cynegils, 688A.
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- Colman**, bp. of Lindisfarne, retires to his country, 664*†.
- Coln** (A), **Caln** (C, D), the Hertfordshire Colne, the Danes fortify themselves in an island in, 894A, p. 85†.
- Colneceaster**, Colchester, Essex, taken by the men of Kent, &c., 921A, p. 102†; restored by Edward, *ib.*, p. 103.
- Colon**, **Coln**, Cologne, bp. Ealdred goes to, 1054D†; (Hermann), abp. of, *ib.*†.
- Coludesburh**, Coldingham, Berwickshire, burnt by fire from heaven, 679E†.
- Columba**, abbot of Iona, comes to convert the Picts, 565B, C, E, a†; founds Iona, *ib.*†; an abbot, not a bishop, *ib.*E, a†; legend of, ii. 104.
- Columbanus**, rebellious monk of St. Augustine's, punished by Lanfranc, i. 291.

- Comets: 678*, August; 729*;
892A†; 905C†; 975*†; 995E;
1066 A, C, D†; 1097, Oct.;
1106†, March; 1110†, June;
1114, May.
- COMITATUS, bound not to survive
their chief, ii. 46.
- COMMINES, Flanders, Robert de, *v.*
Rodbeard.
- 'COMPATER,' meaning of, ii. 109.
- CÓNA, miswritten for the emperor
Henry III (*q. v.*), 1056C, D†.
- CONDÉ, *v.* Cundop.
- CONDIDAN (A), Candidan (E),
(Cynddylan), British king slain
at Dyrham, 577*†.
- CONIGREE HILL, Bromesberrow, ii.
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- CONISCLIFFE, *v.* Ciningesclif.
- CONMÆGL, *v.* Coinmail.
- CONRAD II (the Salic), Cnut present
at the Roman coronation of, ii.
206; called Cuana in Irish, ii. 247.
- CONSTANCE, sister of Louis VII,
marries Eustace, son of Stephen,
1140, p. 267†; comes to England, *ib.*
- CONSTANTINE, *v.* Costontinus.
- Constantinopolis, Constantinople,
council of, 379E; Nestorius, bp.
of, 433E; Nicephorus, emperor
of, 810E; Swegen Godwineson
dies at, 1052C, p. 182†.
- Contware, *v.* Cant-.
- COOKHAM, Berks., Wulfgeat and
Ufgeat blinded at, ii. 184.
- COQUET, *v.* Coket.
- CORACLE, exposure in, as a voluntary
sacrifice, as an ordeal, and as a
punishment, ii. 104.
- CORBEIL, *v.* Curboil.
- CORBRIDGE, Northumberland, bp.
Aldwulf consecrated at, ii. 55;
Ethelred of Northumbria mur-
dered at, ii. 63; Constantine and
Ealdred defeated by Ragnall at,
ii. 130.
- Corfesgeat (E), Corf- (F), Porta
Corf (F Lat.), Corfe, Dorset,
Edward murdered at, 979E†.
- Cornelius, pope, translates the
bodies of SS. Paul and Peter, 254E.
- Cornwealas (E), -walas (A, D),
the Corlwelsh, Cornwall, three
'Scots' land in, 891A; Danes
ravage, 997E; Living and Leo-
fric, bps. of, 1047D†; *v.* West
Wealas.
- Cosham, Cosham, Hants, Ethelred
lies sick at, 1015E.
- ||Costesford, in Peterborough
Charter, 675E, p. 37m.
- COSTONTINUS (A), Cosstantin (D),
Constantine, king of the Scots,
submits to Edward, cf. 924A†;
to Athelstan, 926D†; defeated at
Brunanburh, 937A, p. 108†; son
of, slain there, *ib.*†; defeated by
Danes at Corbridge, ii. 130; by
Athelstan, ii. 138; father-in-law
of Anlaf Sitricson, ii. 140, 141.
- Cottingham, Cottingham, Northants,
recovered by abbot Martin from
William Malduit, 1137, p. 265.
- COUTANCES, dép. Manche, Geoffrey,
bp. of, *v.* Gosfrið.
- COVENTRY, *v.* Cofantreo.
- Cradoc, son of Gruffydd of S. Wales,
destroys Harold's hunting-lodge
at Portskewet, 1065C, D†.
- Cræcilad, *v.* Creccagelad.
- CRAY, R., Kent, ii. 11.
- CRAYFORD, *v.* Creganford.
- Creccagelad (A), Creocce-, Cric-
(D), Crecalad (F), Cræcilad (E),
Cricklade, Wilts., the Danes cross
the Thames at, 905A, D; Cnut,
do., 1016D, E.
- Creganford, Crayford, Kent,
Britons defeated at, by Hengest
and Æsc, 457*†.
- CREDITON, *v.* Cridiantun.
- Crema, Crema, Lombardy, John of,
1125†
- Creocgelad, *v.* Crecca-.
- †Creoda, father of Cynric, son of
Cerdic, *β* Pref. p. 5; see ii. 4, 5;
855 B, C.
- †Creoda, father of Pybba, son of
Cynewald, 626B, C; 755A, *ad fin.*;
cf. ii. 6, 18.
- Crete, Crete, appearance of the
devil in, 431E.
- Crida, death of, 593*†.
- CRINAN, father of Donnchad *or*
Duncan, ii. 208, 243.
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- Etheling, retires to Scotland, 1067D†; takes the veil at Romsey, 1085^b, p. 217†.
- Cricgelad**, CRICKLADE, *v.* Creccagelad.
- CRIDIANTREOW** (really Criodan treow), Egbert moves against the Britons at, ii. 70.
- Cridiantun**, Crediton, Devon. bp. Sideman wished to be buried at, 977C†; Æthelgar, bp. of, ii. 148; see of, offered to Dunstan, *ib.*; Ælfwold, bp. of, ii. 185; Living, do., ii. 225; see of, transferred to Exeter, ii. 226.
- Crispin**, *v.* Willelm.
- CROMWELL**, THOMAS, abp. Lee intercedes with, for St. Oswald's, Gloucester, ii. 118.
- CROSS**, INVENTION OF, 200F.
- Cruland**, Croyland, Lincolnshire, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 177 *bis*; Leofric, abbot of, 1066E, p. 198†; Waltheof buried at, 1076E, 1077D; Ulfcytel, abbot of, i. 290; situated in the fens of the Gyrrwas, ii. 37; Felix, monk of, *ib.*
- Cu-**, *v.* Cw-.
- CUANA**, *v.* Conrad.
- CUDEL**, *v.* Eadwulf.
- CUERDALE**, on the Ribble, great hoard found at, ii. 141.
- ||**Cuggedic**, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 301.
- Cumbra**, alderman, slain by Cynewulf, avenged by a herd, 755*†.
- Cumbraland***, Cumber- (D), Cumer- (E), Cumberland, *v. e.* Strathclyde, ravaged by Edmund, 945*†; granted to Malcolm of Scotland, *ib.* A†; Ethelred ravages, 1000E†.
- Cumbri**, Cumere, use of the term, ii. 90; kings of, submit to Edgar, ii. 152.
- Cumberland**, *v.* Cumbraland.
- Cundop***, Cundot (F), Condé, dép. Nord, the Danes winter at, 883*† (miswritten Tundað, C).
- Curboil**, Curbuil, Corbeil, dép. Seine-et-Oise, William of, *v.* Willelm of Curboil.
- Cupa**, father of Ceolwulf, son of Cynric, 597A; cf. ii. 2, 4-6; 611B, C; father of Cadda, son of Ceawlin, 685A; brother of Ceawlin, 571E†; father of Ceolwald, son of Cuthwine, 855A; defeats Ethelbert of Kent, 568*†; defeats the Britons at Bedford, 571E†; dies, *ib.*; fights against the Britons at Fethanleag, and falls there, 584*†.
- ‡**Cupa**, father of Ceolwulf of Northumbria, son of Cuthwine, 731A; cf. ii. 5, 6.
- ||**Cuðbald**, made abbot of Medeshamstead in 673, 656E, *ad fin.*; grant of Agatho to, 675E, p. 36h.; signature of, *ib.*, p. 37b.
- Cuðberht**, St. Cuthbert, consecrated bp. of Hexham, 685E†; sanctuary of, violated, ii. 41; wanderings of body of, ii. 89, 90; appears to Alfred at Athelney, ii. 94; Wells Cathedral dedicated to, *ib.*; Sexhelm called bp. of, ii. 111; offerings by Athelstan to, ii. 138; by Edmund, ii. 145; MS. of Bede's lives of, ii. 138; grant by Thured to, ii. 159.
- Cuðbriht** (E), Cupbryht (A), Cutberht, Cuthbert (F), abp. of Canterbury, 995F, p. 130; consecrated, 741A, 740E† (miswritten Eadberht, E); present at council of Clovesho, 742F†; dies, 758*†; cf. ii. 60.
- ||**Cuðbriht**, alderman, abbot Beonna leases lands to, 777E, p. 521.
- Cupburg** (A), -burh*, daughter of Cenred, A Pref. p. 4†; sister of Ine and Ingild, married to Aldfrid of Northumbria, foundress of Wimborne, 718*†.
- ‡**Cupgils**, father of Cenferth, son of Ceolwulf, 674A.
- Cupred**, ? joint king of the West Saxons, son of Cwichelm, 648A; 661*; baptised, 639*†; grant of Cenwalh to, at Ashdown, 648*†; dies, 661*†.
- Cupred**, brother of Cenwulf of Mercia, made under-king in Kent, 802F; cf. ii. 65; dies, 805*†.

- Cupred, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Æthelheard, 741A, 740E†; A Pref. p. 4†; descended from Cerdic, *ib.*; succeeded by Sigbert, *ib.*; 754*; fights against Æthelbald of Mercia, 741A, 740E; 752*†; against the Britons, 743*†; 753†; against the alderman Æthelhun, 750*†; dies, 754*†; Cynric, son of, ii. 43.
- Cuðulf, *v.* Cūpwulf.
- Cupwine, father of Cuthwulf, and son of Celm (*lege* Celin, *i. e.* Ceawlin), A Pref. p. 4†; cf. 688A; 728A; 855A; father of Ceolwald and Cynegils, 688A; father of Cyneald, 728A; father of Cutha, 855A; defeats the Britons at Dyrham, 577*; cf. ii. 16, 17.
- †Cupwine, father of Cutha of Northumbria, son of Leodwald, 731A; cf. ii. 5, 6.
- Cupwulf (A), Cuðulf (B, C), father of Ceolwald and son of Cuthwine, A Pref. p. 4†; fights against the Britons at Bedford, 571A†.
- Cwantawic (A), Cantwic (E), St. Josse-sur-mer, or Étapes, slaughter by the Danes at, 839*†.
- Cwatbrycg, Bridgenorth, Salop, Danes fortify themselves and winter at, 896A†; *v.* Brycg.
- Cwenburh (E), Cuenburg (A), daughter of Cenred, A Pref. p. 4†; sister of Ingild and Ine, 718*†.
- C'WENTHRYTH, abbess of Winchcombe, dr. of Cenwulf, said to have murdered her brother Kenelm, ii. 69; her suit with abp. Wulfred, *ib.*
- Cwihelm (E), Cuicelm (A), death of, 593*†.
- Cwihelm (E), Cuicelm (A), king of the West Saxons, father of Cuthred, son of Cynegils, 648A; cf. 661*; fights against the Britons at Bampton, 614*†; against Penda, 628*†; attempts to have Edwin of Northumbria murdered, 626E†; cf. ii. 18; his baptism and death, 636*†.
- Cwihelmeshlæw, Skutchamfly Barrow, Berks., the Danes reach, 1006E, p. 137†; cf. ii. 23.
- Cwiran, *v.* Anlaf.
- Cymen, son of Ælle of the South Saxons, 477*†.
- Cymenesora, Keynor (Ca), Shoreham (I, Ea), Ælle and his three sons land at, 477*†.
- CYNDDYLAN, *v.* Condidan.
- †Cyneald, father of Æthelbald, son of Cuthwine, 728A.
- Cyneald, miswritten for Cynewulf, 779E, F.
- Cynebriht (E), -bryht (A), bp. of the West Saxons (*i. e.* Winchester), goes to Rome, 799*†.
- ||Cyneburg, Kynenburg, sister of Wulfhere, joins in his endowment of Medeshamstead, 656E† (cf. *ib.*, p. 311.; 675E, p. 37m.); present at the consecration, *ib.*, p. 30 h.; signature of, *ib.*, p. 321.; body of, translated from Castor to Peterborough, 963E, *ad fin.*†.
- Cynegils*, Kynegils (B, C, E), king of the West Saxons, nephew of Ceolwulf, whom he succeeds, A Pref. p. 2†; son of Ceolwulf, 676A† (cf. ii. 2); first Christian West Saxon king, *ib.* (cf. 635*); father of Cenwalh, who succeeds him, *ib.* (cf. 641E); and of Centwine, *ib.*; 676A; son of Ceola, 611B, C; father of Cwihelm, 648A; brother of Ceolwald, 688A; son of Cuthwine, *ib.*; accession of, 611*†; defeats the Britons at Bampton, 614*†; fights against Penda at Cirencester, 628*†; baptism of, 635*†; West Saxons converted under, 634E; grants Dorchester to Birinus, ii. 25.
- Cyneheard, bp. of Winchester, succeeds Hunferth, 754*†; cf. ii. 42.
- Cyneheard, a West Saxon Etheling, brother of Sigberht, 755*; Cynewulf tries to expel, *ib.*†; catches Cynewulf at Merton, and slays him, *ib.*†; slain by Cynewulf's followers, *ib.*†; cf. 784*†.

- Cynemæresford**, Kempford, Gloucestershire, alderman Æthel-mund defeated at, 800*†.
- CYNESIGE**, *v.* Kynsigæ.
- || **Cyneswið**, **Kyne-**, sister of Wulf- here, joins in his endowment of Medeshamstead, 656E† (cf. *ib.*, p. 311.; 675E, p. 37m.); present at the consecration, *ib.*, p. 30h.; signature of, *ib.*, p. 321.; body of, translated from Castor to Peter- borough, 963E, p. 117†.
- Cynete** (E, F), **Cyneste** (D), Marlborough, Wilts. (Fr.), Kint- bury, Berks. (Ea, S.), battle at, 1006E, p. 137†.
- CYNETHRYTH**, wife of Offa and mother of Egferth of Mercia, ii. 57.
- ‡ **Cynewald**, father of Creoda, son of Cnebba, 626A; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- Cyneweard**, bp. of Wells, appointed abbot of Milton, 964A†; departs as bp. from Britain, 975A†.
- CYNEWOLD**, bp. of Worcester, mission of, to Germany, ii. 122.
- Cynewulf**, West Saxon Etheling, slain by Ine, 721*†.
- Cynewulf**, bp. of Lindisfarne, consecrated, 737E†; resigns, 779D†; cf. ii. 42; dies, 782E.
- CYNEWULF**, poems of, ii. 55.
- Cynewulf**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Sigberht, A Pref. p. 4; descended from Cerdic, *ib.*† (cf. 755*, *sub fin.*); succeeded by Beorhtric, *ib.*†; deposes Sigberht, 755*†; drives him into Andred, *ib.*; fights with the Britons, *ib.*†; tries to expel Cyneheard, *ib.*†; visits a woman at Merton, where he is caught by Cyneheard and slain, *ib.*† (cf. 784*†); buried at Winchester, *ib.*†; fights with Offa for Benson, 777*†; Beorht- ric said to be brother of, ii. 56; conference of papal legates with, ii. 57.
- Cynewulf**, high-reeve 'æt Hela- byrnum,' slain, 778E†.
- || **Cyngesdælf**, King's Delph, Cam- bridgeshire, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, pp. 116, 117 *bis*.
- Cyngestun** (D), **Cinges-** (C), **Cyninges-** (E), Kingston-on- Thames, Athelstan crowned at, 924C, D; cf. ii. 133; Ethelred, do., 979C, E†; Edred, do., ii. 145; Edwy, do., ii. 149; Edward the Martyr, do., ii. 163.
- CYNOHT** (Kenneth), king of the Picts, Alchred of Northumbria takes refuge with, ii. 53.
- Cynomannia**, Maine, reduced by William of Normandy, 1062E; *v.* Manig.
- Cynric***, **Cinric** (β, E), **Kynric** (E), king of the West Saxons, son of Cerdic, A Pref. pp. 2, 4†; 495*; 552A; 597A; 674A; 685A; 688A; 855A; lands at Cerdicesora, A Pref. p. 2; 495*†; conquers Wessex, A Pref. p. 2†; succeeds Cerdic, A Pref. p. 2†; father of Ceawlin (Celm), *ib.*, p. 4†; 688A; son of Creoda, β Pref., p. 5; see ii. 4, 5; 855B, C; father of Cutha, 597A; 611B, C; father of Ceolwulf, 674A; slays Natanleod, 508*; assumes the kingship with his father, 519*†; fights against the Britons at Cerdicesford, *ib.*; cf. 527*†; captures Wight, 530*; sole king, 534*; grants Wight to Stuf and Wihthgar, *ib.*; defeats the Britons at Salisbury, 552*†; at Barbury, 556*†.
- Cynric**, West Saxon Etheling, slain, 748*†.
- Cynulf**, *v.* Cenwulf.
- Cynwalh**, *v.* Cenwalh.
- Cyrnceaster**, **Cyring-**, **Cyrn-**, *v.* Ciren-.
- Cyricburh**, Chirk, Denbighshire, Æthelflæd fortifies, 915C†.

D.

DACRE, Cumberland, Scots and Strathclyde Britons submit to Athelstan at, ii. 135; *v.* Eamotum.

- Dægsanstan**, probably Dawston in Liddesdale, battle of, 603E, a†.
- Dæl Reodi** (E), **Dælreoda** (603A), **Deolreda** (E), **Dalriada**, part of Britain colonised by the Irish, E Pref. p. 5†; cf. 603E, a.
- Dafenascir**, *v.* Defena-.
- Dærentamuða** (C), **Dertamuða** (D), **Dartmouth**, Devon, Swegen Godwineson murders and buries Beorn at, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 168, 169†.
- Dagobert** (III), king of Neustria, dies, 715F†.
- DALRIADA**, *v.* Dæl Reodi.
- Damasus**, pope, council of Constantinople under, 379E.
- DAMERHAM**, *v.* Domerham.
- Damfront**, **Domfront**, dép. Orne, Henry at, 1094, p. 229†.
- DANEGELD**, history of, ii. 174, 175, 219, 234.
- Daniel***, **Danihel** (A), bp. of Winchester, West Saxon diocese divided under, 709*†; holds one of the divisions, *ib.*†; goes to Rome, 721*†; one of Tatwine's consecrators, 731E; resigns, 744*†; dies, 745*.
- DARTMOUTH**, *v.* Dærentamuða.
- DAVENPORT**, Cheshire, ravaged by Sitric, ii. 129.
- Dauid**, king of Scotland, earldom of Northampton given to, 1114H†; succeeds his brother Alexander in Scotland, but continues to hold the earldom, 1124, p. 254†; received by Henry I, 1126; advises the transfer of Robert of Normandy to the custody of Robert of Gloucester, *ib.*; present at the court of Windsor, 1127; makes war on Stephen, 1135†; invades England, but is defeated at the battle of the Standard, 1138†; present at council at Roxburgh, ii. 302.
- DAWSTON**, *v.* Dægsanstan.
- Dearnerice**, **Deira**-, the kingdom of the Deirans, Osric succeeds to, 634E†; Oswine do., 643E†; beginning of, ii. 14, 15.
- Decanus**, monastic senses of title, ii. 203, 216.
- DEE**, R., Cheshire and Flint, Edgar said to have been rowed by subject kings on, ii. 162.
- DEERHURST**, *v.* Deorhyrst.
- Defenas*** (C, D), **Defnas** (A), the people of Devon, Devon, fight against the (West) Welsh at Gafulford, 823*†; Alfred engaged against the Danes in, 894A, p. 871.†; Danish ships ravage in, 897A, p. 901.; aldermen of, Ethelred, 901A, D; Ceorl, Ordgar, *q. v.*; Ælfgar, the king's relative in, 962A; coasts of, ravaged, 981C; Danes ravage, 997E; 1001A.
- Defenascir*** (D), **Defna-** (A, C), **Defenan-** (E) **Dæfenan-** (E), **Dafena-** (D), Devonshire, men of, defeat the Danes at Wicganbeorg, 851*†; Danish chieftain slain in, 878*†; Danes besiege a fort on north coast of, 894A, p. 86h.†; Sideman, bp. of, 977C†; Danes circumnavigate, 997E; Brihtric of, 1017D, E; Living and Leofric, bps. of, 1044E, 1047D†; Odda made earl over, 1048E, p. 177†; Harold ravages, and is resisted by men of, 1052C, D, pp. 178, 179; William marches into, 1067D†.
- Defenise**, belonging to Devon (cf. the family name Devenish), Goda, a D.thane, 988C, E†; D. folk, oppose the Danes, 1001E.
- DEFENSOR CLERI**, ii. 51.
- Deirarice**, *v.* Dearne-.
- DEMETICA REGIO**, *v.* Deomodum.
- Dene** (Deone, 1065 D), the Danes, English partly under power of, 901A; defeated by the English near Tettenhall, 910C, D, E; East Saxons and East Angles under, 921A, *ad fin.*†; Five Boroughs subject to, 942B†; victorious at Tamworth, 943D†; English and, agree at Oxford, 1018D, E†; Alfred Etheling's murder the bloodiest deed done since arrival of, 1036C†; Hardacnut received by, 1039E; Magnus received as king by, 1048D;

- Swegen Godwineson commits some crime against, 1050D, p. 169†; rule England, 1065C, D, pp. 194, 195†; not distinguished from Northmen, ii. 59; their 'uer sacrum,' *ib.*; their coming a divine judgement, *ib.*; Ethelwerd's account of their first coming, *ib.*; work of Egbert undone by, ii. 73; turning point in struggle of English with, ii. 129; power of, in Ireland, broken at Clontarf, ii. 193.
- Denemearce**, Denmark [the former part of the word appears as Dene- (C, D, E), Dæne- (E), Dena- (D), Den- (D, E), Dæn- (E); the latter, in *dat.* and *acc.*, as -mearcan (C, E), -marcan (E), -mercan (E), -mearcon, (E), -marcon (C, D), -marcun (E), -marce (E); the *nom.* does not occur], Danish fleet returns to, 1005E; part of Cnut's fleet returns to, 1018D, E; Cnut goes to, 1019D, E†; 1025E†; entrusted to Thurkill, 1023C†; Hardacnut in, at Cnut's death, 1036E†; he stays too long in, 1037C (cf. ii. 209); Gunhild goes to, 1045D; struggle of Swegen Esthrithson and Magnus for, 1046D; Magnus wins, 1047D†; Swegen returns to, 1049D; sends to England from, *ib.*; Swegen Godwineson goes to, 1050D, p. 169†; invasion of England from, 1068D, p. 204, 1069E†; Swegen comes from, 1070E†; some Danish ships come to, *ib.*, p. 207; Danish fleet returns to, *ib.*; 1071D, pp. 206, 207; revolted earls send to, 1075E, 1076D; fleet comes from, *ib.*; Swegen (Esthrithson), king of, 1076E, 1077D†; Harold, Swegen's son, do., Cnut, Swegen's son, do., 1085†; 1119†; revolution in, 1086 [1087], p. 221†.
- Denewulf** (D), Denulf (A), bp. of Winchester, dies, 909A, D†.
- Denisc*** (C, D), Denæsc*, Dænisc (D, E), Dænesc (E, p. 221), Danish, first ships of D. men come to England under Beorhtric, 787*†; D. 'here' defeated at the Parret, 845*†; Alfred's ships not built on D. lines, 897A, p. 90; D. fleet comes to Sandwich, 1006E; every D. king outlawed from England, 1014E†; D. men in Siward's army slain, 1054C; D. housecarls of Tostig slain, 1065D, 1064E; Christian, a D. bp., 1070E†; D. housecarls come to Ely, *ib.*; the D. men expect to defeat the Normans, *ib.* p. 207; quit Ely, *ib.* þa Deniscan, the Danes, victorious at Charmouth, 833*†; combine with the West Welsh, but defeated by Egbert, 835*†; defeat alderman Æthelhelm at Portland, 837* (*bis*); defeat Æthelwulf at Charmouth, 840*†; slay Edmund of East Anglia, and conquer his territory, 870*†; victorious at Reading, 871*; and at Basing, *ib.*; at Meretun, *ib.*†; at Wilton, *ib.*†; Alfred defeats four ships of, 882*†; naval victory of, 885*; all English outside the jurisdiction of, submit to Alfred, 886*†; remain on the Colne, 894A, p. 96t.†; king of, wounded, *ib.*†; great slaughter of, at Buttington, *ib.*, p. 87b.†; draw their ships up the Thames and Lea, 895A; fort of, on the Lea, 896A; Alfred protects the harvesters from, *ib.*; leave their wives, &c., in East Anglia, *ib.*; engagement of D. ships with Alfred's new ships, 120 D. men slain, 897A, pp. 90, 91; fight with the Kentish men at the Holme, 902C†; cf. ii. 124; losses of, 905A, D; slaughter of, 910A, D; some of those under, submit to Edward, 913A, D; Edward occupies Nottingham with, 922A†; those in Mercia submit to Edward, *ib.*; in Northumbria, do., 924A†; Danegeld first paid to, 991E†; defeat the Kentish fyrd, 999E†; victories of, in Sussex and Devon, 1001A; massacre of all, in England

- ordered, 1002E†; defeat Ulfcytel, 1010E; great slaughter of, at Helge Aa, 1025E; treachery of, to St. Cnut, 1086 [1087], p. 221†.
- Denulf**, *v.* Denewulf.
- Deolreda**, *v.* Dæl Reodi.
- Deomodum (A), Deomedum (D)**, (to), Dyfed or South Wales, the Danes retire to, 915D, 918A; winter in, ii. 93; *v.* Demetica Regio.
- Deoraby (A, C), Deorby (D)**, Derby, captured by Æthelflæd, 917C†; one of the Five Boroughs, 942A; earthquake at, 1049D†; so called by the Danes, originally Northworthig, ii. 87, 120.
- Deorbyscir, (D), Deorbi- (E)**, Derbyshire, wildfire in, 1049D; men of, join Morcar, 1065D, 1064E.
- Deorham, Dyrham, Gloucestershire**, battle of, 577*†.
- Deorham, Dereham, Norfolk**, St. Wihburg's body found uncorrupted at, 798F.
- Deorhyrst, Deorhurst, near Tewkesbury**, Olney near, 1016D, p. 152†; Ælfric, Odda's brother, dies at, 1053D; Ælfheah a monk at, ii. 170; inscription found at, ii. 238; Odda dies at, ii. 247.
- Deorlinge, v. Dyrling.**
- Derawudu, Beverley, bp. John** retires to, 685E; *v.* Beoferlic.
- DERBY, v. Deoraby.**
- Dere**, the Deirans, Bosa, bp. of, 678E; kings of, *v.* Ælle, Æþelric, Osric, Oswine; cf. Dearnerice.
- DEREHAM, v. Deorham.**
- ||Dereuord, Dereworth, Northants, (T.)**, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30b.
- Dertamuða, v. Dærenta-.**
- DERWENT, R., Yorkshire**, battle of Stamford Bridge fought on, ii. 256.
- DEVIZES, Wilts., Robert of Normandy** imprisoned at, ii. 305.
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- Deusededit, abp. of Canterbury**, cf. 995F, p. 130; consecrated by Ithamar of Rochester, 655E†; joins in Wulfhere's endowment of Medeshamstead, 656E (cf. 963E, p. 116); consecrates it, *ib.*, p. 30h.†; signature of, *ib.*, p. 32l.; grant of Vitalian to, *ib.*, p. 33h.; charter of ninth year of, *ib.*; dies, 664*†; first native primate, ii. 33.
- DIARMAID MAC MAEL NA M-BO**, king of Leinster, Harold takes refuge with, ii. 236, 237.
- Difelin (A), Dyflin (C), Dyfflen (B), Dyflig (D)**, Dublinia, Dublin. Northmen withdraw to, 937A, p. 109†; Patrick or Gillapatraic, bp. of, i. 289†; Donatus or Donnghus, do., i. 290†; Danish lord of, said to have submitted to Edgar, ii. 162; Danes of, in alliance with South Welsh, ii. 232.
- Dioclitianus**, Roman emperor, Britons orthodox till reign of, 167E, a.
- Dionysius (Exiguus)**, his era, ii. 7; and Paschal Cycle, 528E; 625E.
- DIONYSIUS, ST.**, verification of relics of, ii. 241.
- Dioscorus**, heretic, 449E.
- ||Dodesthorp, Dostrop, Northants**, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
- Dofre (E), Dofere (D, E, F), Dofrae (F Lat.)**, Dover, outrage of Eustace of Boulogne at, 1048E, 1052D, pp. 172, 173†; Edw. orders Godwin to attack, *ib.*E†; Godwin and Harold seize ships at, 1052E, p. 179; Rufus lands at, 1095; Matilda, daughter of Henry I, embarks at, ii. 292.
- Dól, Dol, Brittany**, unsuccessfully besieged by William I, 1076E, 1077D†.
- Dolfin**, son of Gospatric, expelled from Carlisle by Rufus, 1092†.
- DOMENICO MARENGO**, patriarch of Grado, at the council of Rheims, ii. 229.
- Domerham, Damerham, Wilts., Æthelflæd** of, wife of Edmund, 946D†.
- DOMFRONT, v. Damfront.**

- DOMINGITO, SAN, martyred by the Jews, ii. 312.
- DOMITIANUS, Roman emperor, brother of Titus, accession of, 83A, 84E.
- DOMNEVA, *v.* Eormenburg.
- DOMNOC, Domuc, Dunwich, Suffolk, Felix, bp. of, 636F Lat.; bp. Thomas dies at, 653F Lat.; bp. Alhun buried at, 798F; Heardred, bp. of, ii. 66; Tidfrith, *q. v.*
- DONALD, *v.* Dufenal.
- DONALDUS, Irish bp., perhaps Donnall O'Heney, abp. of Cashel, Lanfranc sends letters to, i. 290†.
- DONATIAN, ST., Church of, at Bruges, ii. 303.
- DONATUS, *or* Donnghus, bp. of Dublin, consecrated by Lanfranc, i. 290†.
- DONEMUP (E), -mupa (D), Jarrow (*q. v.*), ravaged by the Danes, 794E†.
- DONNCHAD MAC CRINAIN, *i. e.* Duncan, becomes king of the Scots, ii. 208; slain by Macbeth, ii. 243.
- DOR, Dore (near Sheffield), Derbyshire, Egbert leads an expedition to, 827*; one of the boundaries of Mercia, 942A†.
- DORCECEASTER* (D), Dorces- (A), Dorke- (B), Dorca- (E), Dorkacester (1067D), Dorchester, Oxon., Cynegils baptised at, 635*; Cwihelm baptised at, 636*; Cuthred baptised at, 639*; granted to Birinus, ii. 25; Ealheard bp. at, 897A†; bps. of, Oscytel, 971B†; Wulfwig, 1067D; Æscwig, ii. 174. Wulfstan restored at, 954D†; 177; Eadnoth, ii. 180; Ætheric, ii. 208; Eadnoth II, ii. 208, 233; Ulf, *ib.*; Remigius, ii. 249; Wulfwig buried at, 1067D; see of, moved to Lincoln, ii. 190; key of the kingdom of 'Southumbria,' ii. 35.
- DORCECEASTER, Dorchester, Dorset, reeve of, opposes the first landing of the Danes, ii. 59.
- DORNSÆTE (A), Dorsæte (C, D, E), Dorsete (E), the people of Dorset, Dorset, defeated by the Danes at Portland, 837*; defeat the Danes at the Parrett, 845*†; Alfwold, bp. of, 978C; three wiking ships on coast of, 982C; two abbesses of, die, *ib.*†; the Danes ravage, 998E; Cnut ravages, 1015E; Odda made earl over, 1048E, p. 177†; Here-man, bp. of, 1078D; cf. ii. 90; aldermen of, *v.* Æpelhelm, Osric.
- DORBERNIA, *i. e.* Canterbury, 995F Lat., i. 285.
- DORWITCEASTER, Canterbury, Rochester twenty-four miles from, 604E, a.
- DOSTROP, *v.* Dodesthorp.
- DOVER, *v.* Dofre.
- DRIFIELD, Driffeld, Yorks., Aldfrid dies at, 705E†.
- DRONTHEIM, *v.* Nitharos.
- DROUGHT, 1078D.
- DRYTHHELM, a Northumbrian, his 'leading' *or* vision, 693D† (Ad-denda).
- DUBLIN, *v.* Difelin.
- DUBSLANE (A), Dublasne (D), one of three 'Scots' who come to Alfred, 891A†.
- DUDDA (A), Duda (E), alderman, dies, 833*†.
- DUDOC (E), Duduc (D, E), bp. of Wells, sent to the council of Rheims, 1046^bE†; dies, 1060D, 1061E†.
- DUFENAL (*or* Donald), brother of Malcolm III, set up as king of the Scots, 1073, p. 228†; deprived by Duncan, *ib.*; procures his death and made king again, 1094, p. 230†; expelled by Edgar Etheling, 1097, p. 234†.
- DUISBURG, on the Rhine, Danes winter at, ii. 98.
- DŪN (A), Dunn (E), bp. of Rochester, consecrated, 741A, 740E†.
- DUNBAR, Haddingtonshire, Gospatric holds, ii. 280.
- DUNCAN, *v.* Donnchad.
- DUNECAN, son of Malcolm III, given as a hostage to William I, 1093, p. 228†; returns to Scotland, and expels Dufenal (Donald), *ib.*; defeated by the Scots, *ib.*; death of, procured by Donald, 1094, p. 230†.

- Dunelmensis**, *v.* Dunholm.
- Dunestapel**, Dunstable, Beds., Henry I spends Christmas at, 1123.
- DUNFERMLINE**, Fifeshire, Malcolm III's body translated to, ii. 280.
- DUNFOEDER**, Dunfother *or* Dunnottar, Kincardineshire, Athelstan advances to, ii. 138.
- DUNGENESS**, *v.* Næss.
- Dunholm**, Durham, Ægelric gives up see of, 1056D†; Robert de Commines murdered at, 1068D†; Edgar Etheling received at, 1075D, p. 210; surrendered by William of St. Carilef, 1087 [1088], p. 225; Ralph Flambard buried at, 1128†.
- Bps. of, Ægelric, 1056D; 1072E, 1073D†; ii. 220; Ægelwine, 1056D; Walcher, 1080E†; ii. 268; William of St. Carilef, 1087 [1088], pp. 222, 223†; 1096†; i. 289 (Dunelmensis); Ralph Flambard, 1099†; 1100, p. 236; 1128†.
- Observance of obits at, ii. 142; church of, robbed by Ægelric, ii. 219; William of St. Carilef restored to, ii. 280; deprived of St. Oswine's, Tynemouth, ii. 282; agreement with Scots made at, ii. 308; MSS. of Chronicle at, p. lxxii n.
- DUNNOTTAR**, *v.* Dunfoeder.
- DUNSTABLE**, *v.* Dunestapel.
- Dunstan**, abp. of Canterbury, born, 925a†; Edmund entrusts Glastonbury to, 943a†; banished by Edwy, 956a; 955, 956F, 957D†; recalled by Edgar, and made bp. of Worcester and London, 959a, F†; made abp., 961a, F†, consecrates Æthelwold, 963E; joins in Edgar's grants to Medeshamstead, *ib.*, pp. 116, 117; orders bp. Sideman to be buried at Abingdon, 977C; translates king Edward's body to Shaftesbury, 980F†; miraculous deliverance of, at Calne, 978E†; dies, 988C, E†; interpolations relating to, in MS. A, p. xxvi; letter of, to Ethelred II, cited, ii. 68; Abbo's life of St. Edmund dedicated to, ii. 86; verses by, addressed to Wulfhelm, ii. 135; related to bp. Ælfheah, ii. 138; his alleged relations to Edmund, ii. 142; has forewarnings of the deaths of Edmund and Edred, ii. 146, 149; buries Edmund, ii. 146; sees said to have been offered to, ii. 148; signs a few charters under Edwy, ii. 150; his vision at the time of Edwy's death, ii. 151, 152; a worker in metal, ii. 155; exacts an oath from Edgar at his coronation, ii. 160; crowns Edward the Martyr, ii. 163; his prophecies fulfilled, ii. 168; foretells the death of bp. Æthelwold, ii. 170; bribes Ethelred to spare Rochester, ii. 171; succeeded by Oswald at Worcester, ii. 176; alleged translation of, to Glastonbury, ii. 172, 189; vision of, to Ælfwine his chaplain, ii. 204; Ælfweard the Long, an adherent of, ii. 205; coronation address of, to Ethelred, ii. 222; his zeal against false coiners, ii. 302.
- DUNSTAN**, a leader of the northern insurgents, ii. 252.
- DUNWICH**, *v.* Domnoc.
- DURHAM**, *v.* Dunholm.
- DYFED**, *v.* Deomodum.
- Dyfin**, &c., *v.* Difelin.
- DYLE**, R., Belgium, battle on, ii. 103.
- DYRHAM**, *v.* Deorham.
- Dyrling** (D), **Deorlingc** (E), nickname of Ælmar, *q. v.*

E.

Eadbald* (F), -bold (E, F), **Edbald** (A), king of Kent, succeeds Ethelbert his father, 616*†; his relapse into paganism and repentance, *ib.* E, a; Laurentius and Mellitus die under, *ib.* †; receives Paulinus, 633E; father of Ercenberht, son of Ethelbert, 694A; dies, 640A, 639E†; succeeded by his son Ercenberht, 639E, 640a; his other son Ermenred, 640a†.

Eadbald, bp. of London, leaves England, 794*†.

||**Eadberht**, alderman, signature of, 656E, p. 32b.

Eadberht (F), -briht (E), -bryht (A), king of Kent, succeeds Wihfred, 725a, F†; dies, 748*†.

Eadberht, miswritten for Cuðberht, 740E†.

EADBERHT, bp. of the Mercians, ii. 50.

Eadberht (E), **Ed-** (E), **Eadbriht** (E), -bryht (A), king of the Northumbrians, Ceolwulf resigns his crown to, 737E†; accession of, 738*; son of Eata, and brother of abp. Egbert, *ib.*; buried at York, *ib.*†; takes the tonsure, 757E†; Osulf, son of, *ib.*; dies, 768E, †; his independence of the ecclesiastical power, ii. 41; Paul I remonstrates with, *ib.*

Eadberht (E), -bryht (A), alderman, dies, 819*.

Eadbold, *v.* Eadbald.

Eadbriht, miswritten for Eanbriht, 763B, C; 764C; *v.* Ianberht.

Eadbriht (E), -bryht (A), called Præn, king of Kent, accession, 794*†; captured and imprisoned, 796*†; mutilated, *ib.*F; cf. ii. 71.

Eadburg, dr. of Offa of Mercia, married to Beorhtic of Wessex, 787*†.

EADBURG, Mercian princess, mother of Ealhswith, ii. 117.

Eadelm, abbot, vengeance taken by Edrad for murder of, 952D†.

Eadesburh, Eddisbury Hill, Cheshire, Æthelflæd fortifies, 914C†.

Eadgar (Ædgar, 963E), king of the West Saxons, son of Edmund, 955D; 973A; 975E; cf. ii. 263; succeeds his brother Edwy, *β* Pref. p. 5†; 958A, 959C, E†; succeeded by his son Edward (the Martyr), *β* Pref. p. 5†; 975*; Ethelred, son of, 1067D, p. 202; succeeds to Mercia, 955D†, 957B, C; recalls Dunstan and makes him bp. of Worcester and London, 959a, F†; glory of reign of, 959E, p. 114†; his love of foreign things,

ib., p. 115†; cf. ii. 164, 226; appoints Athelwold bp. of Winchester, 963E; makes him a grant of ruined monasteries, *ib.* (cf. 975D, E); makes grant to Medeshamstead, *ib.* p. 116; expels the secular priests from various churches, and instals monks, 964A†; appoints various abbots, *ib.*†; marries Ælfthryth, 965D†; orders Thanet to be ravaged, 969E†; crowned, 973A, 972E†; six kings make alliance with, at Chester, 972E†; dies, 975*†; Edmund Ironside buried at Glastonbury near, 1016D, E, pp. 152, 153; Danes and English unite on basis of law of, 1018D†; decline after death of, ii. 164, 273; held out as an example, ii. 164; makes Oswald bp. of Worcester and abp. of York, ii. 176; grant of, to Oswald, ii. 185; reckoned among the Bretwaldas, ii. 73, 113; reign of, leaves little trace in the Chron., p. cv.

Eadgar cild or ædeling (Ædgar, 1066E), relative of Edward Conf., 1085^b, p. 217; Ealdred and the citizens of London wish to have, as king, 1066D, p. 199; consents to the election of Brand as abbot of Peterborough, *ib.*E†; submits to William at Beorhhamsted, *ib.*D, p. 200†; goes with W. to Normandy, *ib.*; goes to Scotland, 1067D, E†; Margaret, sister of, *ib.*; Agatha, mother of, Christina, sister of, *ib.*D; 1085^b, p. 217; comes to York, but retires again to Scotland, 1068D, E†; joins the Danes and captures York, *ib.*D, p. 204, 1069E†; goes from Flanders to Scotland, 1075D†; invited by the king of France, *ib.*; shipwrecked, and returns to Scotland, *ib.*; submits to William, *ib.*, 1074E†; quits William I, 1085^b, p. 217†; goes from Normandy to Scotland, 1091†; mediates between Malcolm and Rufus, *ib.*, p. 227; submits to Rufus, *ib.*; returns to Normandy with Robert.

- ib.*; escorts Malcolm to Gloucester, 1093; sent to Scotland to set up Edgar, son of Malcolm III, as king, 1097, p. 234†; captured at Tinchebray, and released, 1106†.
- Eadgar**, son of Malcolm III and Margaret, made king of Scotland, 1097, p. 234†; dies, and is succeeded by his brother Alexander, 1107†.
- EADGYFU**, third wife of Edward the Elder, deed relating to, ii. 124, 134; mother of Edmund and Edred, grandmother of Edwy and Edgar, ii. 142, 143; in disgrace under Edwy, ii. 134, 142, 149.
- EADGYFU**, abbess of Leominster, abduction of, by Swegen Godwine-son, ii. 226.
- Eadgyp** (C, D), **Eadgið** (E), dr. of Godwin, married to Edward Conf., 1044C, 1043E†; dismissed and sent to Wherwell, 1048E, 1052D, p. 176†; restored, 1052C, D, E, pp. 180-183; dies, and is buried beside Edward her lord, 1075E, 1076D, p. 212.
- Eadhed**, consecrated first bp. of the Lindisware, 678E.
- EADMER**, monk of Canterbury, refutes the alleged translation of Dunstan to Glastonbury, ii. 172, 189; sources of his life of Dunstan, ii. 248; his life of Anselm, ii. 280.
- Eadmund** (A), **Ædmund** (E), king of the East Angles, slain by the Danes, 870*†; cf. ii. 61, 62, 83; dykes of, ii. 123; legend of his slaying Swegen, ii. 192; violation of sanctuary of, ii. 219; Osgod Clapa outrages church of, ii. 226; *v.* Beadoriceswyrthe, *Sce* Eadmundesburh.
- Eadmund*** (D), **Ædmund** (E), king of the West Saxons, succeeds his brother Athelstan, *β* Pref. p. 5† (cf. 941A, 940E†); succeeded by his brother Edred, *ib.*† (cf. 946A, D, 948E†); father of Edwy and Edgar, *ib.*†; 955A, D, E; 973A; 975E; fights at Brunanburh, 937A†; son of Edward, *ib.* (cf. 942A); returns triumphant to Wessex, *ib.*, p. 109; reduces Mercia and the Five Boroughs, 942A†; besieges Anlaf Sitricson in Leicester, 943D; makes peace with him, *ib.*; stands sponsor to him and the younger Ragnall, *ib.*; cf. 942A†; entrusts Glastonbury to Dunstan, 943a†; annexes Northumberland, and expels Anlaf and Ragnall, 944*†; ravages Cumberland, 945*†; grants it to Malcolm, 945A†; his death, 946A, D, 948E†; Æthelræd of Damerham, wife of, 946D†; Ælfgifu, wife of, 955D†; cf. ii. 147; held out as an example, ii. 164.
- Eadmund Etheling**, dies, 971A, 970E†; buried at Romsey, 971A†; his mother, Ælfthryth, ii. 159.
- Eadmund**, called Ironside, 1057D†; (Ædmund, E, p. 148), king of England, son of Ethelred, 1067D, p. 202; seizes Sigeferth's widow and property, 1015E†; gathers a fyrd in the north, *ib.*†; Edric attempts to betray, *ib.*; gathers a fyrd, 1016D, E; marches into Northumbria and ravages, *ib.*†; returns to London, *ib.*, pp. 148, 149; elected king, *ib.*†; reduces Wessex, *ib.*; his battles with the Danes, *ib.*, pp. 149-151†; Edric submits to, *ib.*, p. 151†; defeated at Ashingdon, *ib.*, pp. 151, 152†; divides the kingdom with Cnut at Olney, *ib.*, pp. 152, 153†; dies, and is buried at Glastonbury, *ib.*†; Edward Etheling, son of, 1057D, E†; 1067D, p. 202; ii. 244; Offa's sword left to, ii. 62.
- Eadnoð**, bp. of Dorchester, conveys abp. Ælfheah's body to London, 1012E†; slain at Ashingdon, 1016D, E, p. 152†.
- Eadnoð** (II), bp. of Dorchester, ii. 208; dies, 1046^b E, 1049C, p. 171†.
- Eadnoð** the Staller, slain in battle against Harold's sons, 1067D, p. 203.

- Eadred** (A, D), **Ædred** (E), king of the West Saxons, succeeds his brother Edmund, β Pref. p. 5† (cf. 946A, D, 948E†); succeeded by his nephew Edwy, *ib.*†; cf. 955*†; overruns Northumberland, where Scots submit to, 946A, D, 948E†; Northumbrians submit to, 947D; 948D†; ravages Northumbria, *ib.*†; commits abp. Wulfstan to prison, 952D†; orders a great slaughter at Thetford, *ib.*†; annexes Northumberland, 954D, E†; appoints Oscytel abp. of York, 971B (cf. Addenda); dies, 955*†; son of Eadgyfu, ii. 142; leaves money to buy off the Danes, ii. 174; leaves Wherwell to the New Minster, ii. 238.
- Eadred**, miswritten for Cuðred, 648E†.
- Eadric** (Streona, **Ædric**, 1007E), alderman of Mercia, appointed, 1007E†; Brihtric, brother of, 1009E†; hinders the measures against the Danes, *ib.*, p. 139; attends witenagemót at London, 1012E; betrays and murders Sigeferth and Morcar, 1015E†; tries to betray Edmund Etheling, *ib.*; deserts to Cnut, *ib.*†; joins Cnut in ravaging, 1016D, E; fights on the Danish side at Sherstone, *ib.*, pp. 150, 151†; submits to Edmund at Aylesford, *ib.*†; treacherously flies at Ashingdon, *ib.*, pp. 152, 153†; advises the division of the kingdom, *ib.*; Mercia granted to, 1017D, E; slain, *ib.*†; prominent position of, ii. 164; cf. ii. 170; treasons of, ii. 177; said to have murdered Ælfhelm, ii. 184; legend of his treacherous stratagem, ii. 196; said to have caused the death of Edmund Ironside, ii. 200; counsels the murder of his children, and the exile of Edwy Etheling, ii. 201.
- Eadric** the Wild, attacks the castle guard at Hereford, 1067D†.
- EADSIGE**, secular priest expelled from Winchester Cathedral, returns as a monk, ii. 157, 158.
- Eadsige**, king's reeve, defeated by the Danes at Pinhoe, 1001A.
- Eadsige*** (C), **Eadsie** (D), **Edsinus**, abp. of Canterbury, appointed, 1038E; goes to Rome, 1040A; crowns and exhorts Edward Conf., 1043C, 1042E†; resigns on account of ill-health, 1044C, 1043E†; resumes his functions, 1046E, 1048C†; dies, 1047E, 1050A, C, 1051D†; writs of Cnut to, p. xxxii.
- Eadulf** (A), **Ealdulf** (D), of Bamborough, father of Ealdred, 924A; 926D.
- Eadulf**, king's thane in Sussex, dies, 897A.
- Eadulf**, earl of Bernicia, treacherously slain by order of Hardacnut, 1041C†.
- Eadulfesnæss**, **Ealdulfes-** (p. 181 E), the Naze, Essex, Osgod's ships ravage, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 168, 169†; abp. Robert and bp. Ulf fly to, 1052E, p. 181.
- Eadwald**, *r.* Eadwold.
- Eadward** (D, E, F), **-weard** (A, β , C, D), **Ædward** (E), (the Elder), king of the West Saxons, succeeds his father Alfred, β Pref. p. 5† (cf. 901*†); succeeded by his son Athelstan, *ib.*†; son of Ealhswith, 903D†; ravages East Anglia, 905A, D†; Kentish contingent disobey, *ib.*†; makes peace with the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, 906*†; sends a force against the latter, 910A, D†; takes possession of London and Oxford, 910D, E; 912A, D†; cf. ii. 99, 100; Northumbrian Danes break faith with, 911A, D†; collects a fleet, *ib.*; sends a force against the Danes, *ib.*; builds forts at Hertford, 913A, D†; encamps at Maldon, *ib.*; Ælfweard, son of, *ib.*†; Athelstan, son of, 925A, 924E; buried at Winchester, 924C, D†; goes to Passenham and fortifies Towcester, 921A,

- p. 102b.; Thurferth and the Northampton Danes submit to, *ib.*; fortifies Huntingdon, and receives the submission of the people, *ib.*, p. 103; restores Colchester, *ib.*; East Saxons, East Angles, East Anglian Danes, and Danes of Cambridge submit to, *ib.*; fortifies Stamford, 922A; seizes Tamworth, and the rest of Æthelflæd's dominions, *ib.*†; princes and people of Wales submit to, *ib.*†; fortifies Nottingham, *ib.*†, Mercia submits to, *ib.*; many of those under Danish power submit to, *ib.*; ransoms bp. Cimeilauc, 915D, 918A†; Danes promise to quit dominions of, *ib.*; guards the southern shore of the Bristol Channel, *ib.*; fortifies Buckingham, *ib.*; Thurkytel and others submit to, *ib.*; recovers and fortifies Bedford, 919A; fortifies Maldon, 920A; allows Thurkytel to retire to the continent, *ib.*; takes and fortifies Towcester, 921A; fortifies Wigmore, *ib.*†; subjects of, take Tempsford, *ib.*, p. 102; fortifies Clede-mutha, 921C; fortifies Thelwall, 923A; sends and fortifies Manchester, *ib.*; fortifies Nottingham and Bakewell, 924A; receives the submission of the Scots and Strathclyde Welsh, &c., *ib.*†; dies at Farndon, 924C, D, E; 925*†; Athelstan and Edmund, sons of, 937A; 942A; Liodulf of Swabia, son of [Edith] dr. of, 982C†; Wedmore left to, ii. 94; defeats the Danes at Farnham, and besieges them at Thorney, ii. 107, 108; chronology of reign of, ii. 116, 117; wives of, ii. 134; treaty of, with Guthrum II, ii. 136; his influence on the Saxon Chron., p. cv.
- Eadward** (E, Eadweard (A, β, C), king of the West Saxons (the Martyr), succeeds his father Edgar, β Pref. p. 5†; 975*†; orders bp. Sideman to be buried at Abingdon, 977C; murdered at Corfe, 978A, 979E†; (cf. ii. 168, 215, 238); succeeded by his (half-) brother, Ethelred, *ib.*†; ignobly buried at Wareham, 979E; translated to Shaftesbury by Ælfhere, 980E†; his mother, ii. 158, 159; a pupil of bp. Sideman, ii. 165.
- Eadward** (C, D, E, F), -uard (A), -werd (C, D), Ædward (E), Ed- (E), Eduuard (A), Æðward (E), the Confessor, king of England, sent to Normandy with bp. Ælfhun, 1013E, p. 144; sent to England by Ethelred, 1014E; comes to England under his half-brother Hardacnut, 1040E, 1041C†; sworn as king, 1041C†; succeeds Hardacnut, 1042C, 1041E†; crowned king by Eadsige, 1043C, D, 1042E†; strips his mother of her property, *ib.*†; goes with a fleet to Sandwich, 1044C, 1043E; marries Edith, dr. of Godwin, *ib.*†; consents to Wulfric's election as abbot of St. Augustine's, 1043E†; assembles a fleet at Sandwich, 1045C, 1046D†; gives the bprics. of Ramsbury to Herman, 1045C†; of Crediton to Leofric, *ib.*†; of Selsey to Heca, and of Winchester to Stigand, 1047C; goes in pursuit of wikings, 1048C; Swegen of Denmark asks help of, 1049D†; goes to Sandwich with a fleet against Baldwin, 1046E, 1049C, 1050D†; sends English prelates to the council of Rheims, 1046^bE†; Swegen Godwineson submits to, 1046^bE, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 168, 169†; refuses Swegen's prayer, *ib.*C†; remains at Sandwich, *ib.*D; dismisses part of his fleet, *ib.*C; hears that pirates are ravaging the west, *ib.*E†; and that Osgod is at Wulpe with a fleet, *ib.*C, D†; Swegen persuades Beorn to accompany him to, *ib.*C, D, E†; proclaims Swegen nithing, *ib.*C, p. 171†; gives bpric. of Dorchester to Ulf, *ib.*†; disbands part of his fleet, *ib.*†; promises one year's

pay to the remainder, *ib.* †; sends Herman and Ealdred to Rome, *ib.*, 1047E†; two of Swegen's ships brought to, *ib.*D, p. 170; holds a witenagemót at London, 1050C†; appoints Robert of Jumîèges to Canterbury, &c., *ib.*, 1051D, 1048E; gives Abingdon to his kinsman Rudolf, *ib.*C, E†; dismisses all his fleet, *ib.*C†; allows Spearhafoc to hold the see of London, though unconsecrated, *ib.*E, p. 172; abolishes the Dane-geld, 1052D†; ii. 175; Eustace of Boulogne, brother-in-law of, *ib.*; comes to, *ib.*E†; complains to, *ib.*D, E, pp. 173, 175; orders Godwin to attack Dover, *ib.*E†; remains at Gloucester, *ib.*D; sends for Leofric and Siward, *ib.*†; and the witan, *ib.*E; summons a witenagemót at London, *ib.*E, p. 174†; raises forces, *ib.*; takes over the earls' thanes, *ib.*D, E†; summons Godwin and Harold, *ib.*†; outlaws them, *ib.*, pp. 175, 176†; orders bp. Ealdred in pursuit, *ib.*D†; dismisses his queen to Wherwell, *ib.*D, E†; receives William of Normandy, *ib.*D†; sister of, abbess of Wherwell, 1048E, p. 176; cf. *ib.* 1052D†; Ælfgyfu-Emma, mother of, 1051C, 1052E†; sends a fleet to Sandwich, 1052C, D, E, pp. 177-179; sends for reinforcements, *ib.*C, D, pp. 178-181; truce made between the earls and, *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 180, 181; restores Godwin and his family, *ib.*E, p. 183; Ealdred goes on a mission for, 1054D†; Gruffydd submits to, 1056C; Edward Etheling, nephew of, excluded from his presence, 1057D†; head of Gruffydd brought to, 1063D; sets up Blethent and Rhiwallon as kings in Wales, *ib.*†; Harold builds hunting-lodge for, at Portskewet, 1065C, D†; Harold negotiates between the northern rebels and, *ib.*, 1064E†; confirms the election of Morcar, *ib.*D, E†; Tostig at Britford with,

*ib.*C, p. 192; has Westminster consecrated, 1065C, D†; dies, *ib.*, 1066*†; dominions and character of, *ib.*C, D†; committed the kingdom to Harold, *ib.*C, D, E†; buried at Westminster, *ib.*E, p. 197†; William of Normandy a relative of, 1066C, p. 196†; Edith, wife of, buried beside, 1075E, 1076D; Edgar Etheling a relative of, 1085^b, p. 217; Edith-Matilda related to, 1100, p. 236; grants Wedmore to the Church of Wells, ii. 94; ravages Thanet, ii. 160; letter of Leo IX to, ii. 165; sanctity of, reflected back on his father Ethelred, ii. 169; laws of, ii. 202; question whether he or Alfred was the elder, ii. 214; bp. Brihtwold has a vision of accession of, ii. 225; his Norman tastes, *ib.*; owes his throne to Godwin and Living, *ib.*; ravages Thanet, and garrisons Canterbury, ii. 228; the English desire to have Harold as successor of, ii. 232; his re-foundation of Westminster, ii. 249.

Eadward (Ædward, E) Etheling, son of Edmund Ironside, comes to England, 1057D, E†; had been sent by Cnut to Hungary, *ib.*D†; excluded from Edward's presence, *ib.*†; Agatha, wife of, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*D, E; buried in St. Paul's, London, *ib.*E; father of Margaret, and son of Edmund, 1067D, p. 202; bp. Ealdred sent to negotiate the return of, ii. 244.

Eadward, son of Malcolm III, slain with him, 1093, p. 228†.

Eadward, miswritten for Eadred, 971C (Addenda).

Eadwig (Edwie, F), king of the West Saxons, succeeds his uncle Edred, β Pref. p. 5† (cf. 955*D†); son of Edmund, *ib.*†; son of Ælfgyfu, 955D†; banishes Dunstan, 956a, 955, 956F; divorced from Ælfgyfu by abp. Odo, 958D†; dies, and is succeeded by his brother Edgar, Pref. *u. s.*; 958A, 959C, E.

- Eadwig**, brother of Æfic, slain, 1010E.
- Eadwi (D)**, Ædwi (E), Etheling, banished by Cnut, 1017D, E†; slain, *ib.*C.
- Eadwig (C, E)**, **Eadwi (D)**, 'Churls' king,' banished by Cnut, 1017D, E†; 1020C†.
- Eadwine***, **Edwine (A)**, Ædwine (E), king of the Northumbrians, son of Ælle, 617E; succeeds Æthelfrith, and expels his sons, *ib.*†; rules all Britain except Kent, *ib.*; converted by Paulinus, 601*†; attempted assassination of, 626E†; cf. ii. 18; baptised, 627A, 626E; father of Eanfled, 626*; defeats the West Saxons, 626E; builds a wooden church at York, *ib.*; slain, 633*†; father of Osfrith, *ib.*E; Æthelburg, wife of, *ib.*; Ælfric, uncle of, *ib.*; kings between Oswald and, *ib.*; Osric, cousin of, 643E; the fifth Bretwalda, 827*.
- EADWINE** Etheling, *v.* Ædwine.
- Eadwine**, alderman of Sussex, dies, and is buried at Abingdon, 982C†.
- Eadwine**, abbot of Abingdon, consecrated, 984E, 985C†; dies, 989E, 990C†.
- EADWINE**, son of Æthelwine 'amicus Dei,' ii. 198.
- Eadwine**, brother of Leofric of Mercia, slain by the Welsh, 1039C†; cf. 1052^bD†.
- Eadwine (Ædwine, 1171E)**, earl of Mercia, joins his brother Morcar, 1065D, 1064E; repulses Tostig, 1066C, D, E, pp. 196, 197; defeated (at Fulford), *ib.*†; promises to support Edgar Etheling, *ib.*D, p. 199†; submits to William at Beorhhamsted, *ib.*, p. 200†; goes with W. to Normandy, *ib.*; escapes, but is slain by his own men, 1071E, 1072D†; succeeds Ælfgar, ii. 251, 252.
- Eadwold**, a king's thane, slain, 905A, D†.
- Eadwold (D)**, -wald (A), son of Acca, slain, 905A, D.
- EADWULF** CUDEL, earl of Bernicia (?), brother of Utred, cedes Lothian to the Scots, ii. 195.
- See also under Æd-, Ed-, for names beginning with Ead-.
- †**Eafa**, father of Ealhmund, and son of Eoppa, A Pref. p. 4†; 885A.
- Eaforwic**, *v.* Eofer-.
- EAGELLUS**, Danish chieftain, slain, ii. 126.
- EAGRE**, the, on Trent and Severn, ii. 16.
- ||**Eahtehundred**, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
- Ealchhere**, **Ealchstan**, *r.* Ealh-.
- Ealdberht**, -briht (E), **Aldbryht (A)**, West Saxon Etheling, retires to Surrey and Sussex, 722*; slain by Ine, 725*; cf. ii. 36, 39.
- Ealdelmesburh**, Malmesbury, 1015C, D; *r.* Mealdelmesburh.
- Ealdferþ**, *r.* Aldferþ.
- EALDGYTH**, widow of Sigeferth, and wife of Edmund Ironside, ii. 194.
- EALDGYTH**, widow of Gruffydd and wife of Harold Godwineson, ii. 194.
- Eald mynster**, *r.* Wintanceaster.
- Ealdred**, of Bamborough, son of Ealdwulf, submits to Edward, 924A†; to Athelstan, 926D†; expelled by the Danes, seeks restoration by the Scots, ii. 130.
- Ealdred (C, D, E)**, **Aldred (D)**, (Aldret, 1053D), abp. of York, made bp. of Worcester, 1047D†; defeated by the South Welsh, 1050D, p. 170†; sent to Rome, 1047E, 1049C, *ad fin.*, 1051D†; returns, 1050C†; sent in pursuit of Harold, 1052D, p. 176†; assumes the abbacy of Winchcombe, 1053D†; goes on a mission to Germany, 1054C, D†; allows bp. Leofwine to consecrate Evesham, *ib.*D†; makes peace with the Welsh, 1056C; assumes the bpric. of Hereford, 1056C, D†; restores and consecrates St Peter's Minster, Gloucester, 1058D†; goes to Jerusalem, and offers a golden chalice at the Holy Sepulchre, *ib.*†; made abp. of York, 1060D, E; goes to Rome for his pallium, 1061D†; attacked on his

- way home, *ib.*†; wishes to make Edgar Etheling king, 1066D, p. 199; submits at Beorhmansted, *ib.* p. 200†; crowns William, *ib.* D, E, pp. 198, 200†; crowns Matilda as queen, 1067D, p. 202†; dies, and is buried at York, 1068D†; dedicates a church at Deerhurst, ii. 238; admits earl Odda to monkhood, ii. 247; crowns Harold, ii. 253, 254.
- EALDRED**, abbot of Abingdon, involved in the movements against William I, ii. 267.
- Eald Seaxe** (D, E, a), **Ald Seaxe** (A), the Old or continental Saxons, one of the three tribes invading Britain, 449E, a; the East, South, and West Saxons derived from, *ib.*; fight with the Franks, 780A, 779E; defeat the Danes, 885A†; Athelstan gives his sister to son of king of, 924D†; St. Willehad evangelises, ii. 51; St. Edmund said to be descended from, ii. 86.
- Ealdulf Bosing**, high reeve at Coniscliffe, slain, 778E†.
- Ealdulf, Aldulf**, abp. of York, abbot of Peterborough, appointed to Worcester and York, 992E†; 963E, pp. 116, 117; death of, 1002E†; translates the bones of Oswald, ii. 176.
- Ealdulf**, monk and abbot of Michelney, 1114H.
- Ealdulf, Ealdulfesnæss**, *r.* Ead-
- Ealfric**, *r.* Ælfric.
- Ealgar**, *r.* Ælfgar.
- Ealhheard, Healh-** (D), bp. at Dorchester, dies, 897A†.
- EALHHELM**, grandfather of Ælfwine, father of Ælfric, ii. 170.
- Ealhhere** (E), **Ealhere***, **Ealchhere** (A), alderman of Kent, defeats the Danes at Sandwich, 851*†; defeated by the Danes at Thanet, 853A, 852E.
- Ealhmund**, father of Egbert, and son of Eafa, A Pref. p. 4†; 784F; 800F Lat.; 885A; king in Kent, 784a, F†; cf. ii. 71.
- Ealhmund, Alch-** (E), **Alc-** (F), bp. of Hexham, consecrated 766E†; dies, 780E†.
- EALHMUND**, *r.* Ælhmund.
- Ealhstan***, **Ealchstan***, bp. of Sherborne, sent by Egbert to take possession of Kent, &c., 823*†; defeats the Danes, 845*†; dies, 867*†; said to have conspired against Æthelwulf, ii. 81.
- Ealhstan**, *r.* Heahstan.
- Ealhswið**, wife of Alfred, alderman Athulf brother of, 903A, D†; dies, 902C†, 905A, D†.
- †**EALRIC**, father of Bleacman, and son of Ida, ii. 50.
- Ea motum** (æt), Emmet, Yorks. (T., R.), others: Dacre on the Eamont, Cumberland, Northumbrians submit to Athelstan at, 926D†.
- Eanbald†** (I), **-bold** (F), abp. of York, consecrated, 779E†; Ælfwold sends for pallium for, 780E†; consecrates Baldwulf, 791E; crowns Eardwulf, 795E†; dies, and is buried at York, 796E†; superintends the rebuilding of York Cathedral, ii. 52; joins in summoning northern legatine council, ii. 57.
- Eanbald** (II), abp. of York, consecrated, 796E†; cf. ii. 54, 61; receives the pallium, 797E; letter of Alcuin to, ii. 52; consecrates Egbert of Lindisfarne, ii. 67; his connexions with Mercia, and opposition to Eardwulf, ii. 65, 66, 68.
- Eanberht**, bp. of Hexham, consecrates Egbert of Lindisfarne, ii. 67; dies, 806E†.
- Eanbriht**, *r.* Ianberht.
- Eanfled**, daughter of Edwin, promised to God, 626E; baptised, *ib.**
- Eanfrid**, son of Æthelfrith, expelled by Edwin, 617E†; succeeds in Bernicia, 634E†.
- EANRED**, king of the Northumbrians, son of Eardwulf, ii. 68, 84; made tributary to Wessex, ii. 72; father of Ethelred, ii. 84.
- Eanulf** (A), **Earnulf** (E), alderman of Somerset, defeats the Danes, 845*†; said to have conspired against Æthelwulf, ii. 81.

- ‡**EANWINE**, father of Alchred, and son of Byrnhom, ii. 50.
- ‡**Eanwulf**, father of Thingferth, son of Osmod, 755A, *ad fin.*†; cf. ii. 6.
- Eardwulf (E)**, **Eardulf (F)**, king of the Northumbrians, coronation of, 795E†; expelled, 806E†; restored, ii. 68, 84; opposed by Eanbald II, ii. 65; defeats Wada, ii. 66; invades Mercia, ii. 67; Eanred, son of, ii. 68, 84.
- EARLE, JOHN**, *v.* Chronicles, Anglo-Saxon, editions of.
- EARNGRIM**, father of Sigferth and Morcar, ii. 193.
- Earnulf***, **Arnulf (F)**, king of the Franks, deposes his uncle Charles the Fat, 887*†; holds the kingdom to the east of the Rhine, *ib.*; overlord of the other Frankish kingdoms, *ib.*†; defeats the Danes, 891A†.
- Earnulf**, *v.* Eanulf.
- EARTHQUAKES**, 1048C, 1049D†; 1060D; 1089†; 1117†; 1119; 1122; 1129, p. 260.
- EAST ANGLES, &c.**, *v.* East Engle.
- EASTBOURNE**, *v.* Burne.
- East Centingas**, the people of East Kent, submit to the Danes, 1009E, p. 139; *v.* Weast-.
- East Engle*** (D), **-Angle (E, a)**, **-Ængle (E)**, **-Eangle (636E)**, **Est engle (885E)**, **Orientalis Angli**, the East Angles, East Anglia, derived from the Angles, 449E, a. Kings of, Redwald, 617E; 827*; Sigberht, 636F Lat.; Anna, 639E; 654E; Ethelbert and Edmud, ii. 61, 62; *v.* Eohric, Eorpwald, Godrum I and II. Felix preaches to, 636*; Cenwalh returns from, 658*†; king and people of, submit to Egbert, 823*†; slay Beornwulf of Mercia, *ib.*†; slaughters by the Danes in, 838A; Danish army winters in, 866*†; leave, 867*; re-enter, and conquer, 870*; enter and divide, 880*†; Alfred sends a naval force to, 885*; Danes in, break faith with him, *ib.*; occupied by Godrum, 890*; Danes in, send a fleet against Wessex, 894A, p. 86h.†; Danes receive reinforcements from, *ib.*, p. 87h.; p. 88t.†; the Danes leave their wives and ships in, *ib.*; 896A; Danes return to Essex by, 895A†; Danes retire to, 897A; Danes from, ravage Wessex, 897A, p. 90; crew of a Danish ship escape to, *ib.*, p. 91; Danes in, stirred up by Æthelwold Etheling to ravage Mercia, 905A, D†; Danes from, attack Wigmore, 921A; besiege Maldon, *ib.*, p. 102; men of, and Danes of, submit to Edward, 921A, *ad fin.*; ships from, encounter the Danes, 992E; witan of, make peace with the Danes, 1004E; chief men of, slain at Thetford, *ib.*; Danes come to, 1010E; put to flight and subdued by Danes, *ib.*; ravaged by Danes, 1011E; Swegen coasts along, 1013E; earldom of, granted to Thurkill, 1017D, E†. Bps. of, Ælfric, 1038C, E; Stigand, 1043C, 1042E†; ii. 216; Ælfgar, Ælfwine, ii. 204; Ælfric II, ii. 216; *v.* Humberht, Felix, Thomas. Aldermen of, Ælfgar, ii. 147; Athelstan, half-king, ii. 159; Æthelwold, ii. 159, 176; Æthelwine, 'amicus Dei,' ii. 163, 176; Ulfcytel, ii. 187; 1016D, E, p. 152.
- East Engle, i. e.** the Danes settled in East Anglia, break faith with Alfred, 894A†; Edward makes peace with, 906*†.
- EASTER**, commencement of the year at, pp. cxxxix ff.
- East Francan**, the Eastern Franks, defeat the Danes, 891A†.
- EASTON**, *v.* Estun.
- EASTRICE**, †, the Eastern kingdom, *i. e.* Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, cf. ii. 76, 81, 82, 89.
- Eastrice**, †, the Eastern kingdom, *i. e.* the kingdom of the Eastern Franks, the Danes depart from, 893A, 892E; 894A†; cf. 885* *ad init.*†; 887*.
- EASTRY**, Kent, Ermenred's sons buried at, ii. 21; Henry of, *v.* Henry.
- East Seaxe*** (C, D), **Sexe (A,**

- D, E), **Orientalis Saxones**, the East Saxons, Essex, derived from Old Saxons, 449E, a; converted by Mellitus, 604*†; submit to Egbert, 823*†; the Danes make for, 894A, p. 85†; Shoebury in, *ib.*, p. 87h.; Danes fall back on, *ib.*, p. 88t.†; Æthelwold Etheling comes to, 904A, D†; Edward marches into, 913A, D; men of, besiege Colchester, 921A, p. 102; submit to Edward, *ib.* p. 103†; ravaged by the Danes, 994E; the Danes draw their supplies from, 1009E, p. 139; Danes ravage, 1011E; Danes enter, 1016D, E, p. 151; Edmund overtakes them in, *ib.*; Lothen and Yrling ravage in, 1046E; Osgod's ships ravage in, 1049C, p. 168†; written erroneously, 1052D, p. 179†.
- Kings of, Siric, 798E†; *v.* Offa, Sæberht, Selred, Sibbi, Sighere, Sigred, Swithred. Kingdom of, Athelstan, son of Egbert, succeeds to, 836A†; Ethelbert of Wessex, *do.*, 855A. Aldermen of, Berhtwulf, 897A; Brihtnoth, ii. 163; Leofsige, ii. 181. Swegen received in, ii. 177.
- East Seaxnalond**, Essex, the Danes return to, 895A†.
- For other names compounded with East-, *v.* Æst-, Est-.
- Eata**, consecrated bp. of the Bernicians, 678E.
- †**Eata**, son of Leodwald, father of Eadberht and Egbert, 738*; 768E, a.
- †**Eawa**, father of Alweo, son of Pybba, 716A; father of Osmod, 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- Eaxeceaster**, *v.* Exan-.
- EBB**, unusual, 1114.
- EBBSFLEET**, *v.* Ypwinesfleet.
- EBERHARD**, abp. of Trèves, at the Council of Rheims, ii. 229.
- EBRAUCUS**, legendary founder of Eboracum, made father of Beaw and ancestor of Alfred, ii. 82.
- Egga**, high reeve 'æt Helapyrnum,' slain, 778E†.
- Egberht**, bp. of Lindisfarne, consecrated, 803E†; cf. ii. 61, and Addenda.
- Ecgbriht** (E), -bryht (A) (Ægbriht, 673E), king of Kent, succeeds his father Ercenberht, 694E; cf. 664A; sends Wigheard to Rome, 667E†; grants Reculver to Bass the priest, 669*†; dies, 673*†; father of Wihtred, 694A.
- Ecgbriht** (E), -bryht (A), -byrht (E), converts the monks of Iona to the Roman Easter and tonsure, 716*†; dies, 729*†.
- Ecgbriht** (E), -bryht (A), abp. of York, consecrated, 734E†; receives the pallium, 735E†; son of Eata, brother of Eadberht, 738*; buried at York, *ib.*; dies at York, 766E†.
- Ecgbriht** (E), -bryht (A), -breht (A), -berht (E), **Egberht** (F), king of the West Saxons, succeeds Beorhtic, A Pref. p. 4† (cf. 800*†); succeeded by his son Æthelwulf, *ib.*† (cf. 835A; 855A); son of Ealhmund, *ib.*; 784F; 885A; ravages Cornwall, 813*†; defeats Beornwulf of Mercia at Ellendune, 823*†; seizes Kent, &c., *ib.*†; East Angles submit to, *ib.*†; conquers Mercia and all to the south of Humber, 827*†; the eighth Bretwalda, *ib.*† (cf. ii. 70); Northumbrians submit to, *ib.*†; reduces the North Welsh, 828*†; fights against the Danes at Charmouth, 833*†; against Danes and (West) Welsh at Hengestesdun, 835*†; dies, 836*†; his previous exile, *ib.*†; division of his dominions, *ib.*†
- Ecgbriht**, abbot, slain, 916C†.
- Ecgbrihtesstan** (E), -bryht- (A), ? Brixton Deverill, Wilts., Alfred assembles his forces at, 878*†.
- Ecgbricht**, miswritten for Herebryht, 838D.
- Ecgferp***, **Ec-** (E), **Eg-** (E), **Ecgfrīð** (E), king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Oswy, 670*†; expels Wilfrid, 678*; cf. 709E; fights Ethelred of Mercia on the Trent, 679E†;

- sends an army against the Irish, 684E†; has Cuthbert consecrated, 685E†; slain, *ib.**†; succeeded by his brother Aldfrith, *ib.*E†; Ostryth, sister of, 697E†; grants of, to Benedict Biscop, ii. 25.
- Ecgferp***, **Eg-*** (F), king of the Mercians, son of Offa, reigns 141 days, 755*, *ad fin.*; crowned, 785*†; signature of, 777E, p. 52b; accession and death of, 794*†; letter of Alcuin to, ii. 57.
- Ecgferðes mynster**, *i. e.* Jarrow-on-Tyne, ravaged, 794E†.
- Ecgulf**, king's horse-thane, dies, 897A†.
- †**Ecgwald**, father of Leodwald, son of Aldhelm, 731A; cf. ii. 5.
- EGWYN**, mother of Athelstan, ii. 134.
- ECLIPSES, LUNAR**, 734* [Jan. 24]; 795E, March 28 [really 796]; 800E, Jan. 15; 802E, Dec. 20 [really May 21]; 806E, Sept. 1; 827*, Dec. 25 [really 828]; 904C†; 1078D†; 1110, May 5; 1117, Dec. 11†; 1121, Apr. 4†.
- ECLIPSES, SOLAR**, 538*, Feb. 16 [really Feb. 15]; 540*, June 20; 664*, May 3 [really May 1]; 733* [Aug. 14]; 809F, July 16; 879* [really Oct. 29, 878]; 879 [March 26], mentioned under 885*†; 1135, Aug. 2† [really 1133]; 1140, March 20†.
- Ecwils**, Danish king, slain, 911A†; *v.* Eowils.
- EDDISBURY HILL**, *v.* Eadesburh.
- EDINGTON**, *v.* Eþandun.
- EDITH**, sister of Athelstan, dr. of Edward the Elder, married to Otho the Great, ii. 121; traditions relating to, ii. 122; mother of Liudulf of Swabia, ii. 170.
- EDITH**, dr. of Malcolm III and Margaret, *v.* Mahald.
- EDMUND**, son of Harold Godwineson, ii. 261.
- Edsinus**, *v.* Eadsige.
- Edwie**, *v.* Eadwig.
- Eferwic**, *v.* Eofer-
- Egbalth**, abbot of Medeshamstead, 686E†.
- EGBERT I**, puppet king set up by the Danes in Northumbria, ii. 84-86.
- EGBERT II**, king in Northumbria, ii. 85.
- For other names beginning with Eg-, see Ecg-.
- ||**Ege**, Eye, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116 *bis*.
- Egel-** for names beginning thus, *v.* Ægel-.
- Egelbert**, 552F; *i. e.* Ethelbert I of Kent, *v.* Æðelbriht.
- Egesanstan**, *v.* Dægsanstan, 603B, C†.
- EGIL SKALLAGRIMSON**, fights at Brunanburh, Addenda to ii. 140.
- Egipte**, Egypt, the infant Christ returns from, 3F; St. Mark writes his Gospel in, 47F.
- EGLAF**, Danish commander, brother-in-law of Godwin, ii. 187.
- Eglaf**, fights against Cnut at Helge Aa, 1025E†; possibly identical with preceding.
- ||**Egleswurðe**, Aylesworth, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
- Egonesham**, Eynsham, Oxfordshire, captured by the West Saxons, 571*†.
- Eiric**, *v.* Yric.
- ELDUNUM**, the Eildon Hills, Oswine slain at, ii. 49; cf. Ædwinesclif.
- ELEANOR OF POITOU**, divorced from Louis VII of France, and marries Henry of Anjou, 1140, p. 268†.
- Elena**, the empress Helena, revelation of the true Cross to, M. 83 ff.
- †**Elesa**, father of Cerdic, son of Esla. A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- Eleutherius**, bishop of Rome, converts Lucius, king of Britain, 167*†; ordinance about Easter, 202E.
- Elfwine**, abbot of Ramsey, sent to the council of Rheims, 1046^BE†, 1050D, *ad fin.*; cf. Ælf-.
- Elias**, *i. e.* Hélie de la Flèche, count of Maine, expelled by Rufus, 1099†; holds Maine of Henry I, 1110†; dies, *ib.*†; dr. of, married to Fulk V of Anjou, ii. 293.

Elig*, Hélig (D, E), Eli (F Lat.), Ely, St. Æthelthryth founds a minster at, 673*†; buried at, 963E†; restored by Æthelwold, *ib.*; Brihtnoth, abbot of, *ib.*; Leofwine, abbot of, 1022E†; the Danes come to, 1070E; return to, and quit, *ib.*, p. 207; Morcar escapes to, 1071E, 1072D†; other insurgents come to, *ib.*E; Richard, abbot of, 1107†; tracts relating to, p. xxix; condition of, at beginning of Edgar's reign, ii. 144, 145; Brihtnoth buried at, ii. 175; Wulfstan II buried at, ii. 205.
Bps. of, Hervé, ii. 291; Nigel, ii. 309.

Eligburh, Ely, Alfred Etheling brought to, dies, and is buried at, 1036C†.

ELIZABETH, called *King*, ii. 118.

ELIZED, son of Iudgual, slain by the Saxons, Addenda.

Ellendun (A), **Ellan-** (E), prob. Wroughton, Wilts., Egbert defeats Beornwulf of Mercia at, 823*†.

ELLERBURN, *v.* Helapyrnum.

ELM, *v.* Ælm.

ELMET, a district near Leeds, Certic, king of, Addenda to ii. 12.

ELMHAM, Norfolk, William, bp. of, i. 290† (Helmeanensis); bishops of, *v.* East Engle; Grimcytel tries to buy bpic. of, ii. 217; see of, removed to Thetford, ii. 281.

ELSLOO, below Maastricht, Danes winter at, ii. 95.

ELY, *v.* Elig, Eligburh.

Embene, Amiens, dépt. Somme, the Danes winter at, 884*†; again in 891, ii. 108.

EMMET, *v.* Eamotum.

ENEDA, *v.* Æthelflæd.

Englafeld, Englefield, Berks., Danes defeated at, 871*.

England (passim), **Engle-** (E), **Englæ-** (1086), **Ængla-** (A), pp. 196, 204, D, p. 175, E, F), **Eng-** (F), England, Augustine comes to, 597F; Christianity new in, 616F; Agatho sends a letter to, 675E, pp. 351, 371.; pilgrims of, at Medeshamstead, *ib.*, p. 361.;

abbots of, addressed by Agatho, *ib.*, p. 36t.; synod to be summoned from, *ib.*, p. 36b.; legates sent to, 785E†; trouble in, under Ceolnoth, 870F, i. 284; Dunstan expelled from, 956F; abp. Ælfric the wisest man in, 995F; Ælfric returns to, *ib.*, p. 130; Danish kings outlawed from, 1014E†; Cnut reduces, 1016E, p. 152†; succeeds to the whole kingdom of, 1017D†; Cnut returns to, 1020D, E; 1023C; 1029E; 1031A; he brings Thurkill's son to, 1023C; Cnut rules, for nearly twenty years, 1036E; Harold elected regent of, *ib.*†; becomes full king of, *ib.*†; rules, for over four years, 1039E†; Hardacnut king of, for two years, 1041E†; great famine in, 1044C, 1043E†; pestilence in, 1047C; earthquake in, 1048C†; Swegen Godwineson returns to, 1047E; civil war in, deprecated, 1052D, p. 175; Godwin controlled all, *ib.*, p. 176; astonishment at his fall in, *ib.*; Godwin and his sons expelled from, 1051C†; forces collected throughout, 1055C, p. 186; Edward Etheling comes to, 1057D *bis*†; the Danes ruled, 1065C, D, pp. 194, 195†; Harold succeeds to kingdom of, 1066E†; comet seen in, 1066C, D†; William conquers, *ib.*A; 1072E, 1073D; cf. 1086 [1087], pp. 217, 219; W. takes chief men of, with him to Normandy, 1066D, p. 200; W. returns to, 1067D†; Lanfranc comes to, 1070A; William plunders all the monasteries of, *ib.*E, 1071D†; William's forces return to, 1073E; plot of the earls to expel William from, 1075E†; garrisons and people of, oppose the earls, *ib.*, 1076D; Ralph Guader's wife retires from, *ib.*; William returns to, *ib.*; William, king of, 1077E; 1085; 1086 [1087], p. 222; cf. p. 220; Malcolm invades, 1079E†; heavy

geld imposed on, 1083, p. 215†; William I returns to, with a large force, 1085†; commissioners sent throughout, *ib.*, p. 216; all landed estates in, enquired into, *ib.*; cf. 1086 [1087], p. 220†; all landholders in, swear allegiance to William I, 1085^b, p. 217†; murrain, &c., in, *ib.*†; famine in, 1086 [1087]; numerous fires in, *ib.*, p. 218; many churches founded in, *ib.*, p. 219; three annual courts in, *ib.*†; attended by chief men of, *ib.*, p. 220; Odo holds an earldom in, *ib.*; alms given to every church in, *ib.*, p. 222; William II succeeds in, *ib.*, p. 219; all the men of, submit to him, *ib.*, p. 222; power of Odo of Bayeux in, 1087 [1088]†; Robert of Normandy thinks to conquer, *ib.*, p. 224; Odo promises to quit, *ib.*; Rufus summons forces throughout, *ib.*†; earthquake in, 1089†; William II, king of, 1090; sails from, 1091†; Robert and his partisans recover their rights in, *ib.*; Robert recognised as heir of, *ib.*; Rufus returns to, *ib.*; Malcolm invades, *ib.*†; 1093, p. 228†; Henry comes to, 1094, p. 229; Edgar Etheling returns to, 1097, p. 234; Flam-bard 'drives' all the moots in, 1099†; Edith-Matilda of the true royal blood of, 1100, p. 236; Robert's partisans recover their lands in, 1101; Robert to receive a pension from, *ib.*; the surviving brother to inherit Normandy and, *ib.*; Robert of Belesme deprived of all his estates in, 1102; expelled from, 1104; Henry I, king of, 1104; 1108; 1120; 1127; 1129, p. 260; prisoners from Tinchebray sent to, 1106; distribution of ecclesiastical offices in, 1107†; chief men of, prevail on Ernulf to become bp. of Rochester, 1114; heavy taxation of, 1118; abp. Thurstan forbidden to return to, 1119; portents in, 1122; writs for a witenagemót

sent throughout, 1123; power of Roger of Salisbury in, *ib.*, pp. 251, 253†; Hugh de Montfort sent to, 1124; bad seasons in, *ib.*, p. 254; David of Scotland holds an earldom in, *ib.*; Henry I sends to, and orders punishment of moneyers in, 1125†; John of Crema traverses, 1125†; chief men of, attend Henry I's court, 1127; Matilda recognised as successor in, *ib.*†; Henry of Poitou wishes to settle in, *ib.*; Hugh de Payen collects contributions in, 1128; abbot Henry promises to live in, *ib.*; Henry I sends for Waleran of Meulan from, 1129; Henry returns to, *ib.*; abp. William summons a council from whole of, *ib.*; canons made by bps. of, *ib.*, p. 260; Peter, abbot of Cluny, comes to, 1130; murrain in, 1131; abbot Henry offers to come to, *ib.*; Henry I comes to, *ib.*; his body brought to, 1135; Stephen comes to, *ib.*; 1137; troubles in, 1140; divided between Stephen and the empress, *ib.*, p. 267; Eustace brings his wife to, *ib.*; Henry of Anjou comes to, *ib.*, p. 268†; peace made in, *ib.*; Henry comes to, 1154; Lanfranc comes to, i. 287; bishops of, submit to Lanfranc, i. 288; rebellious monks of St. Augustine distributed throughout, i. 291, 292; the Forth the boundary of, ii. 267.

Engla peod, the people of the English, Edmund calls out all, 1016D, E, pp. 150, 151 *bis*; Cnut reduces, *ib.* p. 152†; oppressed by Danegeld, 1052D, p. 173†.

Engle, Angli, the Angles, the English, come to Britain and def. at the Britons, 937A, *ad fin.*; Britons fly from, 473*†; Augustine sent to preach to the peoples of, 596E, 595†; the apostle of, 914F Lat.; defeat the Danes near Tettenhall, 910C, D, E; Edmund, lord of, 942A; Edgar, ruler of, 973A; king of, 975A;

agreement of Danes with, 1018D, E†; sufferings of the army of, in Wales, 1056C; Edward Conf., lord of, and rules over, 1065C, D, pp. 192, 193; Harold, king of, 1066C, D, pp. 197, 198; defeat the Norwegians, *ib.*D, p. 199; Malcolm invades, 1091†; October called 'winterfylleð' by, M. 185.

ENGLEFIELD, *r.* Englafeld.

English (*Ænglisc*, D, E), English, one of the languages of Britain, E Pref. p. 3; Ethelbert first Christian among E. kings, 616E; Ercenberht first of E. kings to enforce observance of Lent, 639E; E. primates begin with Berhtwald, 690A, 692E†; certain E. men slain in naval battle against the Danes, 897A, p. 91; Edward occupies Nottingham with E. men, 922A; E. settlers in Mercia submit to Edward, *ib.*; E. in Northumbria, *do.*, 924A†; E. fyrd defeated by the Danes, 1001E; E. folk, *do.*, 1006F; much E. people drowned at Brentford, 1016D, E, pp. 150, 151; many E. slain at Helge Aa, 1025E; E. thanes in Cnut's fleet, 1028F; many E. slain, 1052^bD; Edward's and Godwin's forces composed chiefly of E. men, 1052C, D, pp. 180, 181; body of E. people defeated by Welsh near Westbury, 1053C†; E. men in Siward's army slain, 1054C; E. men in Ralph's army fly, 1055C, p. 186†; E. housecarls of Tostig slain, 1065D, 1064E; numbers of E. people slain (Fulford), 1066C, p. 196; Harold has a large army of E. men (Stamford Bridge), *ib.*D, E, pp. 198, 199; they defeat the Norwegians, *ib.*C, D; many of, slain, *ib.*C; a Northman resists the E., *ib.*; one of, attempts to shoot him, *ib.*; the E. folk of the fens join the Danes, 1070E; William's E. forces reduce Maine, 1073E, 1074D†; Ralph (the Staller), English, 1075E, 1076D; Rufus conciliates and summons

E. men to his aid, 1087 [1088], pp. 223, 224†; they capture Tunbridge, *ib.*, p. 224; guard the sea against Robert, *ib.*; E. adherents of Malcolm III expelled, 1093, p. 228; Duncan invades Scotland with help of E., *ib.*; promises not to introduce E., *ib.*; Rufus calls out 20,000 E. men, 1094, p. 229; E. prelates deposed, 1102†; dislike of E. to the Angevin connexion, 1127; on English, 'in English,' 891A; 1095, p. 231; E. goldsmiths famous, *ii.* 248; Ealdred, the last E. abp., *ii.* 262; E. slaves in Scotland, *ii.* 263; Englishmen promoted by Cnut, excluded by William I, *ii.* 271; E. influence in Scotland, *ii.* 285.

†Enoh (Enoch), 855A, B, C.

†Enos, 855A, B, C.

Eoda, *i.e.* Odo, earl of Champagne and of Aumale, deprived of his lands in England, 1096†.

Eoferwic (C, D, E), Eofor- (B, C, D, E, H), Heofor- (948D), Eafor- (1065D), Efer- (1070A, 1125E), Æfer- (675E), Euer- (F, a), Euor- (1138), York, Severus dies at, 189E, a; Edwin baptised, and builds a wooden church at, 626E; Cuthbert consecrated at, 685E; fire at, 741E†; abp. Egbert dies at, 766E; Eardwulf crowned at, 795E†; Eanbald I buried at, 796E; Alchred expelled from, 774E†; Ethelbert of Whiterne consecrated at, 777E†; Ragnall captures, 923D, E†; Danes of, attack Edred's rearguard, 948D; Ælfwig, bp. of London, consecrated at, 1014D†; Cnut marches on, 1016D, E, pp. 148, 149; Ægelric of Durham consecrated at, 1041D†; Cynesige holds the see of, 1053C, p. 184†; Siward dies at, 1055C, D†; Tostig's housecarls slain at, 1065C, D, 1064E; Harold at, 1066C, D†; Harold Hardrada and Tostig come to, and defeat Edwin and Morcar near, (Fulford), *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 196,

- 197†; submits to them, *ib.*C; they march out, and Harold of England marches through, *ib.*, pp. 197, 198; defeats them beyond, *ib.*C, D, pp. 197, 198†; William builds two castles at, 1067D, p. 202†; submits to Edgar Etheling, and is ravaged by William, 1068D, E†; Ealdred buried at, *ib.*D; captured by Edgar and the Danes, 1068D, 1069E†; burnt by the Normans, *ib.*D, p. 204; William spends Christmas at, *ib.*†; see of, given to Ægelric, and then taken away, 1072E, 1073D† (cf. ii. 220); sheriff of, receives Edgar Etheling, 1075D, p. 210; St. Peter's church at, ravaged by Hakon's son, 1076D, p. 212; Richard, monk and abbot of, 1114H; entrusted to William of Aunale, 1138; Wulfstan, bp. of Worcester, and Peter, bp. of Chester, come to, i. 289. Absps. of, Wilfrid, 675E, p. 37h., 1.†; Wilfrid II, 744E†; Ethelbert, 766E†; Oswald, 963E, p. 117 *bis*; Ælfric, 1052D, p. 173; Cynesige, 1060D, E†; Ealdred, *ib.*, 1068D†; Thomas of Bayeux, 1070A†; i. 288, 289; 1100, p. 236†; Gerard, 1103†; 1108; Thomas II, *ib.*†; 1114E, H; Thurstan, *ib.*†; 1119†; 1120†; 1123, p. 252; 1125†; *v.* Æthelwold, Eanbald I and II, Egabriht, Wigmund, Wulfhere, Wulfstan I and II. Monastic school of, ii. 51, 52; library and librarians of, ii. 52; Eadberht dies at, ii. 52, 53; Osred of Northumbria tonsured at, ii. 61; Osbald buried at, ii. 63; Egbert received at, ii. 73; founded by Ebraucus, ii. 82; Athelstan at, in 936, ii. 140; Swegen said to have been buried at, ii. 192; one of the Seven Danish Boroughs, ii. 193; Wulfstan II dies at, ii. 205; men struck by lightning at, ii. 208; cathedral constitution of, ii. 264; controversy between Canterbury and, ii. 264, 265, 274, 291, 294, 297, 300, 302, 303, 306; i. 288; relations of, with Evesham, p. lxxvii n.; St. Mary's at, church of Galmanho given to, ii. 245; question of subjection of Scottish bps. to, ii. 302; cf. i. 289; *v.* Ceaster.
- Eoferwicceaster**, York, Paulinus bp. of, 644A; Oscytel made abp. of, 971B†; Ælfric, abp. of, 1050C; Eadberht and Egbert buried at, 738*†; Danes go to, 867*; battle at, *ib.*†; Danes winter at, 869*.
- Eoferwicingas**, the people of York, Æthelflæd makes an agreement with, 918C†.
- Eoferwicscir**, Yorkshire, thanes of, rebel against Tostig, 1065C, D†; ravaged by William, 1068D, 1069E, pp. 203, 204†.
- Eoferwicstol**, the see of York, Ealdwulf appointed to, 992E†.
- Eofesham** (C, D), **Heofes-** (C), **Eues-** (E), Evesham, Worcestershire, Æfic, dean of, dies, 1037C†; church of, consecrated, 1054C, D†. Abbots of, Ælfweard, Manni (*or* Wulfmær), 1045D†; ii. 244; Ægelwig, 1077E, 1078D†; Walter, *ib.*D; Roger, ii. 306. MS. D probably compiled at, pp. xxxiv, lxxvi f.; connexion of, with Odensee, *ib.*; relations of, with bps. of Worcester, *ib.* n.; secular canons introduced at, ii. 157; punishment of a plunderer by the monastery of, ii. 218; misery of, under abbot Roger, ii. 306; appropriation of revenues to monastic offices at, ii. 311.
- EOGAN**, *v.* Eugenius.
- Eohric**, Danish king of East Anglia, slain, 905A, D†.
- ‡**Eomær**, father of Icel, son of Angelþeow, 626B, C; 755A, *adj. fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- Eomer**, attempts to murder Edwin, 626E†.
- ‡**Eoppa**, father of Eafa, and son of Ingild, A Pref. p. 4†; 885A.
- ‡**Eoppa**, father of Ida, son of Esa, 547B, C; cf. 560A; 585A; 731A; ii. 5, 6.

- Eoppa**, priest, evangelises Wight, 656E, p. 32b.†; 661*†.
- EORMENBURG**, or *Domneva*, dr. of Ermenred, founds a monastery in Thanet, ii. 21, 22; wife of St. Merewald, ii. 26; their children, *ib.*
- EORMENGILD**, wife of Wulfhere, and mother of Werburg, ii. 56.
- Eormenric**, father of Ethelbert I of Kent, 552F; 616F.
- Eorpwald**, king of the East Angles, baptised, 632*†.
- Eourard**, *i. e.* Everard, bp. of Norwich, present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
- Eowils** (B, C), **Eowilisc** (D), Danish king, slain, 911B, C, D; *v.* Ecwils.
- Ephesus**, *Effesia*, St. John the Evangelist rests at, 100E, 99A; Council of, 433E.
- EPISFORD**, Nennius' name for the battle of Ægelesthrep, ii. 11.
- EPTERNACH**, Luxemburg, Theofrid abbot of, ii. 258.
- Ercenberht** (a), **-briht** (E), **Erconbryht** (A), **Arcen-** (A), king of Kent, father of Egbert, son of Eadbald, 694A; succeeds his father Eadbald, 640 a, 639E; abolishes idolatry and enforces the keeping of Lent, *ib.*†; his daughter Ercongota, *ib.*; dies, 664*.
- Ercongota**, dr. of Ercenberht and Sexburg, her sanctity, 639E.
- ERCONWALD**, bp. of London, dies >692, ii. 31.
- ERIC**, *v.* Yric.
- ERIC BLOOD-AXE**, son of Harold Harfager, king of Norway, Addenda.
- ERLEND**, son of Torfinn, earl of Orkney, ii. 256.
- Ermenred**, son of Eadbald of Kent, his two sons martyred by Thunor, 640a†.
- Ernulf**, bp. of Rochester, prior of Canterbury, made abbot of Peterborough, 1107†; appointed to Rochester, 1114E, H†; his character, *ib.*E; one of the consecrators of William of Curboil, 1123, p. 252; dies, 1124, p. 254†; possibly obtains a copy of the Chronicle for Peterborough, p. liv n.; *Textus Roffensis* due to, *ib.*
- Erodes**, 46E; *v.* Herodes.
- ‡**Esa**, father of Eoppa, son of Ingui, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Esbeorn**, *v.* Osbearn.
- Escanceaster**, *v.* Exan-.
- ||**Escwi**, abbot (of Bath), signature of, 963E, p. 117.
- ||**Esendic**, the *Asendyke*, a water-course enclosing the Isle of Croyland, and joining the Welland, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30l.; cf. Ingulph, pp. 3, 9, 12, &c.
- ‡**Esla**, father of *Elesa*, son of *Gewis*, A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- ESPEC**, *v.* Walter.
- Essecitrensis**, *v.* Exanceaster.
- ESSEX**, *v.* East Seaxe, &c.
- Est Engle**, *v.* East-.
- ESTHRITH**, sister of Cnut, mother of Swegen of Denmark, ii. 223, 225.
- ESTOUTEVILLE**, *v.* Stutteuile.
- Estun**, Easton, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 31l.; recovered by abbot Martin from William Malduit, 1137, p. 265.
- ÉTAPLES**, *v.* Cwantawic.
- Ebandun**, ?Edington, Wilts., Alfred defeats the Danes at, 878*†.
- ETHELBERT**, son of Ermenred, murdered by Thunor, ii. 21, 22.
- ETHELBERT**, king of the South Saxons, ii. 72.
- ETHELBERT**, other name of Ethelred, son of Moll, ii. 53.
- ETHELRED**, son of Ermenred, murdered by Thunor, ii. 21, 22.
- ETHELRED**, king of the Northumbrians, son of Eared, ii. 84; slain, *ib.*
- ETHELRED**, alderman of the Gaini, father of Ealhswith, ii. 117.
- ETHEL SINUS** (*Æthelsige*), evil counsellor of Ethelred, ii. 168.
- ETHELWERD**, the chronicler, history of, p. ci; mistakes of, pp. xliv, cii n.; ii. 8, 9, 18, 28, 47, 90; relation of, to the Chron., pp. ci f.,

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Epelwulf, *v.* Æþelwulf.
EU, *v.* Ou.
Eudes, *v.* Oda.
EVERARD, *v.* Eourard.
Euerwic, **Euor-**, *v.* Eofer-.
EVESHAM, *v.* Eofesham.
EUGENIUS, **EOGAN**, *or* **OWEN**, king of Strathclyde, submits to Edward, cf. 924A; to Athelstan, ii. 135; defeated by Athelstan, ii. 138; fights at Brunanburh, ii. 140.
Eugenius (III), pope, grants privileges to Peterborough, 1137, p. 265†.
Eunomius, heretic, 379E.
Eureus, **Euereus**, **Evreux**, dép. Eure, [William,] earl of, suffers forfeiture, 1112; Audoenus, bp. of, 1130.
EUSEBIUS, on Greek chroniclers, p. xviii n.; nature of his Chronicle, p. xxi n.; use of, in the Middle Ages, ii. 7.
Eustace, son of Stephen, goes to France, and marries Louis VII's sister (Constance), 1140, p. 267†; returns to England and dies, *ib.*, pp. 267, 268†; buried at Faversham, 1154.
Eustatius, *i. e.* Eustace II, count of Boulogne, married to Edw. Conf.'s sister, 1052D; outrage of, at Dover, *ib.*D, 1048E, pp. 172, 173†; makes a partial statement to the king, *ib.*E† (cf. p. xlix); surrender of, demanded by Godwin, *ib.*D, p. 175†; Eustace III, son of, ii. 278.
Eustatius pe iunga, **Eustaties**, *i. e.* Eustace III, count of Boulogne, besieged in Rochester, 1087 [1088], p. 224†; goes on the first crusade, 1096; returns, 1100, p. 236; recovers his father's English lands, 1101.
Eutices, abbot, heretic, 449E.
Exanceaster*, **Escan-** (A), **Eaxe-** (1003E), **Exancester** (1067D), **Exe-** (1135), **-ciester** (F), **Exonia**, **Exeter**, the Danes move

from Wareham to, 876*†; 877*†; Alfred rides after them to, 877*†; Danes besiege, 894A, p. 86h.† (cf. 895A); Alfred marches to, and raises the siege of, *ib.*, pp. 86, 87†; Danes attack, 1001E†; lost through the French churl, Hugh, 1003E†; William reduces, 1067D†; Baldwin de Redvers holds, against Stephen, 1135†; Osbern, bp. of, i. 288 (Essecistrensis); Athelstan expels the West Welsh from, ii. 135; cf. Addenda, p. viii; sees of Devon and Cornwall transferred to, ii. 165, 169, 226; relics given by Athelstan to, ii. 192.
Exanmuða, Exmouth, Devon, attacked by the Danes, 1001*†.
EXETER, *v.* Exanceaster.
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EYE, *v.* Ege.
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F.

FADDILEY, *v.* Fethanleag.
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Faramundus, first king of the Franks, 425E.
FARFA, between Rome and Riati, feud in monastery of, ii. 271.
FARINGDON, *v.* Fearndun.
Farinmail (A), **-magil** (E), **-mægil** (B, C), British king slain at Dyrham, 577*†; cf. Addenda to ii. 17.
Farits, *i. e.* Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, dies, 1117†; thought of for the primacy, ii. 292; homage done to, *ib.*
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- don, Berks., Edward dies at, 924C, D.
- Fearnham**, Farnham, Surrey, Danes defeated at, 894A, p. 85†.
- FÉCAMP**, *v.* Uescam.
- Felix**, bp. of the East Angles, preaches to the East Angles, 636*†.
- FELIX**, monk of Croyland, life of St. Guthlac by, ii. 37.
- FENNOR**, *v.* Finnabair.
- Feologid (A)**, Feolagild (E), Felo- (F), abbot, dies, 830*†; elected abp. of Canterbury and dies, 829F†; *cf.* 995F, p. 130.
- Fergan**, *v.* Alein.
- FERGHIL**, bp. of Finnabair, *v.* Virgilius.
- FERNMAIL**, *v.* Farinmail.
- Fēpanleag**, Faddiley, Cheshire, battle of Ceawlin against the Britons at, 584*†.
- ||**Fēðermud**, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30l.
- Fifburga**, the Five Danish Boroughs, Edmund reduces, 942A† (burga fife); *cf.* ii. 119; Edmund Etheling goes to, 1015E.
- Fifburhingas**, the people of the Five (Danish) Boroughs, submit to Swegen, 1013E.
- Filippus**, *v.* Philip.
- FINCHALE**, *v.* Pincanheal, Wincan.
- Finchamstæd**, Berks., fountain of blood at, 1098†; *v.* Heamsted.
- †**Finn**, **Fin**, father of Frithuwulf, son of Godwulf, 855A; *v.* ii. 4, 5; 547B, C; father of Frealaf, 835B, C.
- FINNABAIR**, Fennor, Co. Meath, Ferghil, bp. of, ii. 122.
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- FITZOSBERN**, **WILLIAM**, *v.* Willelm.
- Fipele**, *v.* Vithele.
- FIVE BOROUGHS, THE**, *v.* Fifburga.
- Flæming**, Flemings, many of, slain at Stamford Bridge, 1066C, p. 198; *cf.* ii. 254; *v.* Flemisc.
- Flandre**, Flanders [the *nom.* does not occur; as *dat.* we have Flandron, D; -dre, F; -dran, -dra, -dres, E], Danish fleet withdraws to, 1075E; Robert of Normandy flies to, 1079D; thieves from, plunder Peterborough, 1102; Baldwin VII returns wounded to, 1118. Counts of, Robert (the Frisian), 1085; Robert (of Jerusalem), 1096; 1100, p. 236; 1111†; Baldwin VII, 1111†; 1117; 1118; 1119; Charles, 1119†; 1120; 1127†; William Clito, 1127†; 1128†; Arnulf I, ii. 150; Thierry, ii. 304; Baldwin II, Addenda, p. viii; *v.* Arnulf III, Baldwin V and VI. A political refuge for Englishmen, ii. 213, 216, 227, 228, 252; Tostig possibly comes from, ii. 254; famine in, ii. 301; *v.* Flemingaland.
- FLATHOLME**, *v.* Bradan Relice.
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- Flemingaland**, Flanders, Edgar Etheling comes from, 1075D†; Robert of Normandy returns to, 1079D; *v.* Flandre.
- Flemisc**, Flemish, F. men slain with bp. Walcher, 1080E; *v.* Flæming.
- FLEURY**, on the Loire, dép. Loiret, influence of, on English monasticism, ii. 158; Oswald of York educated at, ii. 176.
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- FLORENCE OF WORCESTER**, Chronicles used by, pp. lxxii n., lxxix f.; lxxxiii ff., cxxv; ii. 107, 116, 117, 180, 196, 229, 236; additions of, to the Chron., p. lxxxv; ii. 194, 196, 206; misunderstands the Chron., ii. 197, 230, 237; other authorities used by, pp. lxxx n., lxxxv n.; relation of, to Asser, pp. lxxxiii f.; ii. 97; Scandinavian elements in, p. lxxvii n.; use of the Mercian Register by, pp. lxxxiv f.; ii. 117; his value and accuracy, p. lxxxv n.; ii. 14, 15, 17, 296, 297; not based on a Latin Chron., pp. lxxxv f. n.; his treatment of the Saxon genealogies, ii. 2, 4, 6; tendency of, to excuse national failures, ii. 180-182; Godwinist in sympathy, ii. 236; possibly wrote at Wulfstan's suggestion, ii. 277; death of, ii. 296.
- Florentia**, Florence, Nicolas, bp.

- of, chosen pope (= Nicolas II), 1059D, E.
- Florentine**, St., Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, purchases the body of, 1013E, p. 144†.
- FOLCARD**, life of Botulf by, ii. 24; dedicated to bp. Walkelin, ii. 285; life of St. John of Beverley by, dedicated to abp. Ealdred, ii. 262.
- Folcesstan (E), Folc- (F), Folke-**stone, Kent, Harold seizes ships at, 1052E, p. 179; *v.* Stan.
- ||**Folies**, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30l.
- FORTEVRAUD**, dép. Maine-et-Loire, Matilda of Anjou becomes nun, and abbess of, ii. 298.
- Forhere**, *v.* Forþ-
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- FORTIFICATION**, of monasteries, ii. 156.
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- Forþhere (Forhere, 709E)**, bp. of Sherborne, succeeds Aldhelm, 709*†; goes to Rome, 737*†.
- Forþred**, abbot, dies, 803A†.
- Fræna**, Danish jarl, slain at Ashdown, 871*.
- Fræna**, treacherous English leader, 993E†.
- Franca**, **France**, **Franci**, **Francigenae**, the Franks, the French, origin of kingdom of, 425E; fight with the Old Saxons, 780A, 779E†; with the Danes, 881*†; St. Lo between the Bretons and, 890*; conquer England, 1107. Kings of, Carl (*i.e.* Charles the Bald), 855*†; Carl (*i.e.* Carloman of Aquitaine), 885*†; Carl (*i.e.* Charles the Fat), 887*†; *v.* Earnulf, Faramundus, Hlothwig, Pippin. Henry I of France, 1060E; Philip I, 1070E, 1071D, pp. 206, 207; 1077E; 1090 *bis*; Louis (VI), king elect of, ii. 288. Wrongly identified with the Gauls by W. M., ii. 9.
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- Francia**, Charlemagne traverses, 778E.
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- Francric**, France, Henry I king of, 1060D; Philip, king of, 1075D; Philip comes from, to relieve Dol, 1077D; William I brings mercenaries from, 1085†.
- ‡**Frealaf**, father of Frithuwald, son of Frithuwulf, 855A; *cf.* ii. 4; futher of Woden, son of Finn, 855B, C; *v.* Freopolaf.
- ‡**Freawine** (an error for Frealaf, *q. v.*), father of Frithuwald, 855A.
- ‡**Freawine**, father of Wig, son of Frithugar, A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- Frencisc (C, D, E, F), Frencysc (D), Freoncysc (D)**, Frankish, French, Ægelberht a F. man, 650 F (cited ii. 23); Robert of Jumièges, *do.*, 1041D; Hugh, a French churl, 1003E; Godwin demands the surrender of the F. men in Richard's Castle, 10521), p. 175†; William of Normandy comes to England with many F. men, *ib.*, p. 176; F. men from [Richard's] Castle encounter, and are slain by Gruffydd of N. Wales, 1052^bD†, *ib.*; all F. men outlawed, 1052C, D,

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- ||**Freoricburna**, charter executed at, 777E, p. 53 h.
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- ‡**Freopolaf**, **Freopelaf**, father of Woden, son of Frithuwulf, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5; a form of Frealaf, *q. v.*
- ‡**Freopulf**, *v.* Fripuwulf.
- Fresisc**, Frisian, Alfred's ships not built on F. lines, 897A, p. 90; some F. men slain in naval battle against the Danes, 897A, p. 91.
- ||**Freðegis**, signature of, 656E, p. 32 b.
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- Frisa**, **Friessa**, pl. -an, Frisian, Frisians, help the Old Saxons to defeat the Danes, 885A†; serve in Alfred's navy, 897A, p. 91†; evangelised by Willehad, ii. 51.
- Friðeberht**, bp. of Hexham, dies, 766E†.
- Friðegist**, treacherous English leader, 993E†.
- Friðestan** (A, F), **Frypestan** (A), **Friðstan** (D), made bp. of Winchester, 910A, D†; dies, 932A, 931F†; possible signature of, p. xxiv.
- Friðewald**, bp. of Whitern, dies, 762E†; consecrated at York, *ib.*†
- ‡**Fripogar**, **Fripugar**, **Freopogar**, father of Freawine, son of Brond, A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- Fripogip** (A), **Fryðegip** (E), queen of the West Saxons, wife of Æthelheard, goes to Rome, 737*†.
- ‡**Fripowald**, **Fripuwald**, father of Woden, son of Freawine (an error for Frealaf), 855A; cf. ii. 4.
- ‡**Fripuwulf** (A), **Fripulf** (B), **Freopulf** (B), father of Frealaf, son of Finn, 855A; cf. ii. 4; 547B.
- FRUOLI**, Berengar, Markgrave of, *v.* Beorngar.
- From**, Frome, Somerset, Edred dies at, 955A.
- Frommuða**, **Fromuða**, the mouth of the Frome, Dorset, the Danes enter, 998E; Cnut enters, 1015E.
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- FULFORD**, near York, Harold Hardrada defeats Edwin and Morcar at, ii. 255.
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- FULK**, abp. of Rheims, letters of, to Alfred and Plegmund, ii. 102, 103; recommends Grimbold to Alfred, ii. 122.
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- Galmanhō (C), Galmahō (D), near York, Siward buried in church of, which he had built, 1055C, D†.
- Galwalas, the Gauls, Gaul, Julius Caesar retires to, twice, B.C. 60E; Maximus goes to, 380E, 381a†; bp. Ægelberht comes from, 650A, 649E†; receives a bpric. in, 660*; Godune, a bp. of, 693E.
- GAMELBEARN, a leader of the northern insurgents, ii. 252.
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- GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE, bp. Walcher murdered at, ii. 270.
- †Geat, father of Godwulf, son of Tætwa, 855A; cf. 547B, C; ii. 5; worshipped as a god, ii. 4 note; and Addenda.
- GEBMUND, *v.* Gifemund.
- Gegnesburh (E), Gæignes- (D), Genesburuh (C), Gainsborough, Lincs., Swegen comes to, 1013E; Cnut stationed at, 1014E†; cf. ii. 117.
- Gelasius (II), pope, previously called John of Gaeta, 1118†; dies, 1119.
- Gemetica, Jumièges, dép. Seine Inf., Robert, abbot of, made abp. of Canterbury, 1050F Lat.; gives a missal to, ii. 240; dies at, *ib.*
- Gend (A), Gent (E), Ghent, Danes winter at, 880*†; Womær, abbot of, 981C†; monastery of Blandinium in, ii. 150.
- GENEALOGIES, Kentish, 449E; 694A; cf. ii. 6; Mercian, 626B, C; 716A; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6; Northumbrian, 547B, C; 560B, C; 670A; 685A; 731A; cf. ii. 5, 6; West-Saxon, A Pref. pp. 2, 4†; 552B, C; 597A; 611B, C; 648A; 674A; 676A; 685A; 688A; 728A; 855A.
- Genesburuh, *v.* Gegnesburh.
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- Gerborneſ, Gerberoi, dép. Oise, battle of, 1079E.
- Gerente, king of the (West) Welsh, Ine and Nun fight against, 710*†.
- Germanie, Germany, three tribes from, invade Britain, 449E, a; *v.* Alamanie.
- GERMINUS, brother of St. Æthelthryth, ii. 24.
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- GERVASE**, a monk of Canterbury, his view as to the difference between Chronicles and History, p. xviii n.; on the different commencements of the year, p. cxxxix.
- Gerueis**, *i. e.* Gervais de Châteauneuf, Hugh, son of, 1124; 1126; 1129.
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- GEUL**, R., tributary of the Maas or Meuse, battle on, ii. 103.
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- †**Gewis**, **Giwis**, father of Esla, son of Wig, A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- GEWISSAE**, ancient name of West Saxons, Alfred called king of, ii. 114; so Harold Harefoot, ii. 218.
- Geza** (Geta), son of Severus, dies, 189E.
- GHEENT**, *v.* Gend.
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- GIBSON**, **EDMUND**, bp. of London, *v.* Chronicles, Anglo-Saxon, editions of.
- Gifard**, **Giffard**, *v.* Willelm Giffard.
- Gifard**, king's chaplain, goes to Rome, 1123, p. 252.
- Gifmund** (Gebmund), bp. of Rochester, dies, 693E†.
- Gilbert Uniuersal**, bp. of London, present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130†.
- Gildeneburh**, *v.* Burh.
- Gilebert**, abbot of Westminster, dies, 1117.
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- GILLACHOMGAIN**, father of Lulach, ii. 270.
- GILLAPATRAIC**, *v.* Patricius.
- Gillingaham** (D), **Gillinga** (E), Gillingham, Dorset, battle near, 1016D, E, p. 149; probably mis-written for Guildford, ii. 214.
- Gipeswic***, **Gypeswic** (C, D), Ipswich, Suffolk, ravaged, 991E, 993A†; Danes come to, 1010E†.
- Girard**, *i. e.* Gerard, abp. of York, William Giffard refuses to be consecrated by, 1103†; dies, 1108.
- Gisa**, **Giso**, made bp. of Somerset (*i. e.* Wells), 1060D, 1061E†; one of the consecrators of William of St. Carilef, i. 289.
- †**Giwis**, *v.* Gewis.
- Glæstingaburh** (C, D, E, F, a), **Glæstinga-**, **-tinga-** (D), **-tinge-** (a), **Gleasting-**, **Glaesting-** (E) [the *nom.* does not occur; oblique cases -byrig (C, D, E, a), -berig (a), -byri (D, E, F)], Glastonbury, Somerset, rebuilt by Ine, 588a†; entrusted to Dunstan by Edmund, 943a†; Edmund Ironside buried near Edgar at, 1016D, E, pp. 152, 153; Merewhit of Wells, buried at, 1033E; feud between abbot Thurstan and the monks of, 1083†. Abbots of, Ægelward, 1053C, D; Ægelnath, *ib.* D, 1066D, p. 200†; i. 289†; Sefred, 1123, p. 252†; Henry of Blois, 1129, p. 260†; Ælfweard, ii. 173. Old church at, ii. 22; Eanwulf, alderman of Somerset, buried at, ii. 77; Edmund buried at, ii. 146; land at Pucklechurch granted to, *ib.*; Damerham left to, ii. 147; Edgar buried at, ii. 162; Ælfheah said to have been prior of, ii. 170; alleged translation of Dunstan to, ii. 172, 189; abp. Ælfric a monk of, ii. 178.
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- Glaestingburh**, **GLASTONBURY**, **Gleastingburh**, *v.* Glæstingaburh.
- Gleaweceaster*** (C, D), **Gleawan-** (A), **Gleaw-** (E), **Glowe-** (1093), **Gleawcester** (C, D), **Glew-** (D), **Glowe-** (H), **Gleu-** (1126), **Glou-** (1140), **Gleucester** (1126), **Cloecistra**, **Cleucestra**, **Claudia ciuitas** (i. 289, 290), Gloucester, captured by the West Saxons, 577*†; men of, defeat the Danes, 91; D, 918A†; Æthelfræd buried at, 918C; Athelstan dies at,

- 940D†; Edward Conf. rides to Winchester from, 1043D†; Eustace of Boulogne comes to, 1052D, p. 175†; Edward at, *ib.*; Leofric and Siward assemble their forces at, *ib.*†; Edward summons witenagemót to, 1048E, p. 173; Rhys' head brought to, 1053D; English forces assemble at, 1055C, p. 186; Ealdred restores and consecrates St. Peter's minster at, 1058D†; Harold sets out from, 1063D; witenagemót and synod at, 1085, p. 216†; midwinter courts held at, 1086 [1087], p. 219; 1094; 1100; Rufus ill at, 1093†; summons Malcolm to, *ib.*†; Matthias, abbot of Peterborough, dies and is buried at, 1103; Peter and William, abbots of, 1113H; burnt, 1122†; witenagemót summoned to, 1123; Hugh de Montfort imprisoned at, 1124, p. 254; Robert, earl of, 1126†; 1127; 1140 (three times); Peter, bp. of Chester, consecrated at, i. 289†; Lanfranc holds a council at, i. 289, 290†; not retained by the Danes, ii. 92; St. Oswald's at, founded by Ethelred and Æthelstæd, ii. 118; sheriffdom of, held by Edric Streona, ii. 200; Thurstan, abbot of, ii. 277.
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- Goda**, a Devonshire thane, slain, 988C, E†.
- Godefrið**, **Godefreith**, bp. of Bath, born at Louvain, chancellor of Adelaide of Louvain, 1123, p. 252†; present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
- Godefridus**, bp. of Chichester, consecrated, i, 290†.
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- Godune** (*or* Godwine), abp. of Lyons, consecrates Berhtwald, 693E.
- Godwine**, *v.* Ælfheah.
- Godwine**, treacherous English leader, 993E†.
- Godwine**, of Worthy, son of abp. Ælfsige, slain, 1001A†.
- Godwine**, bp. of Rochester, captured by the Danes, 1011E†.
- Godwine**, alderman of Lindsey, slain at Ashingdon, 1016D, E, p. 152†.
- Godwine**, earl of Wessex, Wulfnoth, father of, 1009F†; opposes the election of Harold as regent,

- 1036E†; helps Ælfgifu-Emma to hold Wessex for Hardacnut, *ib.*†; prevents the Etheling Alfred from going to his mother, 1036C†; arrests him, and slays his followers, *ib.*†; cf. ii. 225, 235; takes part in the raid against Ælfgifu-Emma, 1043D†; consents to the appointment of Siward as coadjutor-bp., 1044C, 1043E; Edith, dr. of, *ib.*†; sent with a fleet from Sandwich to Pevensey, 1046^bE, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 168, 169†; Swegen comes to, *ib.*E; refuses to go against Dover, 1048E, p. 173†; cf. 1052D, p. 175; cf. pp. xlix f.; Swegen and Harold join, *ib.*D, E, pp. 174, 175†; the other earls offer to attack, *ib.*D; summoned to London, *ib.*D, E†; refused hostages, *ib.*E†; exiled, *ib.*D, E, 1051C†; goes to Flanders, *ib.*†; movements of, 1052C, D, E, pp. 177-179†; joined by Harold, *ib.*; their movements, *ib.*†; comes to London, *ib.*; truce made between Edward and, *ib.*, pp. 180, 181; attends witenagemót and is restored, *ib.*, pp. 180-183; his sickness and recovery, *ib.*C, p. 182†; his sacrilege, *ib.*†; his death, 1053^cC, D†; buried in the Old Minster, *ib.*C, E; Tostig, son of, 1055E; Eglaf, brother-in-law of, ii. 187; said to have caused the death of Edmund Ironside (!), ii. 200; said to have fought against the Wends, ii. 203; fights at Helge Aa, ii. 206; takes part in the ravaging of Worcestershire, ii. 219; influence of, on election of Edward Conf., ii. 221; tries to counteract Edward's Norman tastes, ii. 225; in favour of helping Swegen Esthrithson, ii. 227, 228; Ælfric, a relation of, ii. 234; grant of Gytha for soul of, ii. 260.
- Godwine, abbot of Winchcombe, dies, 1053C, D.
- Godwine, bp. at St. Martin's, Canterbury, dies, 1061D, E†.
- GODWINE, son of Harold Godwine-son, ii. 261.
- ‡Godwulf (A), Godulf (B, C), father of Finn, son of Geat, 855A; 547B, C; cf. ii. 4, 5.
- Goisfri (Geoffrey), abbot of Burton, formerly monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, 1114H.
- Gordianus, father of Gregory the Great, 606B, C†.
- GORMO ENSKI, v. Godrum (1).
- GORMO GAMLE, v. Godrum (2).
- GOSCELIN, the hagiologist, goes with bp. Herman to Rome, ii. 233.
- Gosfrei Bainard, or Geoffrey of Baynard, accuses William of Eu, and overcomes him in single combat, 106†.
- Gosfreið, abbot of St. Albans, goes to Rome, 1125.
- Gosfreið Martæl, i. e. Geoffrey V of Anjou, marries Henry I's dr. Matilda, 1127†; cf. ii. 299; Normandy revolts to, 1140, p. 267†; dies, *ib.*, p. 268†; Henry, son of, *ib.*
- Gosfrið, i. e. Geoffrey, bp. of Coutances, revolts against Rufus, 1087 [1088]†; ravages Somerset, *ib.*, p. 223†.
- Gospatric, earl of Northumberland, retires to Scotland, 1067D, p. 202†; joins the Danes, 1068D, p. 204; father of Dolfin, ii. 280.
- Gotan, the Goths, sack Rome, 409*†.
- GOUGH, RICHARD, translation of Saxon Chron. by, p. cxxxii n.
- GOZLIN, bp. of Paris, defends Paris against the Danes, ii. 101.
- GRADO, Gulf of Trieste, patriarch of, ii. 229.
- ||Grætecros, Great Cross, Northants (T.), in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30b.
- GRANTCHESTER (? = Cambridgeshire), part of, included by Gaimar in kingdom of Southumbria, ii. 35.
- Grantebrycg (A), Grantan-*, Grantebryge (F), Cambridge, Danes winter at, 875*; Danes of, submit to Edward, 921A, *ad fin.*; burnt by the Danes, 1010E;

- resists the Danes, *ib.*F; Henry I said to have been a M.A. of (!), ii. 288.
- Grantabrycg(e)scir**, Cambridgeshire, stoutly resists the Danes, 1010E†; Danes ravage, 1011E.
- Gratianus**, Roman emperor, accession of, 379E, a; death of, 380E, 381a.
- GREAT CROSS**, *v.* Grætecros.
- Grecland**, either Magna Graecia, or the Byzantine empire generally, 982C†.
- GREENWICH**, *v.* Grenawic.
- Gregorius**, pope (the Great), his dialogues cited, 482F†; his mission, 565E, a; 596E, 595a†; cf. 785E; M. 100 f.; his accession, 592E, a†; his augmentation of the Canon, 591E; sends a pallium to Augustine, 601*†; cf. 995F; his death, 606A, 605E†; honoured in Britain, M. 39 f.; his organisation of the church in Britain, ii. 264.
- Gregorius**, cardinal of St. Angelo, elected pope (= Innocent II), 1129, p. 260†; his adherents, *ib.*†; cf. Addenda, p. x.
- GREGORY V**, pope, letter of, to Abbo of Fleurv, ii. 179.
- GREGORY VIII**, anti-pope, set up by Henry V, ii. 292.
- Grenawic (D, E), Grenwic (F)**, Greenwich, Thurkill stationed at, 1013E, p. 144; Danegeld exacted by Danes at, 1014E†; Danish ships come to, 1016D, E, p. 149; Ælfheah martyred at, ii. 190.
- Griffin (C, D, E), Gryffin (D)**, *i. e.* Gruffydd, son of Llewellyn, king of North Wales, joins Swegen Godwineson in attacking South Wales, 1046C†; ravages Herefordshire, 1052^bD†; Ælfgar takes refuge with, 1055C, E; they attack Hereford, *ib.*†; defeats bp. Leofgar, 1056C. D†; submits to Edward, *ib.*C; Ælfgar restored by help of, 1058D†; Rhuddlan belongs to, 1063D; Harold's campaign against, *ib.*†; slain by his own men, and his head brought to Harold, *ib.*D, E†; Blethgent and Rhiwallon, brothers of, *ib.*D†; Cadwgan, nephew of, 1097†; inroad of the Welsh under, ii. 217; captured by the Danes of Dublin, ii. 232; expels Gruffydd of S. Wales, *ib.*; Rigrif, nephew of, ii. 250.
- Griffin (C), Gryffin, Gryfin (D)**, *i. e.* Gruffydd, son of Rhydderch, king of South Wales, joins with ships from Ireland, 1050D, p. 170†; Caradoc, son of, 1065C. D†; attacked by Swegen Godwineson, ii. 226; Rhys, brother of, ii. 242; Caradoc, son of, ii. 251.
- GRIFFRI**, *v.* Wilfridus.
- Grimbald**, priest, dies, 903A, D†.
- Grimcytel (C, D), Grym-, Grymkytel (E)**, bp. of the South Saxons (*i. e.* Selsey), appointed, 1038E†; dies, 1045E, 1047C, 1048D†; buried at Christ Church, Canterbury, 1047C.
- GRUFFYDD**, *v.* Griffin.
- Gryffin**, *v.* Griffin.
- Grymcytel**, *v.* Grim-.
- GUIDO**, *v.* Wipa.
- GUILDFORD**, Surrey, Alfred Etheling arrested at, ii. 213.
- GUILOU**, the Wylve, Wilton on, ii. 88.
- GUNDLEIUS**, St., alleged outrage of Harold on church of, ii. 250, 251.
- GUNDOBALD**, king of Burgundy, dialogue of, with Avitus, ii. 283.
- Gundulf**, bp. of Rochester, consecrated, i. 289†; punishes the rebellious monks of St. Augustine's, i. 292; dies, ii. 294.
- GUNHILD**, dr. of Cnut, married to the emperor Henry III, ii. 216.
- Gunner**, father of Thored, 966E†.
- Gunnild**, wife of earl Hacon, and dr. of Cnut's sister and of Wyrtegeorn, king of the Wends, ii. 206; expelled from England, goes to Bruges, 1045D†; to Denmark, *ib.*
- GUORTHIGIRNIAUX**, an ancient Welsh kingdom, between Wye and Severn, Fernmail king of, ii. 17.
- GURNEY, MISS ANNA**, translation of Sax. Chron. by, pp. cxxxi f.
- Gudferð**, name of two slain Danes, 911B, C.

- Guðfrið**, Danish king in Northumbria, expelled by Athelstan, 927E†; cf. ii. 135; father of Ragnar, 944A; and of Anlaf, ii. 140.
- Guplac**, St., death of, 714*†.
- GUÐMUND**, son of Stegita, Scandinavian leader, ii. 173.
- GUTHMUND**, bp. of Hólar, Addenda, p. ix.
- GUTHRED** or **GUTHFRID**, son of Hardecnut, king in Northumbria, ii. 85, 102, 107.
- GUY DE BOURGOGNE**, *v.* Viana.
- GUY DE CHÂTILLON**, abp. of Rheims, at the Council of Rheims, ii. 229.
- GUY DE MONTFORT**, murders Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans, ii. 303.
- GWENT**, *v.* Wente.
- Gyric**, a priest, dies, 963A.
- Gyrð** (C, D, E), **Gerð** (D), son of Godwin, goes to Thorney, 1052D, p. 175; to Bruges, cf. *ib.* p. 176; 1051C; slain at Hastings, 1066D, E, pp. 198, 199; goes to Rome with Tostig, ii. 249.
- GYRWAS**, the men of the fen country, Croyland situated among, ii. 37.
- Gyða**, wife of earl Godwin, goes with him to Thorney, 1052D, p. 175; restored, 1052C, D, pp. 180, 181; retires to Flatholme, and St. Omer, 1066D, p. 202†; mother of Harold, *ib.*; sister of Eglaf, ii. 187.
- GYTHA**, dr. of Osgod Clapa, marries Tofig the Proud, ii. 221; her benefactions to Waltham, ii. 266.

H.

- Hacun**, earl, dies at sea, 1030C†; Gunhild, wife of, ii. 224.
- Hacun** (E), **Hacon** (D), Danish jarl, invades England, 1075E, 1076D†; son of, ravages York, *ib.*D.
- HADLEIGH**, *v.* Headleaga.
- HADRIAN**, *v.* Adrianus.
- Hædde**, *v.* Hedde.
- Hæfe**, R. Avon, Linlithgow, battle between R. Carron and, 710E†.
- Hæhmund**, *v.* Heahmund.

- Hæsten**, Danish chieftain, sails into the mouth of the Thames, and fortifies himself at Milton, 893A, 892E; cf. 894A, p. 96; ii. 107; makes an agreement with Alfred, but breaks it, 894A, p. 96†; fortifies Beufleet, *ib.*†; wife and sons of, captured, but restored, *ib.*†.
- Hæstingaceaster**, Hastings, Sussex, men of, capture two of Swegen's ships, 1050D, p. 170†.
- Hæstingaport**, Hastings, William builds a castle at, 1066D, p. 199.
- Hæstingas**, **Hest-** (1066E), district of Hastings, Hastings, ravaged by the Danes, 1011E†; all the butsecarls of, go over to Godwin, 1052C, D, pp. 178, 179†; William comes to, 1606E, p. 198† (cf. ii. 290); returns to, *ib.*D, p. 200†; Rufus goes to, 1094, p. 229; battle of, ii. 139, 251, 256.
- Hæpfeld**, ? Hatfield, Herts., synod of, 675E, p. 37h.† (Heatfeld); 680*†; cf. for locality, ii. 70.
- Hæpne men**, **hæpenhere**, heathens, heathen army, *i. e.* Danes, ravage Lindisfarne, 793E†; Northumbria and Jarrow, 794E†; Sheppey, 832*; Herlert of Mercia slain by, 838A†; defeated by Ceolr at Wigaubeorg, 851*†; (first) winter (in Thanet), *ib.*†; battle with, at Thanet, 853A, 852E; winter in Sheppey, 855*†; occupy Thanet, and make peace with the men of Kent, 865*†; ravage Kent none the less, *ib.*; ravaged Peterborough, 963E†.
- Hagustaldesea**, Hexham, Northumberland, bps. of, Trumberht, 681E; Cuthbert, 685F; John, 685E (Agust'); Fritheberht and Alchmund, 766E†; Alchmund and Tilberht, 780E† (Hagstdee); Eanberht, 806E† (Hagusteald); Wilfrid, ii. 32; *v.* Acca, Æthelberht, Heardred, Iohannes, Tidfrith. Alfwold buried at, 789 E†; miraculous deliverance of, ii. 270.
- Hagustaldesham**, Hexham, Cuthbert, bp. of, 685E.

- Halden, Halfdene, *v.* Healf.
- HALINARD, abp. of Lyons, at the Council of Rheims, ii. 229.
- Hamalri of Mundford, *v.* Amalri.
- HAMBLE, *v.* Cerdicesora.
- Hamton, Northampton (*q. r.*), Danes from, break the peace, 914D, 917A; 921A; submit to Edward, 915D, 918A; 921A, p. 103t.; Danes burn. 1010E; Morcar and the northern rebels come to, 1065D, 1064E; Harold meets them at, *ib.*+; they ravage round, *ib.*, pp. 192, 193; Randolph, earl of Chester, arrested at, 1140, p. 267+; Anlaf Sitricson besieges, ii. 144.
- Hamton, Southampton, Wulfheard defeats the Danes at, 837*; ravaged by Danes, 981E; cf. ii. 168; Danes winter at, 994E; Henry lands at, 1094, p. 229.
- Hamtonisc, of *or* belonging to Northampton, Ælfgyfu, 1035D+.
- Hamtunscir (A), -scyr (E) Hampshire, retained by Sigberht after his deposition, 755*; men of, defeat the Danes, 860*; part of, join Alfred at Egbert's Stone, 878*; Danes ravage, 994E; 1006E+; 1009E, p. 139; 1011E; draw their supplies from, 998E; men of, defeated by Danes, 1001A; fyrd of, march against the Danes, 1003E. Aldermen of, Wulfred, 897A+; Æthelmær, 982C+; *v.* Ælfric, Osric.
- Hamtonscir, Northamptonshire (*q. r.*), ravaged by the Danes, 1011C, D; Danes traverse, 1016D, p. 149.
- Hardacnut, Harde-, *v.* Harða-.
- HARDECNUT, father of Guthred of Northumbria, ii. 85.
- Hārfaġera, mistake for Hardrada, 1066D, p. 199+.
- Harold (E), Hareld (A), Danish jarl, slain at Ashdown, 871*.
- HAROLD, earl, second husband of Gunhild, ii. 224.
- HAROLD HARFAGER, king of Norway, Eric Blood-Axe, son of, Addenda.
- Harold, Harald (C), (Harefoot), king of England, elected regent on the death of Cnut, 1036E+; said to be son of Cnut and Ælfgyfu of Northampton, *ib.*, 1035C, D+; popular voice in favour of, 1036C, D+; becomes king, 1035D, 1036E, *ad fin.*, 1037C+; seizes Cnut's treasures, 1035C, D; dies, 1039E, 1040A, C+; standing navy under, 1039E+; his remains outraged by Hardacnut, 1040C+; entrusted by Cnut to Thurkill or Ulf, ii. 205; question of his share in the death of Alfred Etheling, ii. 212-214.
- Harold, Harald (C), Godwineson, king of England, opposes the restoration of his brother Swegen, 1046^bE, 1049C, p. 168+; gives up his ship to Beorn, *ib.*E+; translates the body of Beorn to Winchester, *ib.*C+; joins Godwin in raising forces, 1048E, 1052D, pp. 174, 175+; summoned to London, *ib.*+; his thanes transferred to Edward, *ib.*+; goes to Bristol, *ib.*D; bp. Ealdred sent in pursuit of, *ib.*, p. 176+; exiled and goes to Ireland, *ib.*D, E, p. 176, 1051C+; earldom of, given to Ælfgar, *ib.*E, p. 177; comes from Ireland and ravages in Somerset, 1052C, D, E, pp. 178, 179; joins Godwin, *ib.*; their movements, *ib.*; go to London, *ib.*+; attends witenagemót and is restored, *ib.*, pp. 180-183; at Winchester at time of Godwin's death, 1053C; succeeds to his earldom, *ib.*C, D, E+; besieges Hereford, 1055C, p. 186; makes peace with Ælfgar, *ib.*; Leofgar, chaplain of, 1056C, D; makes peace with the Welsh, *ib.*C; reduces Wales, 1063D, E+ (cf. Addenda, p. x); Gruffydd's head brought to, *ib.*; he brings it to Edward, *ib.*D; Blethgent and Rhiwallon swear oaths to, *ib.*; builds a hunting-lodge for Edward at Portskewet, 1065C, D+; negotiates with the northern insurgents, *ib.*, 1064E+; renews Cnut's law, *ib.*D, E,

- pp. 192, 193†; Edward commits the kingdom to, *ib.*C, D, 1066E, pp. 194, 195, 197†; elected, *ib.*E†; crowned, *ib.*C, D, E†; cf. 1066A; comes from York to Westminster, 1066C, D†; assembles forces, *ib.*; goes to Sandwich, *ib.*C, p. 196; goes to Wight, *ib.*; sails out with a fleet against William, *ib.*E, p. 197†; cf. p. xlix; marches north, and defeats Harold Hardrada and Tostig at Stamford Bridge, *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 196-198†; receives the submission of the survivors, *ib.*C, D†; marches south against William, *ib.*D, E, pp. 198, 199†; defeated and slain at Hastings, *ib.*†; Gytha, mother of, 1067D, p. 202; sons of, come from Ireland and ravage, *ib.*, p. 203†; renew their invasion and retire again to Ireland, 1068D†; compared by W. M. to Beornred, ii. 48; Ealdgyth, wife of, ii. 194; charges of rapacity against, ii. 241; Roman pilgrimage of, ii. 248; has his church at Waltham consecrated by Cynesige, ii. 249; child of, said to be buried in Canterbury Cathedral, ii. 259.
- Harold Hardrada**, king of Norway, received in Norway, 1049D†; makes peace with England, *ib.*; effects a junction with Tostig, 1066C, D, E, pp. 196, 197†; defeats Edwin and Morcar (at Fulford), *ib.*†; defeated and slain by Harold of England at Stamford Bridge, *ib.*, pp. 197-199†; called wrongly Harfager, *ib.*D, p. 199†; Olave the Peaceful, son of, *ib.*, ii. 148; combines with Swegen Esthrithson against Magnus, ii. 225; Magnus Bareleg, son of, ii. 246, 286; builds a famous 'skeið,' Addenda to ii. 186.
- Harold**, king of Denmark, son of Swegen Esthrithson, succeeds his father, 1076E, 1077D.
- HAROLD**, son of Harold Godwineson, with Magnus Bareleg at the attack on Anglesey, ii. 286.
- HARRATON**, *v.* Hearrahalh.
- HARTLAND**, Devon, Gytha founds a college of priests at, ii. 260.
- Harðacnut** (A, C, D), **Harda-** (E), **Harde-** (F), **Hearda-** (D), king of England, assists at the translation of St. Aelfheah, 1023D; Ælfgyfu-Emma, mother of, *ib.*; 1036E; 1037E; 1039C; 1040E; 1051C; 1052E; Harold elected regent for himself and, 1036E†; his mother and Godwin hold Wessex for, *ib.*†; deserted by the English because of his delay in Denmark, 1037C†; joins his mother at Bruges, 1039C†; invited to England on Harold's death, 1040C†; lands at Sandwich, 1039E; (cf. ii. 221); Edward (half)-brother of, *ib.*, 1041C; imposes a heavy Danegeld, 1039E, 1040C†; outrages Harold's remains, 1040C†; has Worcestershire harried, 1041C†; maintains his half-brother Edward at his court, *ib.*†; treacherously causes Eadwulf of Bernicia to be killed, *ib.*†; dies, 1042A, C, 1041E†; buried at Winchester near his father Cnut, 1041E; question of his share in the death of Alfred Etheling, ii. 213, 214; succeeded by Magnus in Denmark, ii. 225.
- HASTINGS**, *v.* Hæstingas, &c.
- Hatabaðum** (æt), Bath, Edgar crowned at, 972E†; *v.* Baðum, &c.
- HATFIELD**, *v.* Hæþfeld.
- HATFIELD CHASE**, *v.* Heðfeld.
- †**Hapra**, father of Itermon, 855A; son of Hwala, *ib.*B, C; cf. ii. 4.
- Heabriht** (B, C), **-bryht** (A), **Heardberht** (E), **-bryht** (D), alderman, dies, 805*.
- ||**Heabureagh**, granted to Medeshamstead, 686E.
- Heaca**, *v.* Heca.
- ||**Headda**, abbot of Peterborough, discovery of documents written by, 963E†.
- HEADLEAGA**, Hadleigh, Suffolk, Guthrum buried at, ii. 102.
- Heafdene**, *v.* Healf.
- Heahmund** (A), **Hæhmund** (E),

- bp. of Sherborne, slain at Mere-
tun, 871*†.
- Heahstan, bp. of London, dies,
898A†; (Ealhstan, B, C, D).
- Healden, Danish king, slain, 911D.
- Healfdene* (F), Half-*, Heaf- (C),
Healdæne (D), Halden (F
Lat.), Danish king, fights at Ash-
down, 871*†; cf. ii. 84; divides
Northumberland, 876*†; brother
of, slain in Devon, 878*†.
- Healheard, *v.* Ealh-.
- Heamsted, Finchamstead (*q. v.*),
Berks., a fountain of blood seen
at, 1103.
- ||Heanbyrig, in Peterborough
Charter, 675E, p. 37m.
- Heanri of Loherenge, *i. e.* the
emperor Henry V, quarrels with
his father and succeeds him,
1106†; dr. of Henry I promised
to, 1109†; sent to, 1110†; widow
of, 1126; 1127.
- Heanric, &c., *v.* Henric, &c.
- Heardacnut, *v.* Harða-.
- Heardberht (D), Hearberht (E),
slays three high-reeves, 778E†.
- Heardberht, father of Alric, 798E†;
possibly identical with preceding.
- Heardberht, *v.* Heabriht.
- Heardred, bp. of Hexham, conse-
crated, 797D†.
- HEARDRED, bp. of Dunwich, ii. 66.
- HEARRAHALCH, Harraton, co. Dur-
ham, Baldwulf consecrated at, ii. 61.
- Heatfeld, *v.* Hæpfeld.
- Heca, Heaca (1058E), bp. of Selsey,
appointed, 1045E, 1047C, 1048D;
dies, 1057D, 1058E†.
- HECANAS, a tribe located in Here-
fordshire, Merewald, under-king
of, ii. 226; cf. ii. 197.
- Hedde (Hædde, 703E), bp. of the
West Saxons, accession of, 676*†;
dies, 703*†.
- Heinric casere, probably the
emperor Henry II is meant,
St. Margaret descended from, on
her mother's side, 1066D, p. 202.
- Heinric, Henricus, *i. e.* Henry I
of France, dies, 1060D, E.
- Helapyrnum (*æt*), Ellerburn,
Yorks., Cynewulf and Egea, high-
reeves at, 778E†; (Eleburnan,
Gaimar, 2012).
- HELENA, *v.* Elena.
- HELGE AA, Sweden, battles of, ii.
205; cf. Addenda, p. x.
- HÉLIE DE LA FLÈCHE, *v.* Elias.
- Hélig, *v.* Elig.
- Helmeanensis, *v.* Elmham.
- HELMSTAN, bp. of Winchester,
ordains Swithun priest, ii. 83.
- HEMING, Danish commander, brother
of Thurkill, ii. 187.
- HFMING, son of Gunhild, ii. 224.
- HENGST, brother of Horsa, and son
of Wihtgils, 449E, *ad fin.*; invited
by Wyrtegeorn to Britain, 449*†;
fights against him, 455*†; assumes
the kingship with his son Æsc,
ib.†; defeats the Britons at Cray-
ford, 457*†; and at Wippedsfleet,
465*†; decisively, 473*†; his
death, ii. 12; brother of, said to have
settled Northumbria, ii. 14, 15.
- Hengestdun (A), -tesdun (E),
Hingston Down, Cornwall, Egbert
defeats the Danes and West Welsh
at, 835*.
- Henric, Henrig, Henri, Heanric,
Heanrig, Heanri, *i. e.* Henry I,
king of England, knighted by
William I, 1085^b; inherits large
treasures from his father, 1086
[1087], p. 219; Rufus sends for,
1094, p. 229†; comes to England,
ib.; sent to Normandy against
Robert, 1095; elected and crowned,
1100†; marries Edith-Matilda, *ib.*†
(cf. ii. 13); imprisons Ralph
Flambard, *ib.*†; recalls Anselm,
ib.; castles in Normandy held by
men of, *ib.*; holds Christmas
courts at Westminster, 1101;
1102; 1103; 1108; Easter courts
at Winchester, 1102; 1103; 1104;
1106; 1108; 1123, p. 252; chief
men rebel against, 1101†; marches
against Robert, but makes peace
with him, *ib.*†; besieges Arundel,
captures Bridgenorth and expels
Robert of Belesme, 1102†; 1104;
holds a council at Westminster,
1102; holds Whitsuntide courts
at Westminster, 1104; 1107; 1108;

1109; holds courts at Windsor, 1103; 1104; 1105; 1107; 1110; 1114E, H; 1127†; allows Anselm to go to Rome, 1103†; Robert of Normandy surrenders his pension to, *ib.*; sends forces to Normandy, 1104; king of England, *ib.*; deprives William, earl of Mortain, *ib.*; conquers part of Normandy, 1105†; returns to England, *ib.*; Robert of Belesme comes to, *ib.*; meets Robert of Normandy at Northampton, 1106; at Bath and Salisbury, *ib.*; crosses to Normandy and wins the battle of Tinchebray, *ib.*†; releases Edgar Etheling, *ib.*†; reduces Normandy, *ib.*; spends festivals there, 1107; 1109; 1113; 1115; distributes ecclesiastical offices at Westminster, 1107†; seventh year of reign of, *ib.*; recognises Alexander of Scotland, *ib.*†; goes to Normandy, 1108; wars with Louis VI there, *ib.*; promises his dr. to the emperor, 1109†; spends Easter at Marlborough, 1110; sends his dr. to the emperor, *ib.*†; Hélie de la Flèche holds Maine of, *ib.*†; Fulk V of Anjou holds Maine against, *ib.*†; 1111; 1112; imposes 'aide pour fille marier,' 1110†; omits the three annual courts, 1111; wars of, with France, 1111; 1112; 1116; 1117; 1118; 1124; goes to Normandy against Fulk V of Anjou, 1111; remains there, 1112; 1117; 1118; 1119; 1124; 1128; deprives and expels certain opponents, 1112; imprisons Robert of Belesme, *ib.*†; sends Robert of Belesme to England, and returns himself, 1113; invades Wales, and builds castles, 1114E, H†; makes Ralph abp. of Canterbury, *ib.*†; fills up other ecclesiastical offices, *ib.*H; movements of, *ib.*; crosses to Normandy, *ib.*E; 1116; makes the chief men do homage to his son William, 1115†; returns to England, *ib.*; has the church at St. Albans consecrated, 1116†;

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- Henri, Heanri**, *i. e.* Henry of Blois, bp. of Winchester, formerly abbot of Glastonbury, 1129, p. 260†; at consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
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- Heortfordscir**, Hertfordshire, the Danes ravage, 1011E.
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- Herbæard Losange**, bp. of Thetford, deprived, 1094, p. 229†.
- Herebryht**, alderman of Mercia, slain by the Danes, 838A†.
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- Hereford**, men of, defeat the Danes, 915D, 918A†; Ælfgar marches on, 1055D†; he and Gruffydd burn, *ib.*E†; bp. Athelstan buried at, 1056D; Walter made bp. of, 1060E†; castle-guard of, attacked

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- ‡**Heremod**, father of Sceldwea, son of Itermon, 855A; cf. ii. 4.
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- Heðfeld**, Hatfield Chase near Doncaster, Edwin defeated and slain at, 633E†.
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- of Anjou returns from, 1121; Hugh de Payen comes from, and collects men and money for, 1128†; alms sent to, ii. 102.
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- Hild**, abbess of Whitby, dies, 680*.
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- HILDILID**, abbess of Barking, Cuthburg trained under, ii. 38.
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- Hlophere (A), Loðere (E)**, king of Kent, dies, 685*.
- Hlopwig (A), Lothwi (F)**, king of the Franks, *i.e.* Louis the Pious, dies, 840F; his pedigree, 855A†.
- Hlopwig**, king of the Franks, *i.e.* Louis the German, his pedigree, 885A†.
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- HLOPWIG**, son of Louis the Stammerer, dies, 885*†.
- HLUDENSE MONASTERIUM**, ? Louth, Lincs., Æthelheard abbot of, ii. 60.
- Hlydanford (C, D), Hlida- (E)**, Lydford, Devon, ravaged by the Danes, 997E.
- HOARDS**, discovery of buried, ii. 9.
- Hocneratun (A), Hocceneretun (D)**, Hook Norton, Oxon., slaughter by the Danes at, 914D, 917A.
- ||Hoge**, granted to Medeshamstead, 686E.
- HÓLAR**, Iceland, bp. of, *v.* Guthmund.
- HOILAND, Holland**, one of the three divisions of Lincs. included in kingdom of Southumbria by Gaimar, ii. 35.
- Holme (æt þam)**, perhaps Holme, near Swaffham, Norfolk, battle at, 902C†; cf. ii. 124.
- HOLMEDENE**, included by Gaimar in kingdom of Southumbria, ii. 35.
- Honorius (I)**, pope, sends pallia to Paulinus and Honorius, 627E; writes to the Irish on Easter question, *ib.*; Birinus sent by, 634E.
- Honorius**, abp. of Canterbury, cf. 995F, p. 130; consecrated by Paulinus, 627E; receives pallium, *ib.*; receives Paulinus, 633E; dies, 653E†.
- Honorius (II)**, pope, succeeds, 1124, p. 254; sends John of Crema to England, 1125; receives English prelates at Rome, *ib.*; dies, 1129, p. 260†.
- HOOK NORTON**, *v.* Hocneratun.
- Horgadae insulae**, *v.* Orcadus.
- Horsa**, brother of Hengest, and son of Wihtgils, 449E, *ad fin.*; invited to Britain by Wyrtegeorn, 449*†; slain at Ægelesthrep, 455*†.

- HORSTED**, near Aylesford, Kent, Horsa possibly buried at, ii. 11.
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- HOUSE**, arrangement of a Saxon, ii. 45
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- Howel, i. e. Howel the Good**, king of Wales, submits to Edward, 922A†; builds himself a hunting box, ii. 251; *cf. Huwal.*
- Hraold, v. Hroald.**
- Hreopedun***, **Hreopa-** (A), **Hreopan-** (F), **Reopan-** (E), **Hreopen-** (D). Repton, Derbyshire, Æthelbald of Mercia slain at, 755F; buried at, *ib.**†; Danes winter at, 874*; move from, 875* *bis*†.
- ||**Hrepingas**, in Hundred of Repington, in Peterborough Charter, 675E, p. 37m.†.
- Hripum** (in), (E), **Ripum** (E), **Rypon** (D), **Hripe** (F Lat.), Ripon, Wilfrid buried at, 709E; Botwine, abbot of, 785E†; *v. Sigred*; abbot Aldberht dies at, 788D; minster at, built by Wilfrid, ravaged by Edred, 948D†; importance of, in the development of the Chronicle, pp. lxx f., lxxiv, cxix f.; Eardwulf ordered for execution at, ii. 64.
- Hris**, brother of Gruffydd of S. Wales, put to death, 1052C, *ad fin.*, 1053D†.
- Hroald** (A), **Hraold** (D), Danish jarl, ravages Wales, 915D, 918A†; slain, *ib.*
- Hrodberd, v. Rodbeard.**
- Hrofesceaster*** (D), **Hrofe-** (C, E), **Rofes-** (E), **Rofe-** (E, H), **Hrofecester** (D), **Rofe-** (E, H), **Rofes-** (E), **Roue-** (E 1123 ff.), **Rofescæster**, **Rofe-** (E), **Hrouecyster**, **-cister** (a), **-cister** (F), **Ciuitas Hrophis** (F Lat.), Rochester, Kent, granted to Justus as his see, 604E, a; twenty-four miles from Canterbury, *ib.*: bp. Tobias dies at, 727E; slaughter by the Danes at, 839*†; part of the Danes go to, 885*; part of spoils of Ben-
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- Hroðulf** (E), **Ropulf** (A), **Rodulf** (F), *i. e. Rudolf*, count of Upper Burgundy, receives the Middle Kingdom, 887*†.
- Huda**, alderman of Surrey, fights with the Danes at Thanet, 853A, 852E.
- HUGH**, little St. of Lincoln, ii. 312.
- Hugo**, French churl of Ælfgyfu-Emna, causes the loss of Exeter, 1003E†.
- HUGO**, retires to Scotland, ii. 240.
- Hugo, i. e. Hugh of Grantmesnil**, ravages Leicestershire and Northampton, 1087 [1088], p. 223†.
- Hugo, i. e. Hugh of Avranches**, earl of Chester, sent to escort Henry to Rufus, 1094, p. 229.
- Hugo, i. e. Hugh of Montgomery**, earl of Shrewsbury, defeats the Welsh, 1094, p. 230; *cf. ii. 278*; some men of, slain, 1095, p. 231; slain in Anglesey by vikings, 1098†.
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- i. e.* Hugh IV, baron of Montfort-sur-Risle, rebels against Henry I, 1123, p. 253; defeated, and imprisoned at Gloucester, 1124.
- Hugo Gerueises sunu**, *i. e.* Hugh, son of Gervais of Château-neuf, defeated and imprisoned at Rouen, 1124; imprisoned at Windsor, 1126; reconciled to Henry I, and returns to France, 1129†.
- Hugo of pe temple**, *i. e.* Hugh de Payen, founder of the Templars, collects contributions in England and Scotland, 1128†.
- Hugo of Walteuile**, abbot Martin recovers Peterborough estates from, 1137, p. 265.
- HUGUES DE SALINS**, abp. of Besançon, at the Council of Rheims, ii. 229.
- Hulme**, Le Houlme, d'ep. Orne, castle at, captured by Robert of Normandy and Philip I, 1094, p. 229.
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- HUN**, alderman of Somerset, ii. 70.
- Hunas**, the Huns, Attila, king of, 443E, a.
- ||**Hunberht**, alderman, signature of, 852E.
- Hundehog**, Hundcot, Leicestershire, Ralph Basset holds court at, 1124, p. 254†.
- HUNDREDS**, grouping of, for purposes of assessment, ii. 185.
- Hunferp**, bp. of Winchester, succeeds Daniel, 744*†; succeeded by Cyneheard, 754*†.
- Hungrie (E), Ungerland (D)**, Hungary, Edward Etheling sent to, 1057D; cf. ii. 248; misery of crusaders in, 1096†; Ealdred passes through, ii. 248.
- Huntandun**, Huntingdon, Danes depart from, 921A; restored by Edward, *ib.*, p. 103; people of, submit to Edward, *ib.*; no market to be between Stamford and, 963E, p. 116; town and county included by Gaimar in 'Southumbria,' ii. 35.
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- ||**Huntendunport**, Huntingdon, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 31†.
- Hussa**, king of the Bernicians, father of Hering, 603E†.
- Huwal**, king of the West Welsh, submits to Athelstan, 926D†; cf. Addenda.
- ‡**Hwala**, father of Hathra, son of Bedwig, 855A; cf. ii. 4.
- Hweallæg**, Whalley, Lancs. and Cheshire, battle at, 798E†; *v.* Wagele.
- Hwerwillas (E), Hwærwellas (D), Hwerewyll (F)**, Wherwell, Hants, Edith, wife of Edw. Conf., sent to, 1048E, 1052D, p. 176†; abbess of, *ib.*D; monastery of, said to have been founded by Ælfthryth, ii. 166.
- Hwiccas (E), Hwiccias (A)**, a tribe in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, alderman Æthelmund rides from, 800*†; Cirencester in, ii. 95.
- Hwitanwyllesgeat**, Whitwell, Derbyshire, one of the boundaries of Mercia, 942A†.
- Hwiticrice**, Whitchurch, Hants, Leofric of, 1001A.

- Hwitern** (E, a), **Witern** (E), **Whitern**, Galloway, **Ninias'** church at, 565E, a. Bps. of, **Frithewald**, 762E†; **Pehtwine**, *ib.*†; **Ethelbert**, 777E†; **Baldwulf**, 791E†.
- Hwitsand**, **Wissant**, *dép.* Pas-de-Calais, **Rufus** at, 1095; **Matilda**, *dr.* of **Henry I**, lands at, *ii.* 292.
- Hybernia**, *v.* **Hibernia**.
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- HYGBALD**, 710E, miswritten for **Sigbald**, *q. v.*
- Hygeberht**, -**briht**(E), -**bryht**(A), **Higbyrht** (F), *abp.* of **Lichfield**, appointed by **Offa**, 785*†; signature of, 777E, p. 52b; his resignation, *ii.* 66.
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- Iaenbryht**, *v.* **Iaerberht**.
- †**Iaered**, **Iared**, 855A, B, C.
- JAMES**, king of **Sweden**, **Edward** **Etheling** sent to, *ii.* 247.
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- JARROW**, **Co. Durham**, monastery founded by **Benedict Biscop** and **Egfrid**, *ii.* 25; seized by **Eadberht**, *ii.* 41; *v.* **Donemup**.
- Icanho**, ?**Boston**, **Lines.**, **Botulf** founds a monastery at, 654A, 653E†.
- ‡**Icel**, father of **Cnebbra**, son of **Eomar**, 626B, C; 755A, *ad fin.*; *cf.* *ii.* 6.
- ICELAND**, **Irish anchorites** in, *ii.* 103.
- ICKLING STREET**, *ii.* 20.
- Ida**, king of the **Bernicians**, son of **Eoppa**, 547B, C; *cf.* *ii.* 5; 560A; 585A; 731A; father of **Æthelric**, 560A; 585A; 593E; accession of, 547*†; **Northumbrian** royal family derived from, *ib.*†; builds **Bamborough**, 547E, a; death of, 560E, a†; father of **Hussa**, *ii.* 19; of **Ealric**, *ii.* 50; ancestor of **Alchred**, *ib.*
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- JEDBURGH**, **Co. Roxburgh**, prob. not identical with **Iudanburh**, *ii.* 148.
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- Ieothete**, *v.* **Iuþytte**.
- Ieopwel**, **Welsh** king, submits to **Edward**, 922A†; *cf.* **Addenda**.
- Iercingafeld**, *v.* **Irc**.
- JEROME**, **ST.**, his translation of **Eusebius' Chron.**, *ii.* 7.
- ‖**Ieruman**, *bp.* of the **Mercians**, consecrates **Medeshamstead**, 656E, p. 30 m.†; signature of, *ib.*, p. 32 b.
- Ierusalem**, *v.* **Hier**.
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- Ignatius**, **Ignatus**, *bp.* of **Antioch**, martyrdom of, 110*.
- Ii**, *v.* **Hii**.
- ILLTUTUS**, **ST.**, alleged outrage of **Edgar** on, *ii.* 162.
- Imma**, 1023D; **Imme**, 1051C; *v.* **Ælfgyfu-Emma**.
- ‖**Immine**, *alderman*, signature of, 656E, p. 32 b.
- IMOR**, father of **Rigrit**, *ii.* 250.
- Indea**, **India**, **Alfred** sends alms to **St. Thomas** in, 883E†.
- Ine***, **Ina** (F *Lat.*), king of the

- West Saxons, succeeds Ceadwalla, A Pref. p. 2†; 688*†; descended from Cerdic, *ib.*†; *ib.*; succeeded by Æthelheard, *ib.*, p. 4†; son of Cenred, *ib.*†; 688A; 855A; brother of Ingild, 718*†; 855A; (re-)builds Glastonbury, 688a†; the men of Kent make peace with, 694*†; fights against Geraint of Cornwall, 710*†; against Ceolred of Mercia, 715*†; slays Cynewulf, 721*†; built Taunton, 722*†; fights against the South Saxons, 722A†; 725*†; slays Ealdberht, *ib.*; goes to Rome, 728A, 726E; dies, 728 a, 726F; laws of, pp. xxiii, xxviii; Tetta, sister of, ii. 38; said to have founded the English school at Rome, ii. 69.
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- †Ingui, father of Esa, son of Angenwit, 547B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Ingwære (B), Ingware (F), Inwære (A), -were (C), Iwere (E), Danish chieftain, 870F; cf. ii. 84, 93; brother of, slain in Devonshire, 878*†.
- Ingwald, bp. of London, one of Tatwine's consecrators, 731E.
- INGWAR, Danish chieftain, slain, ii. 126.
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- ||Inwona (*or* Unwona), bp. of Leicester, signature of, 777E, p. 53t.
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- Iohan, John, bp. of Rochester, previously archdeacon of Canterbury, nephew of abp. Ralph, goes to Rome, 1114, p. 246; 1123, p. 252; present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130†.
- Iohan of Gaitan, *i. e.* John of Gaeta, becomes pope as Gelasius II (*q. v.*), 1118†.
- Iohan of Creme, *i. e.* John of Crema, papal legate, sent to England, 1125†; returns to Rome, *ib.*
- Iohan, bp. of Lothian, *i. e.* of Glasgow, goes to Rome, 1125†.
- Iohan, *i. e.* John de Neuville, bp. of Séez, present at consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
- Iohann, papa, *i. e.* John XIX, gives the pallium to Ælfric of York, 1026D†.
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- Iohannes Baptista, head of, revealed, 448F†; birth of, M. 115ff.
- Iohannes, pope, *i. e.* John IV, 625E.
- Iohannes, bp. of Hexham and York, 685E; retires to Beverley, *ib.*; dies, and is buried at Beverley, 721E†; offerings of Athelstan at shrine of, ii. 138; Folcard's life of, dedicated to Ealdred, ii. 262; miracles of, by William Ketell, *ib.*
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- JOHN VIII, pope, urges abp. Ethelred to resist Alfred, ii. 87.
- JOHN XIII, pope, allows Æthelwold to expel the secular priests from Winchester, ii. 157.
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- JOSCELIN, JOHN**, secretary to abp. Parker, his annotations in the *Chronicles*, pp. xxvii, xxix, xxxi f., xxxiv; transcript of MS. B by, pp. xxix, xc, xci n., cxxx f.; his collectanea, pp. xc, xci n.
- JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA**, legendary Glastonbury goes back to, ii. 144.
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- Iothete**, *v.* Iupytte.
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- Irensid**, Ironside, origin of the name, 1057D†; *r.* Eadmund.
- IRTHLINGBOROUGH**, *r.* Hyrtingberi.
- Ispanie**, *r.* Hispaniae.
- ‡**Itermon**, father of Heremod, son of Hathra, 855A; cf. ii. 4.
- Iðamar**, bp. of Rochester, consecrates Deusdedit, 655E†; consecrates Medeshamstead, 656E, p. 30h.; signature of, *ib.* p. 32l.
- Iudanburh**, ? Eastern Counties, abp. Wulfstan imprisoned in, 952D†.
- Iudas**, *i. e.* Jude the apostle, festival of, M. 191.
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- Iudea**, Herod, son of Antipater, succeeds in, 11a; divided into tetrarchies, 12*.
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- Iustus**, abp. of Canterbury, sent to Britain, 955F; consecrated bishop of Rochester by Augustine, 604E, a†; succeeds Mellitus at Canterbury, 616E, a, *ad fin.* (cf. 995F, p. 130); consecrates Romanus to Rochester, *ib.*; consecrates Paulinus as bp. of the Northumbrians, 625*†; dies, 627E.
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- ‡Leodwald, father of Cuthwine of Northumbria, son of Egwald, 731A; cf. ii. 5; father of Eata, 738*.
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LISLE, WILLIAM, owner and anno-
 tator of MS. E, pp. xxxiv, xxxv n.
Liuing, *v.* Lifing, Lyfing.
LLANDAFF, Cmeliauc, bp. of, ii. 127;
 Urban, bp. of, ii. 300.
LLEWELLYN, Gruffydd, son of, ii.
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LODDON, R., Berks., English escape
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LODOWICUS, *v.* Loðewis.
LOFENICUS (to), Louvain, Danes
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Loherenge, *v.* Hloðeringa.
LOMBARDY, *v.* Lumbardig.
LONDON, *v.* Lunden, &c.
Longbeardnalond (A), **Lang-**
-land (E), *i. e.* Italy, Berengar
 and Guido contend for, 887*†.
Longobardi, the Lombards, destroy
 the monastery of St. Benedict,
 596E; kingdom of, 887F Lat.
LONGSWORD, nickname of William II,
 ii. 276.
LONGTREE, *v.* Langatreo.
LONGUEVILLE, *v.* Lungueüle.

- Losange**, *v.* Herbeard.
LORRAINE, *v.* Hloðeringa.
LOTHAIRE II, Emperor, supports Innocent II, 1129, p. 260.
LOTHARINGIA, *v.* Hloðeringa.
Loðen, a wiking, ravages Sandwich, &c., 1046E†.
Loðene, the Lothians, ceded to the Scots, ii. 195; Malcolm enters, 1091†; John, bp. of (*i. e.* of Glasgow), 1125†.
Loðere, *v.* Hlophere.
Loðewis, king of France, *i. e.* Louis VI, succeeds his father Philip I, 1108†; wars of, against Henry I, *ib.*; 1117; 1118; 1119; 1124; Henry I supports Theobald of Blois against, 1116†; invades Normandy, but retires, 1117†; defeated by Henry (at Brémule), 1119†; makes peace, 1120; cf. ii. 298; Amaury (of Montfort), steward *or* seneschal of, 1124; supports William Clito against Henry I, *ib.*, p. 254; cf. ii. 295; gives him the county of Flanders, and his sister-in-law (Joan) in marriage, 1127†; acknowledges Innocent II, 1129, p. 260; Malassis built against, ii. 283; as king elect visits Henry I, ii. 288.
Lothwi, *v.* Hloþwig.
LOUIS, *v.* Hloþwig.
LOUIS VI, *v.* Loðewis.
LOUIS VII, king of France, (Constance,) sister of, 1140, p. 267†.
LOUIS XI, king of France, god-father of Mary of Burgundy, ii. 21.
LOUTH, *v.* Hludense.
LOUVAIN, *v.* Lofenum, Luuaine.
Luca, Lucca, Alexander, bp. of, made pope, 1061D; Otho of Swabia dies at, ii. 170.
Lucas, evangelist, Acts, cited, 47E, a.
LUCGE, R. Lugg, Herefordshire, Herefordshire ravaged up to, ii. 259.
Lucius, king of Britain, conversion of, 167*†.
Lucumon, king's reeve, slain, 897A, p. 91†.
Ludecan*, Ludica (F Lat.), king of the Mercians, slain, 825*†.
- ||Lufgeard**, in Peterborough Charter, 675E, p. 37m.
LUGG, R., *v.* Lucge.
LULACH MAC GILLACHOMGAIN, set up as king against Malcolm III, ii. 270.
LULLUS, abp. of Mainz, letters to, from Cuthbert of Canterbury, ii. 42; Cyneheard of Winchester, ii. 42-44; Alchred and Osgeofu, ii. 51; Milred of Worcester, ii. 53; Cynewulf and Botwine, ii. 56; letter of, to Ethelbert of York, ii. 52.
Lumbardig, Lombardy, great earthquake in, 1117†.
Lunden (Lundon, 656E), **Lundonia**, **Londonia**, London, slaughter by the Danes at, 839*; vow of Alfred at, 883E†; cf. ii. 89; plague and fire in, 962A†; ships from, encounter the Danes, 992E; English ships brought to, 1009E, p. 139; Danes attack, *ib.*†; English fyrd assembles at, *ib.*, p. 140; abp. Ælfheah buried at St. Paul's in, 1012E†; resists Swegen, 1013E; submits, *ib.*, p. 144; Ethelred at, 1016D, E; the English fyrd demand the help of, *ib.*†; Edmund Etheling returns to, *ib.*, pp. 148, 149; Cnut sails for, *ib.*; the witan elect Edmund at, *ib.*†; the Danish fleet attacks, *ib.*; Edmund relieves, *ib.*, pp. 150, 151†; the Danes return to, but depart from, *ib.*; citizens of, submit to Cnut, *ib.*, pp. 152, 153; Danes bring their ships to, *ib.*; Edric Streona slain at, 1017F†; Danegeld paid by, 1018D, E†; Ælfheah's relics translated from, 1023C, D, E†; lithsmen of, elect Harold as regent, 1036E†; Edward Conf. elected at, 1041E; lithsmen of, translate Beorn's body, 1046^bE, p. 169†; 'micel gemót' at, 1047E†; Spearhafoc appointed to, 1048E, 1050C, 1051D, holds the see of, though not consecrated to, *ib.*E, p. 172†; Edward holds a witenagemót at, 1050C†; witenagemót summoned to, 1048E,

1052D, pp. 174, 175†; see of, taken from Spearhac, and given to William, *ib.*, pp. 176, 177†; bp. Ealdred sent from, in pursuit of Harold, *ib.*D†; Edward's fleet retires to, 1052E; Godwin and Harold go towards, *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 179-181; Edward's and Godwin's forces confront each other at, *ib.*E, p. 180; witenagemót held outside, *ib.*E, p. 183; witenagemót at, 1055C; Edward Etheling buried at St. Paul's in, 1057E; Harold at, 1066C; his ships brought to, *ib.*, p. 196; citizens of, wish to make Edgar Etheling king, *ib.*D, p. 199; best men of, submit to William at Beorhhamsted, *ib.*, p. 200†; St. Paul's and a great part of, burnt, 1086 [1087], p. 218; William II spends Christmas at, *ib.*, p. 222; Henry, do., 1094, p. 229; partisans of Robert of Mowbray executed at, 1096; shires bound to work for, 1097†; Henry goes to, 1100, p. 236†; Flambard imprisoned in Tower of, *ib.*; bridge of, 1097†; 1114†; councils at, 1125†; 1129†; Abbey of Peterborough given at, 1127, p. 258; Stephen comes to, 1135; the empress comes to, 1140; Henry of Anjou received at, *ib.*, p. 268; crowned at, 1154; Lanfranc holds councils at, i. 289† (*bis*); consecrates bps. at, i. 289† (*bis*); crowns Rufus at, i. 290†. Bps. of, Mellitus, 616E, a; Wine, 656E, pp. 30h., 32b.†; Waldhere, 675E†; Ingwald, 731E; Heahstan, 898A; Dunstan, 959a, F†; Ælfweard, 1045D†; Robert of Jumièges, 1051D, 1048E; cf. ii. 224; Maurice, 1085; 1100, p. 236; 1107; i. 290; (Richard), 1123; Gilbert Universal, 1130†; Ælfhun, ii. 190; Richard Fitznigel, ii. 309; see also Ælfstan, Ælfwig, Brihtelm, Eadbalð, Erconwald, Gibson, Spearhafoc, Willelm, Wulfstan.

Revolts with Mercia from Edwy, ii. 153; named by Gregory I

as the southern metropolis, ii. 264; question of investitures settled at council of, ii. 290; East Gate of, v. Æstgeat.

Lundenburh, -burg, the Britons fly to, 457*; the Danes effect a breach in, 851A†; Danes go to, from Reading, 872*†; Alfred occupies, 886*†; he entrusts, to Ethelred of Mercia, *ib.*†; citizens of, send reinforcements to the fyrd, 894A, p. 86in.†; spoils of Benfleet carried to, *ib.*; Danes fortify themselves on the Lea above, 896A; citizens of, repulsed by Danes, *ib.*; citizens of, capture Danish ships and bring them to, *ib.*; Edward takes possession of, 910D, E; 912A, D†; cf. ii. 99, 100; burnt, 982C; fleet assembled at, 992E; attacked by the Danes but delivered, 994E†; Wulfstan, bp. of, 996F†; Ælfwig, 1014D†; witenagemót at, 1012E†; Edward's fleet retires to, 1052C, D, pp. 178, 179; great fire in, 1077E†.

Lundenisc, of or belonging to London, the L. folk receive Stephen, 1135; expel Matilda, 1140†.

Lundenware, the inhabitants of London, heathen, 616E.

Lundenwic, London, granted to Mellitus as his see, 604E, a.

Lungeuile, Longueville, dép. Seine Infér., Robert of Normandy and Philip I reach, 1094, p. 229.

LUPUS, v. Ulf.

Luaine, Luuein, Louvain, (Godfrey VII), duke (count) of, 1121†; Godfrey, bp. of Bath, born at, 1123, p. 252.

LYDFORD, v. Hlidaford.

Lyfing (D), Liuing (E), Lyuync (C), made bp. of Worcester, 1038E† (cf. ii. 220); dies, 1044E, 1045C, 1047D†; his various bprics., *ib.*D†; influence of, on Edward Conf.'s election, ii. 221; cf. Lifing.

Lyge (A), Lygea (A, D), Ligea (B, D), Ligene (C), R. Lea, Danes

- draw their ships up the Thames to, 895A; fortify themselves on, 896A; Alfred blockades, *ib.*†; Edward builds forts at Hertford on, 913A, D†.
- Lygeanburg**, Lenbury, Bucks., captured by the West Saxons, 571*†.
- Ligtun** (A), **Ligtun** (D), Leighton Buzzard, Beds., party of Danes defeated near, 914D, 917A.
- LYMING**, Kent, Cuthbert, abp. of Canterbury, formerly abbot of, ii. 42.
- LYMNE**, *v.* Limene.
- LYONS**, abps. of, Halinard, ii. 229; Godune, *q. v.*; Anselm goes to, ii. 284.
- LYSANIAS**, tetrarch of Abilene, ii. 7.
- Lysia**, Lycia, 12*†; Swegen Godwineson said to have died in, ii. 241.
- Lyuing**, *v.* Lifing.
- Lyuync**, *v.* Lyfing.
- M.**
- MAAS**, R., *v.* Mæs.
- Macbeoðen**, Macbeth, defeated by Siward, 1054C, D†; Mormaer of Moray, ii. 207; slays Duncan, ii. 208; receives the Norman fugitives, ii. 240; Lulach set up in succession to, ii. 270.
- Maccbethu** (A, F), **-bethath** (B), **Machbethu** (C, D), one of three 'Scots' who come to Alfred, 891A†.
- Macedon(i)us**, heretic, 379E.
- MACEDONIUS PRESBYTER**, epistle of Sedulius to, p. xxiv.
- Mægla**, son of Port, 501*†.
- Mælbæp**, Scottish prince, submits to Cnut, 1031E†.
- Mælcorm**, *i. e.* Malcolm II, king of the Scots, submits to Cnut, 1031E†; *cf. ib.*D; dies, 1034D†; as king of Strathclyde, said to have refused to pay Danegeld to Ethelred, ii. 180.
- MAELDUIN**, the voyage of, ii. 104.
- Mældun**, Maldon, Essex, Edward encamps at, 913A, D; fortifies, 920A; Danes repulsed from, 921A, p. 102; battle of, Brihtnoth slain at, 991E, 993A†; *cf. ii.* 170.
- Mælinmun** (A, F), **-inmuin** (B), **-inumumin** (C), **-mumin** (D), one of three 'Scots' who come to Alfred, 891A†.
- Mælslehtan**, *i. e.* Maelsnechtan, Mormaer of Moray, mother of, captured by Malcolm III, 1078D; Angus, earl of Moray, a nephew of, ii. 271.
- Mænige**, the Isle of Man, Ethelred's fleet ravages, 1000E†; Osred of Northumbria exiled to, ii. 61.
- Mære**, *v.* Memere.
- Mæredun**, *v.* Meretun.
- Mærlebeorg**, Marlborough, Wilts., Henry I spends Easter at, 1110; *cf. also* Cynete.
- Mærleswegen** (D, E), **Mærla-** (D). retires to Scotland, 1067D, E; joins the Danes, 1068D, p. 204.
- Mæs**, R. Maas *or* Meuse, Danes advance up, 882*†.
- Mætern**, R. Marne, the Danes make their way up, 887*†.
- Magesæte**, a tribe on the borders of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, fly at the battle of Ashingdon, 1016D, E, p. 151†; Ranig, earl of, ii. 219; *cf. ii.* 197.
- MAGIC**, practice of, ii. 156.
- Magnus** (I), king of Norway, threats of, against England, 1046D†; his struggle with Swegen (Esthrithson) for Denmark, *ib.*†; wins Denmark, 1047D†; Swegen asks English help against, 1048D†; naval power of, *ib.*†; expels Swegen, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; Harold (Hardrada), uncle of, 1049D†; who goes to Norway on death of, *ib.*; stirred up by Ælfgifu-Emma to invade England, ii. 222, 223.
- MAGNUS** II (Bareleg), king of Norway, son of Harold Hardrada, invades Britain, ii. 246; attacks Anglesey, ii. 286.
- MAGNUS**, son of Harold Godwineson, ii. 261.
- Mahald**, *i. e.* Edith-Matilda, dr. of Malcolm III and Margaret, and of

- English royal blood, marriage of, to Henry I, 1100, p. 236†; cf. ii. 13, 297; David of Scotland, brother of, 1114H; the Etheling William, son of, 1115; 1119; dies, and is buried at Westminster, 1118†; seal of, altered for Henry's second wife, ii. 298.
- Mahild**, *v.* Mathild.
- MAINE**, *v.* Cynomannia, Manig, Mans.
- MAINZ**, abps. of, *v.* Boniface, Lullus.
- MALASSIS**, dép. Eure, built by Henry I against Louis VI, ii. 283.
- MALCOLM**, *v.* Mæl-.
- Malcolm** (D, E), **Mel-** (E), **Malcholom** (D), *i. e.* Malcolm III (Cennmor), king of the Scots, receives Tostig, 1066C, p. 196; receives Edgar Etheling, &c., 1067D, E†; marries Margaret, *ib.*†; her influence over, *ib.*D†; submits to William I, 1072E, 1073D; cf. ii. 268; receives Edgar Etheling, and sends him to France, 1075D†; advises him to submit to William, *ib.*; captures Maelsnechtan's mother, 1078D†; invades England and ravages up to the Tyne, 1079E†; invades England, 1091†; enters Lothian, *ib.*; submits to Rufus, *ib.*, p. 227; summoned by Rufus, but refused an interview, 1093, pp. 227, 228†; invades England, but is slain in an ambush, *ib.*†; cf. ii. 282, 283; Moræl, 'gossip' of, *ib.*; Edward and Duncan, sons of, *ib.*†; Dufenal (Donald), brother of, *ib.*†; English adherents of, expelled, *ib.*; Edgar, son of, 1097, p. 234; Edith-Matilda, dr. of, 1100, p. 236†; sworn brother to Tostig, ii. 26; his obit observed at Durham, ii. 142; slays Macbeth, and becomes king, ii. 243; Gospatric and Dolfin hold of, ii. 280.
- Malculm** (A), **Malculf** (D), *i. e.* Malcolm I, king of the Scots, Cumberland granted to, 944A†.
- MALDON**, *v.* Mældun.
- Malduit**, *v.* Willelm Malduit.
- †**Maleel** (A), **Malalèhel** (B, C), 855A, B, C.
- Mallet**, *v.* Willelm.
- MALMESBURY**, *v.* Mealdelmesburh; William of, *v.* William.
- Malveisin**, name of castle built by Rufus against Bamborough, 1095, p. 231†.
- Mameceaster**, Manchester, Edward sends and fortifies, 923A.
- Mamertus**, bishop of Vienne, institutes Rogations, 490E.
- MAN**, ISLE OF, *v.* Mænige.
- MANANN**, plain of, Co. Stirling, Scotland, ii. 36.
- MANCHESTER**, *v.* Mameceaster.
- Manig**, **Mannie**, Maine, Rufus promises to assist Robert to reduce, 1091†; Hélie de la Flèche expelled from, 1099†; held by him of Henry I, 1110†; held by Fulk V against Henry I, *ib.*†; 1111; 1112; cf. ii. 297; *v.* Cynomannia, Mans.
- Mannan**, Danish jarl, son of Toglos, slain at Tempsford, 921A, p. 102h.
- Manni** (*or* Wulfmær), abbot of Evesham, appointed, 1045D†; resignation and death of, ii. 270.
- Mans** (þæt land), Maine, William I's English forces reduce, 1073E, 1074D†; he rules over, 1086 [1087], p. 220†; *v.* Manig.
- MANTES**, *v.* Maðante.
- MARAN**, R., *v.* Memere.
- Marcæ**, *v.* Morcær.
- Marcus**, the Evangelist, writes his Gospel in Egypt, 47F; dies, 63A, 62E.
- Marcus Antonius**, *i. e.* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor, accession of, 155E, a.
- MARDEN**, *v.* Meretun.
- Mare Mortuum**, Mortemer, dép. Seine Infér., battle of, 1054E.
- Margareta** (D, E), **Margarita** (E), sister of Edgar Etheling, goes to Scotland, 1067D, E†; marries Malcolm III, *ib.*†; her influence on him, *ib.*D†; her character and descent, *ib.*, p. 202†; cf. p. lxxviii; receives Edgar Etheling, and sends him to France, 1075D; death of, 1093, p. 228†; Edward, son of, *ib.*; Edgar, son of, 1097, p. 234;

- Edith-Matilda, dr. of, 1100, p. 236†; document relating to, embodied in MS. D, p. lxxviii; obit of, observed at Durham, ii. 142; Alexander, son of, ii. 291.
- MARIA THERESA, called *King* by the Hungarians, ii. 118.
- MARIE, the Virgin Mary, Ancarig dedicated to, 656E, p. 31m.; Burgred buried in church of, in English school at Rome, 874*; Abingdon Abbey dedicated to, 977C; presents Christ in the Temple, M. 20-22; archangel comes to, M. 50 ff.; assumption of, M. 148 ff.; nativity of, M. 167 ff.; Welsh pedigrees traced up to relatives of, ii. 82.
- MARINUS, pope, sends 'lignum Domini' to Alfred, 883E†; 885*†; frees the English school, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*†.
- MARKET WEIGHTON, *v.* Methel Wongtun.
- MARLBOROUGH, *v.* Mærlebeorg, Cynete.
- MARNE, R., *v.* Mætern.
- MARRIAGE OF CLERGY, 1129†; ii. 288, 289.
- Martæl, *v.* Gosfreið.
- MARTEN, *v.* Merantun.
- Martianus (Mauricius, A, wrongly), joint Roman emperor, accession of, 449E, a.
- Martin, abbot of Peterborough, formerly prior of St. Neot's, appointed, 1132; his benefactions to Peterborough, 1137, p. 265†; dies, 1154.
- Martinus, Sanctus, death of, 444F; cf. M. 205 ff.; Ninias' church at Whithern dedicated to, 565E, a.
- MARTYRS, tendency to class all who suffer unjustly as, ii. 22, 61.
- MARY, name given to Edith-Matilda, in Irish Annals, ii. 296.
- MARY, Virgin, *v.* Marie.
- MARY OF BURGUNDY, goddaughter of Louis XI, ii. 21.
- Maserfeld, Oswestry, battle of, 641E†.
- MASS, provision for saying, during a campaign, ii. 87, 88.
- Matheus, Matthew, the apostle and evangelist, writes his Gospel, 40F†; death of, M. 170 ff.
- Mathias, the apostle, martyrdom of, M. 25 ff.
- Mathias, abbot of Peterborough, dies on the anniversary of his installation, 1103†; buried at Gloucester, *ib.*
- Mathild (D), Mahtild (E), wife of the Conqueror, comes to England and is crowned, 1067D, p. 202†; dies, 1083†; sister of Baldwin VI of Flanders, ii. 266.
- MATILDA, relative of Ethelwerd, his Chronicle dedicated to, p. cii n.
- MATILDA, wife of Henry I, *v.* Mahald.
- MATILDA, dr. of Waltheof, and wife of David of Scotland, ii. 294.
- MATILDA, dr. of Fulk V of Anjou, marries William, son of Henry I, 1119†; cf. 1121; ii. 299; sent for by her father, 1121†.
- MATILDA, dr. of Henry I, *v.* Æðelic.
- MATILDA, wife of Stephen, besieges Winchester, 1140†; dies, *ib.*, p. 268†; buried at Faversham, 1154†.
- †Matusalem, 855A, B, C.
- Maßante, Mantes, dép. Seine-et-Oise, burnt by William I, 1086 [1087], p. 218†.
- Mauricius, miswritten for Martianus, *q. v.*
- Mauricius, Eastern emperor, accession of, 513E, a.
- Mauricius, bp. of London, appointed, 1085, p. 216; i. 290†; crowns Henry I, 1100, p. 236; dies, 1107.
- Maximus (Maximianus, A, wrongly), Roman emperor, accession of, 381A, 380E†; born in Britain, *ib.*†; campaign in Gaul, and death, *ib.* E, a.
- MAYO, Aldwulf, bp. of, ii. 55.
- Mealdemesburh, Malmesbury, Wilts., Sigeferth's widow placed at, 1015E†; abbots of, Brihtwold II, ii. 218; Tuold, ii. 265; a drunken abbot of, ii. 221; Offa robs the monastery of, ii. 54; aggressions

- of bp. Ealhstan on, ii. 71; St. Oswald's Gloucester closely allied to, ii. 118; Athelstan buried at, ii. 141; Ælfwine, Æthelwine, buried at, *ib.*; head of St. Audoenus at, ii. 223; Faricius, a monk of, ii. 295.
- Mearcrædesburnanstæð**, Ælle defeats the Britons near, 485*†.
- Mearce**, *v.* Myrce.
- MEAW**, father of Ælfgar, ii. 197.
- Medeshamsted**, original name of Burh, *i. e.* Peterborough, founded by Oswy and Peada, 654E†; 675E, pp. 35l., 37h.; increased by Wulfhere, 656E†; 675E, pp. 35l., 37h. (cf. 963E, p. 116), consecrated, *ib.*, p. 30; boundaries of, *ib.*, pp. 30, 31; subject only to Rome, and Canterbury, *ib.*, pp. 31h., 33m.†; substituted for Rome as place of pilgrimage, *ib.*, p. 31h.; 675E, p. 36m.; freed from all service, 675E, p. 36h.; abbot of, a legate of Rome, *ib.*m.; grant of Ethelred of Mercia to, *ib.*, p. 37; grant of Ceadwalla to, 686E; Brorda grants Woking to, 777E, p. 53h.†; Wulfred grants Sleaford to, and leases Sempringham to, 852E; ravaged by the Danes, 870E†; cf. p. xl; 963E; restored by Æthelwold, *ib.*; grants by Edgar to, *ib.*, p. 116; enriched by abbot Aldulf, *ib.*, p. 117; fortified by abbot Cenwulf, and called Burh, *ib.*†; cf. 656E, p. 33m. Abbots of, Beonna, 777E, p. 52l.; Ceolred, 852E; see also Seaxwulf, Cudbald, Egbalþ, Pusa, Headda, Burh.
- Medeswæl**, the well from which Medeshamstead derived its name, 654E.
- Medewæge** (D, E), **Med-** (C), R. Medway, the Danes ascend, 999E; the Danes enter, 1016D, E, pp. 150, 151.
- MEDITERRANEAN**, THE, *v.* Wendelsæ.
- MEDITERRANEI**, *v.* Middel Engle.
- MEDWAY**, *v.* Medewæge.
- Melcolm**, *v.* Malcolm.
- Mellent**, **Mellant**, Meulan, dép. Seine-et-Oise, Robert, count of, 1118†; Waleran, count of, 1123, p. 253; 1124; Albold, prior of St. Nigasius at, ii. 295.
- Mellit**, bp. of London, sent to Britain, 995F; consecrated bp. of the East Saxons, by Augustine, 604E, a†; his see at London, *ib.*; East Saxons converted under, *ib.*B, C; bp. of London, 616E, a; succeeds Laurentius at Canterbury, *ib.* (cf. 995F, p. 130); dies, and is succeeded by Justus, *ib.*; cf. 610E.
- Memere** (A), **Mere** (B, C), **Mære** (D), R. Maran, Herts., the northern fort at Hertford near, 913A, D†.
- Merantun***, **Merodun** (F Lat.), Merton, Surrey (Marten, Wilts., S), Cynewulf visits a woman, and is slain by Cyneheard at, 755*†.
- Merce**, **MERCIA**, **Mercnaland**, *v.* Myrce, &c.
- MERCIAN REGISTER**, treatment of by H. H., p. lvii; by D, pp. lxxii f., lxxxii, cxv, cxix; possibly identical with Elfedes (Æthelflæd's) Boc, pp. lxxii f., cxxv; use of, by Fl. Wig., pp. lxxxiv f.; ii. 117; by B and C, pp. lvii, lxxii, lxxxvii, cxv, cxviii f.; chronology of, ii. 116, 117.
- Mercware**, *v.* Mersc-.
- Mere**, *v.* Memere.
- Merodun**, *v.* Merantun.
- MEREFINN**, ST., son of SS. Merewald and Eorinenburg, ii. 26.
- Merehwit**, bp. of Somerset (*i. e.* Wells), dies, and is buried at Glas-tonbury, 1033E†.
- ||**Merelad**, a channel between Whittlesey mere and the Nen (P), in Peterborough Charter, 963E, pp. 116, 117 *bis*.
- Meresig**, Mersea Island, Essex, Danes occupy, 895A.
- Meretun** (A), **Mæredun** (E), prob. Marden, Wilts., battle against the Danes at, 871*†.
- MEREWALD**, *v.* Merwala.
- MERLIN**, said to have foretold the

- wreck of the White Ship, ii. 297; Henry I, his Lion of Justice, ii. 307.
- Mersc**, Romney Marsh, Kent, Cenwulf of Mercia ravages as far as, 796A†.
- Mersware***, **Merc-**, **Myrc-** (D), the inhabitants of Romney Marsh, Cenwulf of Mercia ravages, 796E; Herbert, alderman of Mercia, slain in, 838A.
- MERSEA**, *v.* Meresig.
- MERTON**, *v.* Merantun.
- Merwala**, *or* Merewald, king of the West Hecanas, brother of Wulfhere, joins in his endowment of Medeshamstead, 656E†; conversion of, ii. 226.
- METHEL WONGTUN**, prob. Market Weighton, E. Riding, Yorks., Oswulf of Northumbria slain at, ii. 48.
- MEULAN**, *v.* Mellent.
- MEUSE** R., *v.* Mæs.
- MICHELNEY**, *v.* Myclanŷg.
- Michahel**, the archangel, festival of, M. 176 ff.
- Middel Engle** (B, C), **Middal** (E), **Middel Angle** (E, a), **Mediterranei**, *or* Middle Angles, derived from the Angles, 449E, a; converted under Peada, 653B, C, 652E†; Thored, earl of, ii. 219; *v.* Beorn.
- Middeltun**, Milton Abbas, Dorset, secular priests expelled from, 964A†; Cyneward made abbot of, *ib.*†; foundation legend of monastery of, ii. 137.
- Middeltun**, **Middeltun** þæs cynges, Milton Royal, near Sittingbourne, Kent, Hæsten fortifies himself at, 893A, 892E; cf. ii. 107; some of Godwin's forces burn, 1052E, p. 180.
- Middel Seaxe**, the Middle Saxons, Middlesex, the Danes ravage, 1011E; miswritten for Middel Engle, 653A†.
- Mierce**, **Miercnalond**, *v.* Myrce, &c.
- MILDBURG**, St., dr. of SS. Merewald and Eormenburg, ii. 26.
- MILDGITH**, St., do. do., *ib.*
- MILDRED**, St., dr. of SS. Merewald and Eormenburg, ii. 26; church of, i. 290; abbess of, *v.* Leofrun.
- Milred** (A), **Mildred** (E), bp. of Worcester, 772*†.
- MILTON**, JOHN, origin of his remark on the character of Early English history, ii. 29.
- MILTON ABBAS**, **MILTON ROYAL**, *v.* Middeltun.
- Miltruda**, *v.* Mildred.
- Mirce**, *v.* Myrce.
- Moll** **Æþelwold** (E), **Æþelwald** (E, F), -wold (F Lat.), king of the Northumbrians, accession of, 759E†; expelled, *ib.*; cf. ii. 50; slays Oswine. 761E†; father of Ethelred, 774E†; 790E†.
- MONASTICISM**, under Edwy and Edgar, ii. 150, 155, 157; reaction against, on Edgar's death, ii. 163; decline of, under Ethelred, ii. 168; restoration of, under William I, 1086 [1087], p. 219†.
- MONEYERS**, punishment of, 1125†.
- MONTBRAL**, *v.* Mundbræg.
- Monte Cassino**, S. Italy, Stephen, abbot of (= pope Stephen X.), 1057E; English shrine, and English goldsmith at, ii. 248.
- MONTFERRAT**, Rainier, marquis of, ii. 304.
- MONTFORT**, *v.* Mundford.
- MONTFORT**, *v.* Guy.
- MONTGOMERY**, *v.* Muntgumni.
- MONTREUIL**, *v.* Mustræ̃l.
- MONT ST. MICHEL**, dép. Manche, Matthias, abbot of Peterborough, a monk of, ii. 289.
- MONUMENTA HISTORICA BRITANNICA**, edition of Sax. Chron. in, pp. cxxiv, cxxxiii f.
- MOORS**, wars with, in Spain, ii. 275.
- Moræ̃l**, **Moreal**, of Bamborough, steward of Robert of Mowbray, slays Malcolm III, 1093, p. 228†; forced to surrender Bamborough, 1095, p. 231; betrays many of his confederates, *ib.*
- MORAY**, Scotland, Macbeth, Mormaer of, ii. 207; Maelsnechtan, Mormaer of, ii. 270; Angus, earl of, *v.* Anagus.

- Morcær** (E), **Marcær** (F), a chief thane of the Seven Boroughs, murdered by contrivance of Edric Streona, 1015E†; property of, seized by Edmund Etheling, *ib.*†.
- Moreal**, *v.* Moræl.
- Moretoin**, **Mortoin**, **Mortain**, *dép.* Manche, William, earl of, 1104†; 1105†; 1106.
- Morkere**, son of Ælfgar of Mercia, elected earl of Northumberland. 1065C, D, 1064E; election of, confirmed by Edward, *ib.*D, E, pp. 192, 193†; repulses Tostig, 1066C, p. 196; defeated (at Fulford), *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 196, 197†; promises to support Edgar Etheling, *ib.*D, p. 199†; submits to William at Beorhhamsted, *ib.*, p. 200†; goes to Normandy with W., *ib.*; escapes, and goes to Ely, 1071E, 1072D†; submits, *ib.*, p. 208.
- MORTAIN**, **Mortoin**, *v.* Moretoin.
- MORTEMER**, *v.* Mare Mortuum.
- MOUNTED INFANTRY**, use of, 876*†; 881*.
- MOWBRAY**, Robert of, *v.* Rodbeard.
- MOYSES**, Moses, devil appears in form of, 431E.
- MUCA**, alderman, slain, 822*†.
- MUCELWUDU**, 'the mickle wood,' = Selwood, *ii.* 94.
- MUL**, brother of Ceadwalla, ravages Kent and Wight, 686*†; burned in Kent, 687*; *cf.* 685A; satisfaction exacted for, 694*†.
- Mundbræg**, Montbrai, *dép.* Manche, Rodbeard a, *v.* Rodbeard.
- Mundford**, *i. e.* Montfort l'Amaury, *dép.* Seine-et-Oise, Hamalri (Amaury) of, 1123, p. 253.
- Mundford**, **Munford**, *i. e.* Montfort-sur-Risle, *dép.* Eure, Hugo of, 1123, p. 253; 1124.
- Munt**, specifically, the Alps, the lands beyond, *i. e.* Italy, 887*; Gelasius dies this side of, 1119; Innocent II acknowledged this side of, 1129, p. 260.
- Muntgumni**, Montgomery, castle of, captured by the Welsh, 1095, p. 231; Roger of, *v.* Rogere.
- MURRAIN**, 897A; 986C, E†; 1054E; 1085^b, p. 217; 1103; 1111; 1115; 1125, p. 256; 1131.
- ||Must**, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 117.
- Mustreäl**, Montreuil, *dép.* Pas-de-Calais, castle of, offered by Philip I to Edgar Etheling, 1075D.
- MWANGA**, king of Uganda, swears blood-brotherhood with Dr. Peters, *ii.* 25.
- Myclanÿg**, Michelney, Somerset, Ealdwulf, monk and abbot of, 1114H†; foundation legend of, *ii.* 137.
- Myranheafod**, nickname, 1010E†; *v.* þurcylt.
- Myrce*** (B, C, D, F), **Mierce** (A), **Mirce** (E), **Merce***, **Mearce** (E, a), **Mercia**, the Mercians, Mercia, derived from the Angles, 449E, a; become Christian, 655A; Tatwine, a priest in, 731E; fight with the Kentish men at Otford, 773*; Eadberht Præn led captive into, 796*†; East Angles submit to Egbert for fear of, 823*†; Æthelwulf traverses, 853A; Æthelthwif sent to, *ib.*; Danes invade, 868*; West Saxon fyrd enters, *ib.*; make peace with the Danes, *ib.*; the Danes traverse, 870*; make peace with the Danes, 872*†; 873A†; fight against the Danes near Tettenhall, 909D; Oswald's body translated to, 909C†; Edward sends fyrd from, to the north, 910A, D; do. against the Danes, 911 A, D; Ethelred, lord of, 911C†; 919C; Æthelthæd, lady of, 912C; 913C; 917C; 918E; *cf.* *ii.* 118; Tamworth built by, 913C†; Æthelthæd rules, 918C; Ælfwyn deprived of power over, 919C†; Edward sends fyrd of, to Manchester, 923A; Edward dies in, 924C, D; Athelstan elected king by, *ib.*†; fight at Brunanburh, 937A, p. 108; Edmund reduces, 942A†; Edgar succeeds in, 959B, C; Edgar protector of, 975E†; antimonastic reaction in, *ib.*A†; fyrd of, called out, 1006E; Cnut

- crosses into, 1016D, E; Danes ravage, *ib.* pp. 150, 151 (*bis*); assigned to Cnut, *ib.* E, p. 153†; granted to Edric by Cnut, 1017D, E; ships of, sent home by Edw. Conf., 1049C, p. 168†. Kings of, Ethelred, 675E; 676*; 704*; Ceolred, 716*; Æthelbald, 740E; 742F; 743E; 752E; 755* *ad fin.*; Ceolwulf (really Cenwulf), 796*; Offa, *ib.* E; 836*; Cenwulf, 819*; Beornwulf, 823* (*bis*); Ludecan, 825*; Berhtwulf, 851*†; Burgred, 853A, 852E (*bis*); 868*; possibly Ælfward, ii. 121; Sitric, king of Danish part of, ii. 129; see also Beornred, Coenbryht, Coenred, Kenelm, Penda. Kingdom of, Peada succeeds to, 655A, 654E†; Wulfhere, 652*; Ceolred, 709*; Æthelbald, 716*; Egferth, 794*; Egbert conquers, 827*; Wiglaf restored to 828*†; given to Ceolwulf by the Danes, 874*†; Edgar succeeds to, 955D†; 957B, C. Bps. of, Jaruman, 656E, pp. 30m., 32b.; Wynfrid, *ib.*; p. 33m.; Saxwulf, 675E, p. 36t.; Totta and Eadberht, ii. 50. Aldermen of, Ethelred, 910D, E†; 912A, D; Edric, 1007E†; see also Ælfhere, Ælfric, Herebryht. Earls of, *v.* Ælfgar, Eadwine, Leofric. Werburg, queen of, ii. 56; Sæthryth, *do.*, ii. 78; wergild of king of, ii. 33; connexion of Eanbald II with, ii. 65, 66; position of, ii. 57, 58, 60, 61, 66, 67, 70; sudden decline of, ii. 70; alderman of, expels Anlaf and Ragnall, ii. 145; shires of, Addenda, p. x; cf. Sudhymbre.
- Myrcnaland*** (D), **Mercna-** (A), **Myrc-** (D), **Miercnalond**, **Mercna-** (A), the land of the Mercians, Mercia, divided by the Danes, 877*†; Danes of East Anglia ravage, 905A, D†; Northumbrian Danes ravage, 911A, D; Danes from, attack Wigmore, 921A; people of, submit to Edward, 922A; Danish and English settlers in, *do.*, *ib.*
- Myrcware**, *v.* **Merc-**.
- N.**
- Næss**, Dungeness, Kent, Godwin comes to, 1052E; Harold comes to, *ib.*, p. 179.
- Nafena** (C), **Nafana** (E), father of Thurecytel, 1016D, E, pp. 148, 149†.
- Narbona**, Narbonne, Charlemagne traverses, 778E.
- Natanleaga** (A), **Nazanleog** (E), a district in Hants, perhaps comprising Netley and the two Nateleys, 508*.
- Natanleod** (A), **Nazaleod** (E), British king slain by Cerdic and Cynric, 508*†.
- NATELEY**, *v.* **Natanleaga**.
- NAVAL ASSESSMENT**, ii. 185.
- Nazaleod**, **Nazanleog**, *v.* **Natanleaga**.
- NAZE**, *THE*, *v.* **Eadulfesnæss**.
- || **Nen**, R., Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, pp. 116, 117 *bis*.
- NENNIUS**, pedigrees in, p. cix n.
- Neomagan** (æt), Nymegen, Gelderland, Baldwin destroys the emperor's palace at, 1049C, 1050D.
- NEOT**, St., life of, source of interpolations in Asser, ii. 93; appears to Alfred at Athelney, ii. 94; Annals of, their relation to the Chron., pp. ciii f., cxxv n.
- Nero**, Roman emperor, succeeds Claudius, and nearly loses Britain, 47E†; accession of, 49F.
- NEST**, dr. of Rhys ap Tewdwr, not the mother of Robert, earl of Gloucester, ii. 302.
- Nestorius**, bishop of Constantinople, heretic, 433E.
- NETLEY**, *v.* **Natanleaga**.
- NEUSTRIA**, king of, *v.* Dagobert.
- NEVERS**, Gilbert Universal, regent of the schools at, ii. 306.
- NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**, captured by Rufus, ii. 283; garrison of, entrap Robert of Mowbray, *ib.*

- NIALL GLUNDUBH**, king of Ireland, defeated and slain by Sitric, ii. 129.
- Nicaea**, Council of, 311E; 625E.
- Niceforus**, emperor of Constantinople, makes peace with Charlemagne, 810E; dies, p. xlvii.
- NICHOLAS**, father of H. H., dies, ii. 293.
- NICHOLSON, WILLIAM**, projects an edition of the Saxon Chron., p. cxxix n.
- Nicolaus**, Sanctus, chapel of, at Westminster, 1072E, 1073D.
- Nicolaus**, bp. of Florence, chosen pope (Nicolas II), 1059D, E; gives the pallium to Ealdred, 1061D†; dies, *ib.*; excommunicates Gerard, count of Galeria, ii. 250.
- Niel**, slain by Sihtric, 921E†.
- NIGASIUS, ST.**, Meulan, Albold prior of, ii. 295.
- NIGEL OF ALBINI**, sent by Rufus to invade Scotland, ii. 279.
- Nigel**, abbot of Burton, dies, 1114H.
- NIGEL**, bp. of Ely, nephew of Roger of Salisbury, ii. 309.
- Nihtred**, miswritten for Wihtrud, 692E†; cf. pp. lv, lix.
- Ninna (a), Nimia (E), (Ninias)**, apostle of the Southern Picts, his church at Whitem, 565E, a†.
- NITHAROS, or Dronheim**, Norway, Rudolf, bp. of, ii. 234.
- Niwe mynster, v. Wintanceaster.**
- †**Noe (Noah)**, father of Scef, 855B, C†; cf. ii. 4; William the Lion's pedigree carried up to, ii. 81, 82; v. Addenda, p. vii.
- NORDEN**, Frisia, the Frisians defeat the Danes at, ii. 98.
- NORDGAU**, Henry, markgrave of, ii. 98.
- Nordhumbraland, v. Norðhymbra.**
- NORFOLK, v. Norðfolc.**
- Normandig, Normandi (E, F), Normandie (dat. 1076D, 1123E), Normania**, Rollo takes possession of, 876E, F; accession of William in, 928F; William, count of, 1062E; invasion of William expected from, 1066C, p. 196; comes from, *ib.*D, p. 199; W. returns to, *ib.*, p. 200†; 1074E, 1075D; Edgar Etheling comes to, *ib.*E; news of the earls' revolt comes to, 1075E, 1076D; Gerberoi outside, 1079E; William I refuses to give up, to Robert, *ib.*E; William I owns, 1085; brings large forces from, *ib.*†; crosses to, 1085^b, p. 217; William I invades France from, 1086 [1087], p. 218†; returns to, and dies in, *ib.*, pp. 218, 219†; Robert succeeds in, *ib.*, p. 219; Odo, a bp. in, *ib.*, p. 220; Odo, William I's deputy when he was away in, *ib.*; was William's ancestral domain, *ib.*; Robert, earl of, 1087 [1088], pp. 222, 224; 1090; 1101; 1103; 1104; 1106; 1124, p. 254; 1127; noblemen of, in Rochester Castle, *ib.*, p. 224; William of St. Carilef goes to, *ib.*, p. 225†; William II tries to win, 1090†; Philip I comes to, *ib.*; William II crosses to, 1091†; recognised as heir of, *ib.*; Edgar Etheling quits, *ib.*†; news of Malcolm's invasion reaches, *ib.*; Robert and Edgar return to, *ib.*, p. 227; ambassadors from, come to Rufus, 1094; Rufus crosses to, *ib.*, p. 229; summons English fyrd to, *ib.*; Robert and Philip I in, *ib.*; Henry unable to pass through, *ib.*; Henry sent to, 1095; mortgaged by Robert to Rufus, 1096†; Rufus spends Christmas in, 1097; 1098; 1099; returns to, 1097†; Robert returns to, and is welcomed in, 1100, p. 236; Henry I surrenders his power in, 1101; the surviving brother to inherit England and, *ib.*; Flambard escapes to, *ib.*†; Henry sends forces to, 1104; William, earl of Mortain, escapes to, *ib.*; Henry I crosses to, and conquers part of, 1105†; Robert of Belesme returns to, 1106; duke Robert comes from, *ib.*; Henry I refuses to give up his conquests in, *ib.*; Henry I crosses to, and conquers, *ib.*†; reduces, to

- order, 1107; distributes ecclesiastical offices in, *ib.*; spends festivals in, 1107; 1109; 1113; 1115; makes war on Louis VI in, 1108; returns to, 1109; 1111; 1114; 1116; 1123, p. 253; 1130; remains in, 1112; 1117; 1118; 1119; 1123, p. 253; 1124; 1126; expels opponents from, *ib.*; chief men of, do homage to William, son of Henry I, 1115†; feuds between France and, 1116; Louis VI and Baldwin VII invade, 1117; misery of, *ib.*; Baldwin VII wounded in, 1118†; cf. 1119 *ad fin.*; battle between Henry I and Louis VI in, 1119†; William, son of Henry I, goes to, *ib.*; submission of Henry's subjects in, 1120; Henry reduces, *ib.*; 1124, p. 254; William Clito kept out of, *ib.*; Henry sends orders about the moneys from, 1125; John of Crema comes to Henry in, *ib.*; Matilda recognised as successor in, 1127†; she crosses to, *ib.*; Hugh de Payen comes to Henry I in, 1128; prelates from, at Canterbury, 1130; abbot Henry comes to, 1131; Henry I dies in, 1135†; Stephen crosses to, 1137†; revolts to Geoffrey of Anjou, 1140, p. 267†; Eustace hopes to recover, *ib.*; Tostig possibly comes from, ii. 254. Dukes of, *v.* Ricardus I, II, III, Rodbeard, Rodbertus, Willelm.
- Normannus**, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, punishes the rebellious monks of St. Augustine's, i. 292.
- NORMANS**, Athelstan helps the Bretons against, ii. 141.
- Normen**, *i. e.* Norwegians, receive Harold Hardrada, 1049D†; defeat the English (Fulford), 1066C, D, pp. 196, 197†; defeated by Harold of England at Stamford Bridge, and many slain, *ib.*C, D†; *v.* Norwege.
- Norren**, Norwegian, Harold (Hardrada) the N. king, 1066E, p. 197, *ib.*D, p. 199; *v.* Norwege.
- NORTHALLERTON**, Yorks., N. Riding, battle of the Standard near, ii. 312.
- NORTHAMPTON**, *v.* Hamtun, Norðhamtun.
- Norðanhymbre**, &c., *v.* Norð.
- ||Norðburh**, Northborough, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, pp. 301., 31h.
- Norðerne men**, *i. e.* the northern rebels, ravages of, about Northampton, 1064E, p. 192†.
- Norðfolc**, Norfolk, Ralph (the Staller) born in, 1075E, 1076D; earldom of, given to his son Ralph (Guader), *ib.*; William, bp. of (*i. e.* Thetford), 1085.
- Norðhamtun** (Norht-, 1122), Northampton, conference with the northern rebels at, 1065C, p. 192†; Hugh of Grantsmesnil ravages, 1087 [1088], p. 223; Henry I meets Robert of Normandy at, 1106; Thorpe near, 1114H; Henry I spends Easter at, 1122; *v.* Hamtun.
- Norðhamtunscir**, Northamptonshire, earldom of, given to David of Scotland, 1114H†; held by him with the crown of Scotland, 1124, p. 254; *v.* Hamtunscir.
- Norðhymbreland*** (D), -lond (A), **Norðanhymbreland** (E), -lond (A), the land of the Northumbrians, Northumbria, ravaged by Penda and Ceadwalla, 633E; by Æthelbald, 737E†; synod in, 788E†; cf. ii. 57, 58; portents in, 793E†; great fight in, 798E†; Halfdene divides, 876*†; Danes return to Essex by, 895A†; annexed by Edmund, 944A†; overrun by Edred, 946A, D, 948E; ravaged by Edred, 948D†; Anlaf Cuaran comes to, 949E†.
- Norðhymbreland** (Northumbra-, F), Northumberland, *i. e.* the modern county, thanes of, rebel against Tostig, 1065D†; Robert de Commines made earl of, 1068D, E†; ravaged by Malcolm III, up to the Tyne, 1079E†; Scots invade, ii. 312.
- Norphymbre*** (B, C, D, a), -him-

bre (p. 32E), **Norpanhymbre***, (-humbre, 827E), the Northumbrians, Northumbria, derived from the Angles, 449E, a; kings of, derived from Woden, *ib.*E†; royal family of, derived from Ida, 547*; exjel Alhred, 774E†; alderman Beorn burnt by high-reeves of, 779E; heathen ravage in, 794E; submit to Egbert, 827*†; Danes invade, 867*; disensions in, *ib.*†; great slaughter of, at York, *ib.*†; Danes enter, 873A; part of the Danes enter, 875*†; Danes in, send a fleet against Essex, 894A, p. 86 h.†; the Danes receive reinforcements from, *ib.*, p. 87 h.†; p. 88 t.†; Danes retire to, 897A; Danes from, ravage Wessex, *ib.*, p. 90; the Etheling Æthelwold joins the Danes in, 901A, D†; Danes in, break faith with Edward, 911A, D, a; Manchesterin, 923A; English and Danes in, submit to Edward, 924A†; break their troth, and elect Anlaf, 941D†; annexed by Edmund, 944E†; witan of, submit to Edred, 947D; do., do., 948D†; expel Anlaf, and receive Eric, 952E; expel Eric, 954D, E†; Edgar succeeds in, 959B, C; Danes ravage, 993E; submit to Swegen, 1013E; Edmund Etheling goes to, 1016D, E; Cnut marches into, and reduces, *ib.*, pp. 148, 149; makes Eric earl of, *ib.*†; granted to Eric, 1017D, E†; rebel against Tostig, and elect Morcar as earl, 1064E†; join Edgar Etheling, 1068D, E; join the Danes, *ib.* 1, p. 204; murder bp. Walcher, 1080E; Robert (of Mowbray), earl of, 1093, p. 228; 1095 (*ter*)†; Rufus marches into, *ib.*, p. 231. Kings of, Edwin, 601*; 827*; Æthelfrith, 603E, a; 617E; Oswald, 635E; 642A, 641E; Oswy, 656E, p. 32l.; 670*; Aldfrid, 705*; 718*; Osred, 716*; Osríc, 731A; Eadberht, 757E; Moll Æthelwold, 761E; Ælf-

wold, 789E; Osred, 790E; 792E; Ethelred, 794*; Eadwulf, 806E; Sitric, 925D; ? Guthrum, ii. 102; see also Ælfwold I and II, Anlaf I and II, Coenred, Eanred, Egferth, Egbert I and II, Guthfrith, Guthred, Osbald, Osbriht, Osulf I and II, Rægnold I and II, Readwulf, Ricsig, Yric.

Æthelfrith succeeds in, 595E, a.

Kingdom of, Ælle succeeds to, 560*; Oswald, 634E†; Oswy, 641E; Eadberht, 738*; Moll Æthelwold, 759E†; Alhred, 765E†; Eadwulf, 795E†; Athelstan annexes, 926D†; cf. ii. 131; Edred do., 954D, E. Bps. of, Paulinus, 625A; Tuda, *q. v.*; abp. of, Wulfhere, 892E†.

Uncertainty as to settlement of, ii. 14, 15; decline of, after Eadberht, ii. 48; part of Ireland (!), ii. 68; sinks into an earldom under Oswulf, ii. 132; earls of, *v. s.*, and see Gospatric, Oslac, Rodbeard, Siward, Tostig, Uhtred, Waltheof. **Norphymbre**, *i. e.* the Danes settled in Northumbria, break faith with Alfred, 894A†; Edward makes peace with, 906*†.

Norðman, son of Leofwine, slain, 1017D, E†.

Norðmannescroshundred, Hunts., in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 117.

Norðmen, Northmen, Scandinavians, ships of, first come to England under Beorhtric, 787E†; those in Northumbria submit to Edward, 924A†: defeated at Brunanburh, 937A, p. 108; fly to Dublin, *ib.* p. 109†; Five Boroughs subject to, 942A†.

Norðmupa, the northern mouth of the Kentish Stour, Edw. Conf. sends for ships from, 1049C, p. 168; Godwin and Harold come to, 1052E, p. 179.

Norðsciphere, *i. e.* fleet of Northmen, ravage Cheshire, 980C†.

NORTHUMBRIA, *v.* **Norphymbre**, &c. **NORTHUMBRIAN ANNALS**, embodied in D, E, p. lxxviii ff., lxxviii ff.

- Norp Wealas*** (D), -**Walas***, the North Welsh, *i. e.* our Wales, as opposed to the West Welsh, or Cornwall, Egbert subjugates, 823*†; Æthelwulf subjugates to Burgred of Mercia, 853A (*bis*), 852E; Danes retreat into, 895A; quit. *ib.*†; Danes ravage coasts of, 915D, 918A; kings of, submit to Edward, 922A†; to Athelstan, ii. 135; Danes ravage, 997E†; Ælfgar takes refuge in, 1055E (perh. = our North Wales).
- Norð Wealcynn.** the people of Wales, some of, take part against the Danes, 894A, p. 87m.†; submit to Edward, 922A.
- Norðwic** (Norhtwic, 1122; Noruic, 1130, 1137), Norwich, ravaged by Swegen, 1004E (*bis*); marriage of Ralph (Guader) at, 1075E, 1076D (*bis*)†; Ralph escapes from, *ib.*; his wife holds, *ib.*; Roger Bigod seizes, 1087 [1088], p. 223; Henry I spends Christmas at, 1122; Everard, bp. of, 1130; Jews at, 1137, p. 265; see of Thetford removed to, ii. 281.
- NORÞWORÞIG**, original name of Derby, ii. 87, 120; *v.* Deoraby.
- Norwege** (-wæge, 1070E; -weie, -weis, 1066C, *ad fin.*), the Norwegians, Norway, Cnut goes to, 1028C, E†; annexes it, *ib.*E†; Olaf returns to, 1030E; slain there, *ib.*C; Magnus of, 1046D†; king of, 1048D; Harold (Hardrada) goes to, 1049D; fleet comes from, 1058D†; Harold (Hardrada), king of, 1066C, D, pp. 196, 198†; bravery of a man of, *ib.*C, p. 198† (cf. pp. lvii f.); Hardrada's son allowed to return to, *ib.*†; many of, slain, *ib.*; some of the Danish ships go to, 1070E, p. 207; Magnus Bareleg, king of, ii. 246, 286; see also Eric, Olaf I, II, III; outrage of Robert of Mowbray on merchants of, ii. 282; *v.* Normen, Norren.
- NORWICH**, *v.* Norðwic.
- NOTTINGHAM**, &c., *v.* Snotingham.
- Nophelm**, abp. of Canterbury, 995F, p. 130; receives the pallium, 736*†.
- Nun** (E, a), **Nunna** (B, C), probably king of the South Saxons, fights against Geraint of Cornwall, 710*†.
- NYMEGEN**, *v.* Neomagán.

O.

- Occidentales Saxones**, *v.* West Seaxe.
- †**Ooga** (A), **Ogga** (B), **Ocea** (C, D), father of Alðhelm, son of Ida, 731A, cf. ii. 5, 6.
- OCKLEY**, Surrey, *v.* Aclea.
- Octavianus**, Christ born under, 1*.
- Oda**, *i. e.* Odo or Eudes, count of Paris, receives the Western kingdom, 887*†.
- Oda** (D, F), **Odo** (a), abp. of Canterbury, divorces Edwy and Ælfgyfu, 958D†; dies, 961 a. F†; appointed in 942, ii. 144; makes peace between Edmund and Anlaf, *ib.*; translates the bones of Wilfrid, ii. 145, 148; crowns Edwy, ii. 149; Oswald of York a nephew of, ii. 176; *v.* Addenda, p. ix.
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- Odda**, Otho the Great, emperor, father of Liudulf, and son-in-law of Edward the Elder, 982C†; marries Athelstan's sister Edith, ii. 121; sends a book of the Gospels to Athelstan, ii. 122.

- Odda**, Otho II, emperor, his expedition to 'Greekland' against the Saracens, 982C†; (half)-uncle of
- Odda**, *i. e.* Otho, duke of Swabia, son of Liodulf, dies, 982C†.
- ODDA**, alderman of Devon, besieged by the Danes, ii. 93
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- †**Offa**, father of Angelpeow, son of Wærmund, 626B, C; 755 A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- Offa**, son of Æthelfrith of Northumbria, expelled by Edwin, 617E†.
- Offa**, king of the East Saxons, goes to Rome, 709*†.
- OFFA**, son of Aldfrid of Northumbria, drawn from sanctuary and slain by Eadberht, ii. 41.
- Offa**, king of the Mercians, accession of, 755*, *ad fin.*†; expels Beornred, *ib.* E, F; fights for Benson with Cynewulf, and takes it, 777*†; appoints Higberht to Lichfield, 785*†; father of Eadburg, 787*†; cf. 836*; has Ethelbert of East Anglia beheaded, 792*†; cf. ii. 245; dies, 794*†; 796E; joined with his son-in-law Beorhtric to expel Egbert, 836*; son of Thingferth, 755, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6; Beonna, abbot of Medeshamstead under, 777E, p. 521.; signature of, *ib.*; Brorda, alderman under, *ib.* p. 53t.; his position and policy, ii. 56, 57; letter of Alcuin to, ii. 57; name of, on coins of Æthelheard of Canterbury, ii. 61; Ælfæd, dr. of, ii. 62; said to have founded the English school at Rome, ii. 69.
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- Ohter** (A, D), **Ohtor** (A), Danish jarl, ravages Wales, 915D, 918A†; brother of, slain, *ib.*
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- Osbearn, Danish jarl, slain at Ashdown, 871*.
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- Oslac, son of Æthelfrith of Northumbria, expelled by Edwin, 617E†.
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- Osulf**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Eadberht, 757E†; slain by his own household, *ib.*†; father of Ælfwold, ii. 54.
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PLANTAGENET, *Geoffrey V* the first to be called, ii. 303.
Plegemund, abp. of Canterbury, elected, 890a, E†; cf. ii. 125; dies, 923a†; connexion of, with *Alfred's* literary works, p. cv.
POITIERS, counts of, ii. 304.
POITOU, *v.* *Peitowe*.
POLOCHINUS, other name of *Sefred* or *Sigefrid*, abbot of *Glastonbury* and bp. of *Chichester*, ii. 300.
PONT AUDEMER, *v.* *Punt Aldemer*.
PONTESBURY, *v.* *Posentesburh*.
PONTHIEU, *v.* *Puntiw*.
Porloca, *Porlock*, *v.* *Portloca*.
Port, lands at *Portsmouth*, with his sons *Bieda* and *Mægla*, 501*†.
Port, *Portland* (*q. v.*), *Danes* defeat alderman *Æthelhelm* at, 837*.
Porta Corf, *v.* *Corfesgeat*.
Portascihð, *Portskewet*, *Monmouthshire*, *Harold* builds a hunting-lodge for *Edward* at, 1065C, D†; destroyed by the *Welsh*, *ib*†
PORTENTS, rain of blood, 685F†; shooting stars, 744E; 1095†; red cross in the sky, and wondrous snakes in *Sussex*, 773A, 774E†; lightnings and flying dragons, 793E†; cross seen in the sun, 806F; fiery light (*Aurora*), 926D†; blood-red cloud like fire (*do.*), 979C†; wildfire, 1032E†; 1049D; 1078D; fountain of blood, 1098†; 1100†; 1103; burning heaven (*Aurora*), 1098; 1117; 1122; 1131; circles around the sun, 1104†; two moons, 1106; signs in the moon, 1107; spectres, 1122; the wild huntsman seen from *Peterborough* to *Stamford*, 1127, p. 258†.
Portesmuða*, -muð (E), *Portsmouth*, *Port* and his sons land at, 501*†; *Robert of Normandy* lands at, 1101; *Henry I* embarks at, 1114, p. 246.
Portland, *Dorset*, ravaged by *wikings*, 982C; by *Godwin*, 1052E, p. 178; first *Danish* ships land at, ii. 59; *v.* *Port*.
Portloca*, *Por-* (D), *Porlock*, *Somerset*, *Danes* make a descent on, 915D, 918A; *Harold*, *do.*, 1052E, p. 178.
PORTSKEWET, *v.* *Portascihð*.
PORTSMOUTH, *v.* *Portesmuða*.
Posentesburh, *Pontesbury*, *Salop*, battle of, 661*†.
POYNINGTON, *Dorset*, ii. 28.
Præn, *v.* *Eadbriht*.
PREPOSITION, use of, with place-names, ii. 15, 180.
PRICE, *RICHARD*, edits the *Saxon Chron.* in *M. H. B.*, p. cxxxiv.
Priscianus, *grammarian*, 528E.
PRIVET, *v.* *Pryfetesfloda*.
PROVERB, cited, 1003E†; 1130.
Pryf(e)tesfloda, *Privet*, *Hants*, *Sigberht* slain at, 755*†.
Puclancyrce, *Pucklechurch*, *Gloucestershire*, *Edmund* murdered at, 946D†.
Puille, *Apulia*, *Robert of Normandy* winters in, 1096; expedition of *Edgar Etheling* to, ii. 273; *Roger II*, duke of, *Addenda* to ii. 305.
Punt Aldemer, *Pont Audemer*, *dép. Eure*, *Henry I* captures castle of, 1123, p. 253.
Puntiw, *Ponthieu*, (*William de Talvas*), count of, 1120.

- ||Pusa, abbot of Medeshamstead after Beonna, grant of Brorda to, 777E, p. 53h.
 ||Putta, bp. of Rochester, signature of, 675E, *ad fin.*†.
 PUTTIC, surname of Ælfric, abp. of York, ii. 205.
 †Pybba, father of Penda, son of Creoda, 626B, C; father of Eawa, 731A; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
 Pyhtas, *v.* Pehtas.
 Pyhtisc (E), Pihtisc (D), Pictish, one of the languages of Britain, E Pref. p. 3.
 Pyhtwine, *v.* Peht-.

R.

Several names beginning with R must be sought under Hr.

- Raculf, *v.* Reculf.
 Radulf, *v.* Raulf.
 Rædingas, *v.* Read-.
 Rædwald (A), Redwald (E), Reodwald (E), king of the East Angles, slays Æthelfrith of Northumbria, 617E†; the fourth Bretwalda, 827*.
 Rægnald (A), Rægnold (D, E), Danish king in Northumbria, captures York, 923D, E†; submits to Edward, 924A† (this possibly belongs to the next entry).
 Rægnold (B, C), Rægenold, -ald (A), Regnald (D, E), Reagnold (F), Reinold (F Lat.), Danish king in Northumbria, Edmund sponsor to, 942A, 943D†; Edmund expels, 944*†; son of Guthfrith, *ib.* A.
 Ræins, *v.* Remis.
 ||Raggewilth, Rag Marsh, near the mouth of the Welland (P), in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 30l.
 Rainald, abbot of Ramsey, formerly monk of Caen, 1114H.
 RAINIER, marquis of Montferrat, drs. of, ii. 304.
 RALEIGH, *v.* Rayleigh.
 RALPH OF AIX, Rufus' death attributed to, ii. 287.
 Ralph, bp. of the Orkneys, consecrated at York, i. 289†.
 RALPH GLANVILLE, justiciar, case of Abingdon monks tried before, ii. 311; see also Randolf, Raudulf, Raulf.
 Ramesig (C, D, H), -eg (D), Rameseg (D) (Rameseie, at, 1154), Ramsey, Hunts, Ætheric, bp. of Dorchester, buried at, 1034C, D†; Ælfweard, bp. of London, dies at, 1045D†; (Ælfwine), abbot of, 1050D, *ad fin.*; cf. 1046^bE, *ad init.*†; Rainald, abbot of, 1114H; William de Walteville received at, 1154; bodies of Ermenred's sons translated to, ii. 22; Abbo of Fleury comes to, ii. 176; Oswald and Æthelwine joint founders of, *ib.*; Æscwig, bp. of Dorchester, at consecration of, ii. 177; a 'scegð' bequeathed to, ii. 186; Eadnoth, prior of, ii. 180; Wulfsize, abbot of, ii. 198.
 RAMSBURY, Wilts., diocese of, taken out of Winchester, ii. 125; see transferred to Sarum, *ib.*, ii. 225; bps. of, Ælfstan and Ælfric, ii. 177; Siric, *ii.* 178; *v.* Wiltunscir.
 Randolf, earl of Chester, holds Lincoln against Stephen, 1140†; William of Roumare, (uterine) brother of, *ib.*; reconciled with Stephen, *ib.*, p. 267†; imprisoned and released, *ib.*†.
 Randulf Passeflambard, Rannulf, *i. e.* Ralph Flambard, made bp. of Durham, 1099†; imprisoned by Henry I, 1100, p. 236†; escapes to Normandy, 1101†; dies, 1128†; buried at Durham, *ib.*†; his system of administration, ii. 280; William of Curboil in household of, ii. 299.
 RANIG, *v.* Roni.
 Raulf (D, E), Rawulf (C), earl of Herefordshire, raises forces against Godwin, 1052D, p. 175; commands Edward's fleet, 1052E; defeated by Ælfgar and Gruffydd,

- 1055C, D†; dies, and is buried at Peterborough, 1057D†.
- Raulf (E), Rawulf (D)**, *i. e.* Ralph the Staller, father of Ralph Guader, born in Norfolk, 1075E, 1076D.
- Raulf (D, E), Rawulf (D)**, son of Ralph (the Staller), William I gives earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk and the dr. of William Fitzosbern to, 1075E, 1076D†; plots against William, *ib.*†; escapes from Norwich, *ib.*; wife of, allowed to depart, *ib.*
- Raulf (E), Rawulf (H), Radulf (H)**, *i. e.* Ralph of Sééz, abp. of Canterbury, promoted from Rochester, 1114E, H†; gives the see of Rochester to Ernulf, *ib.* H†; ordered to consecrate him, *ib.* E; John, archdeacon of Canterbury, nephew of, *ib.*, p. 246; obtains the abbey of Peterborough for John, a monk of Sééz, *ib.*; sends him and others to Rome, *ib.*; Paschal II sends pallium to, 1115; opposes the return of Thurstan to England, 1120; dies, 1122; Sefred *or* Sigefrid, brother of, ii. 300; letter of, to Calixtus II, ii. 264.
- Raulf Basset**, holds a court at Hundcot, 1124, p. 254†.
- RAVEN BANNER** of the Danes, 878E†.
- RAYLEIGH or RALEIGH**, Essex, castle of Robert, son of Wymarc, at, Addenda; *r.* Rodbertes Castel.
- Readingas*, Ræd- (E), Ræd- (E), Redinge (1135)**, Reading, Berks., the Danes come to, 871*†; Ethelred and Alfred lead their fyrd to, *ib.*†; defeated at, *ib.*; great summer army comes to, *ib.* E†; Danes leave, for London, 872*; Danes ravage, 1006E, p. 137; Henry I buried at, 1135†.
- READWULF**, doubtful king of the Northumbrians, ii. 84.
- Reagnold**, *r.* Ræg-.
- Reculf (A), Rauculf (E), Reculver**, Kent, grant of, to Bass the priest, 669*†; Berhtwald, abbot of, grant by Ealhmund to, ii. 71.
- Redingas, Redinge**, *r.* Readingas.
- Reduers, Réviers**, dép. Calvados, Baldwin of, *q. r.*
- Redwald**, *r.* Ræd-.
- REEVES**, oppression of, 1086 [1087], p. 218†.
- Regnald, Regnold, Reinold**, *r.* Ræg-.
- RELICS**, translation and sale of, ii. 190, 192.
- REMIGIUS**, bp. of Dorchester, consecrated by Stigand, ii. 249; transfers the see to Lincoln, ii. 259.
- Remis (E), Rémys (D), Sêe Remei (E), Ræins (1119)**, Rheims, council of, 1050D, *ad fin.*; 1046^bE, *ad init.*†; Guy de Châtillon, abp. of, *ib.*†; hallowing of minster of, 1050D, *ad jin.*; council of, 1119†; Fulk, abp. of, ii. 102, 103, 122; earthquake felt at, ii. 295.
- Reoda**, leader of the Irish migration to Britain, E Pref. p. 5†.
- Reodwald**, *r.* Ræd-.
- Reopandun, REPTON**, *r.* Hreopedun.
- RÉVIERS**, *r.* Reduers.
- RHEIMS**, *r.* Remis.
- RHINE**, *r.* Rin.
- RHUDDLAN**, *r.* Rudelan.
- RHYDDERCH**, father of Gruffydd of South Wales, ii. 226.
- RHYD-Y-GROES**, 'Ford of the Cross,' near Upton-on-Severn, inroad of the Welsh at, ii. 217, 239.
- RHYS AP TEWDWR**, father of Nest, ii. 302.
- Ricard, Richard**, abbot of Ely, dies, 1107†.
- Ricard**, monk and abbot of York, 1114H.
- Ricard**, natural son of Henry I, drowned in the White Ship, 1120.
- Ricard**, *i. e.* Richard, earl of Chester, drowned in the White Ship, 1120; cf. ii. 298.
- Ricardus, Ricard**, *i. e.* Richard I (the Fearless), duke of Normandy, accession of, 942E; dies, 994E; dr. of (Ælfgyfu-Emma), 1002E; 1017D, E; 1040E.
- Ricardus, Ricard (E), Rikerd (D)**, *i. e.* Richard II (the Good), duke

- of Normandy, son of the preceding, succeeds, 994E; Danish fleet goes to territory of, 1000E†; Ælgyfu-Emma and Ethelred take refuge with, 1013E, p. 144; dies, 1024E.
- Ricardus**, *i. e.* Richard III, duke of Normandy, brief reign of, 1024E.
- RICHALE**, Riccal, near Selby, Yorks., Harold Hardrada and Tostig land at, ii. 255.
- RICHARD DE BEAUMAIS**, bp. of London, one of the consecrators of William of Curboil, 1123, p. 252.
- RICHARD**, son of Scrob, founder of Richard's Castle, ii. 240.
- RICHARD**, bp. of London, son of Nigel, bp. of Ely, writes the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ii. 309.
- RICHARD**, king of the Romans, Henry, son of, ii. 303.
- RICHARD**, abp. of Canterbury, deposes William of Walteville, ii. 314.
- RICHARD'S CASTLE**, Herefordshire, building of, 1048E, p. 173†; Frenchmen from, 1052^bD†; founded by Richard, son of Scrob, ii. 240; *v.* Pentecostes Castel.
- RICHILDIS**, widow of Baldwin VI of Flanders, marries William Fitz-osbern, ii. 266.
- RICHMOND**, earl of, *v.* Alan.
- Ricola**, sister of Ethelbert, and mother of Sæberht, 604E, a.
- RICSIG**, king in Northumbria, ii. 85.
- RIDELL**, *v.* Galfridus.
- RIEVAULX**, Yorks., abbey of, founded by Walter Espec, ii. 312.
- RIGRIT**, son of Imor, nephew of Gruffydd, insults English merchants, ii. 250.
- Rigwatlan**, brother of Gruffydd of N. Wales, set up as joint king in Wales, 1063D†; ravages Herefordshire, ii. 259.
- ||**Rihala**, Rylhall, Rutland, St. Tibba buried at, 963E, p. 117.
- Rikerd**, *v.* Ricardus.
- Rin**, the Rhine, Earnulf holds the kingdom to the east of, 887*.
- RING**, oaths taken on sacred ring by Danes, 876*†.
- RINGMERE**, East Anglia, battle of, ii. 187; Addenda, p. x.
- RIPON**, Ripum, *v.* Hripum.
- ROBERT**, son of Wymarc, founder of Robert's castle, ii. 240.
- ROBERT OF MORTAIN**, father of William of Mortain, and half-brother of William I, ii. 200.
- ROBERT LOSINGA**, father of Herbert Losinga, bp. of Norwich, ii. 281.
- ROBERT LOSINGA**, *v.* Rotbertus.
- ROBERT DE MONTE** (*or DE TORIGNY*), chronicle of, pp. xxxvi, lii, lxxv n.
- ROCHESTER**, *v.* Hrofesceaster.
- ROCKINGHAM**, *v.* Rog-.
- Rodbeard**, Rot- (C, D), **Rodberd**, Rot- (E), Hrod- (C), **Rodbyrd** (E), -bert (A, F), *i. e.* Robert of Jumièges, abp. of Canterbury, 1048E, 1050A, C, 1051D†; goes to Rome for his pallium, *ib.*E; returns, *ib.*E, 1051C; refuses to consecrate Spearhafoc to London. *ib.*E, p. 172†; flies from England, 1052C, D, E, pp. 181-183†; outlawed, *ib.*E, p. 183; cf. ii. 248; consecrates William bp. of London, p. xlii.; becomes bp. of London, ii. 224; cf. 1048E, 1051D; accuses Godwin of the murder of Alfred Etheling, ii. 235; Stigand accused of using the pallium of, ii. 248; appointed in the lifetime of, ii. 249.
- Rodbeard (D)**, **Rodberd (E)**, *i. e.* Robert de Commines, earl of Northumberland, murdered, 1068D, E†.
- Rodbeard**, bp. of Cheshire (*i. e.* Lichfield), appointed, 1085.
- Rodbeard**, -briht (E), -beart. **Rotbryht (D)**, *i. e.* Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders, defeats and slays his nephew Arnulf, 1070E, 1071D, pp. 206, 207†; Robert of Normandy, his nephew, flies to, 1079D; threatens to invade England with Cnut, his son-in-law, 1085†; Gertrude, dr. of, ii. 304.
- Rodbeard (E)**, -bert (D), **Rotbeard**, -bert (E), -berd (D), *i. e.*

- Robert, duke of Normandy, eldest son of William I, 1086 [1087], p. 219; flies to Flanders, 1079D†; fights against his father, *ib.*D, E; returns to Flanders, *ib.*D; succeeds his father in Normandy, 1086 [1087], p. 219; malcontents desire, as king, 1087 [1088]; prepares to invade England, *ib.*, p. 224; William II tries to win Normandy from, 1090†; sends to Philip I, who deserts him, *ib.*†; makes peace with Rufus, 1091; accompanies Rufus in his Scotch expedition, *ib.*; mediates, *ib.*, p. 227; returns to Normandy, *ib.*; demands from Rufus the fulfilment of the treaty, 1094; renewed breach between Rufus and, *ib.*, p. 229†; Philip of France combines with, but deserts, *ib.*†; Henry fights against, 1095; pledges Normandy to Rufus, and goes on the first Crusade, 1096; winters in Apulia, *ib.*; returns and is welcomed, 1100, p. 236; contends against Henry's men, *ib.*; some of Henry's subjects revolt to, 1101; invades England, *ib.*†; makes peace with Henry, *ib.*; his invasion suggested by Ralph Flambard, *ib.*; surrenders his pension to Henry I, 1103; agrees with Robert of Belesme, and so falls out with Henry I, 1104; Henry makes war on, 1105; meets Henry at Northampton, 1106; defeated and captured at Tinchebray, 1106†; imprisoned in England, *ib.*; cf. 1124, p. 254; William, son of, *ib.*; transferred to the custody of Robert of Gloucester, 1126†; death of his son revealed to, at Devizes, ii. 305.
- Rodbeard a Mundbræg, Rotbeard, Rotbert, i.e.** Robert of Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, revolts against Rufus and ravages Somerset, 1087 [1088], p. 223†; cuts off Malcolm III in an ambush, 1093, p. 228†; Moræl, steward of, *ib.*†; and relative of, 1095, p. 231; refuses to come to court, *ib.*, p. 230†; besieged in Bamborough and captured, *ib.*, p. 231†; brother of, captured, *ib.*; wife of, forced to surrender Bamborough, *ib.*; imprisoned at Windsor, *ib.*, p. 232.
- Rodbear, Rotbert Bloet, chancellor,** made bp. of Lincoln, 1093; sudden death of, 1123†; buried at Lincoln, *ib.*; had influenced Henry I against monks, *ib.*
- Rodbert, Rotbert of Bælesme, de Bælesme, i.e.** Robert of Belesme, becomes earl of Shrewsbury, 1098†; 1102; his quarrel with Henry I, *ib.*; deprived and expelled from England, *ib.*†; cf. 1104; joins Robert of Normandy, 1104; comes to Henry I, 1105; returns to Normandy and holds out against Henry, 1106; defeated and put to flight at Tinchebray, *ib.*; captured and imprisoned, 1112†; sent to Wareham, 1113; restores Bridgenorth, ii. 119.
- Rodbert, abbot of Thorney,** formerly monk of St. Evroul, 1114H.
- Rodbert, Rotbert, i.e.** Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I, Robert of Normandy transferred to custody of, 1126†; goes with Matilda to Normandy, 1127; Stephen tries to capture, 1140†; takes Stephen prisoner at Lincoln, *ib.*†; Henry of Winchester negotiates with, *ib.*; captured by Stephen's queen, *ib.*, p. 267†; exchanged against Stephen, *ib.*†
- Rodbertes Castel, Rayleigh, Essex (P),** some of the Norman party fly to, 1052E, p. 181†.
- Rodbertus, i.e.** Robert, duke of Normandy, accession of, 1024E; dies on pilgrimage, 1031E.
- Rodbriht, v.** Robert, Rodbeard, Rotbert.
- Rodla, v.** Rollo.
- Rodulf, v.** Hroðulf.
- Rofensis, Rofesceaster, &c., v.** Hrofesceaster.
- Roger (E), Rogcer (D),** earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-

- osbern, plots to dethrone William I, 1075E, 1076D†; tries to raise his earldom, but is arrested, *ib.*
- Roger, *i. e.* Roger Bigod, seizes Norwich Castle, 1087 [1088], p. 223.
- Roger, bp. of Salisbury, with Henry I at Woodstock, 1123; influences Henry to appoint a secular priest to Canterbury, *ib.*; his power in England, *ib.*†; one of the consecrators of William of Curboil, *ib.*, p. 252; regent of England in Henry I's absence, *ib.*, p. 253; Alexander, bp. of Lincoln, a nephew of, *ib.*†; summons the moneyers to Winchester, 1125; Robert of Normandy removed from the custody of, 1126; present at consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130; protects the monks of Peterborough, 1132; arrested, 1137†; willing to be consecrated by Gerard of York, ii. 289.
- Roger, bp. of Coventry, present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130.
- ROGER II, count (afterwards king) of Sicily, supports the anti-pope, 1129† (cf. Addenda).
- Roger, chancellor, nephew of Roger of Salisbury, arrested, 1137†.
- ROGER, abbot of Evesham, misery of the monks under, ii. 306.
- ROGER, abbot of Abingdon, dies, ii. 311.
- ROGER OF HOVEDEN, northern annals in. p. lxix.
- ROGER OF WENDOVER, his inaccuracies, ii. 74; cf. p. cxxvii.
- Rogere, *i. e.* Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, revolts against Rufus, 1087 [1088]†; three sons of, *ib.*, p. 224†; Robert of Bellesme, son of, 1102.
- Rogger Peiteuin, *i. e.* Roger of Poitou, son of Roger of Montgomery, captured in Argentan, 1094, p. 229†.
- Rogingham, Rockingham, Northants, castle of, held by William Malduit, 1137, p. 265.
- Rollo, Rodla, Scandinavian chief, takes possession of Normandy, 876E, F; cf. Addenda, p. viii.
- Rom, Rome, St. Paul sent to, 50F; Paul and Peter martyred at, M. 123; Britons sent to, 443E, a; Ninias studies at, 565E, a; Medeshamstead subject only to, and substituted for, as place of pilgrimage, 656E, pp. 31h., 33h.; 675E, p. 36l.; Wulfhere sends to, *ib.*, p. 33h.; Wigheard sent to, and dies at, 667E; Wilfrid sent to, 675E†; abbot of Medeshamstead to be legate of, *ib.*, p. 36m.†; curse of pope of, on breach of charter, *ib.*, p. 37l.; Ceadwalla goes to, 688*†; Ine goes to, 688E; 728A, 726E†; Cenred and Offa go to, 709*†; Wilfrid driven to, *ib.*E; abp. Egbert receives the pallium at, 735E; bp. Forthhere and queen Frithogith go to, 737*†; Ælfwold sends to, for pallium for Eanbald I, 780E†; legates come from, 785E†; Siric, king of the East Saxons, goes to, 798F†; Æthelheard and Cyneberht go to, 799*†; Wulfred and Wigberht do., 812*†; Alfred sent to, 853A†; Æthelwulf goes to, 855*†; abp. Ceolnoth do., 870D (wrong); Burgred of Mercia do., 874*†; Alfred sends alms to, 883E†; 887*†; 888*†; 890*†; Æthelswith dies on the way to, 888F; Alfred sends couriers to, 889*†; Wulfhelm goes to, 927E†; Athelmod goes to, and dies at, 962A; Siric goes to, 989F†; Ælfric do., 995F, p. 130; 997F†; envoys of the secular priests come to, 995F, p. 130; Ælfheah goes to, 1007D†; Æthelnoth, 1022D, E†; Ælfric, 1026D; Cnut, 1031D, E†; council of, 1047E†; bps. Ealdred and Herman sent to, *ib.*, 1049C, *ad fin.*, 1051D†; they return from, 1050C†; abp. Robert goes to, and returns from, 1048E; abp. Ealdred, Tostig, and his wife go to, 1061D†; Henry (II) rules over, 1066D, p. 202; Lan-

- franc and Thomas of York go to, 1070A, p. 206†; i. 288; Urban II not in possession of, 1096; Anselm goes to, 1103†; abp. Ralph sends envoys to, 1114, p. 246; abbot Anselm comes from, 1115†; abp. Thurstan goes with Calixtus II towards, 1119; Henry, legate of, 1123, p. 252†; William of Curboil, Thurstan, and others go to, *ib.*†; venality of, *ib.*; John of Crema returns with English prelates to, *ib.*†; Piero de' Pierleoni, one of the most powerful men of, supported as anti-pope by people of, 1129, p. 260†; Innocent II expelled from, *ib.*; Martin, abbot of Peterborough, goes to, 1137, p. 265†. Bps. of, St. Peter, 45*, 44F; Eleutherius, 167*†. Popes of, Gregory, 592E, a†; Agatho, 675E; Leo IV, 853A†; Leo IX, 1049C; 1054E; Calixtus II, 1124, p. 254; Honorius II, 1125; 1127. English and other schools at, ii. 69 (cf. 874*; 885*); Ethelbert and Alcuin go to, ii. 56; Plegmund, ii. 103; Ælfsige dies on the way to, ii. 154; Oscytel and Oswald go to, ii. 160; Oswald, ii. 176; Robert of Jumièges, ii. 240; Harold Godwinson, ii. 248; bps. Walter and Giso consecrated at, ii. 249; Gyrrh goes to, *ib.*; Robert of Meulan excommunicated at, ii. 296; council of, condemns false coiners, ii. 302; Gilbert Universal employed as Canterbury advocate at, ii. 306.
- Romanaburh**, the city of the Romans, Rome, sacked by the Gauls, 409E†.
- Romane, Romani**, the Romans, Julius Caesar first of, to invade Britain, B. C. 60A; emperor of, *ib.*E; discover the British tactics, *ib.*; Orkneys, &c., reduced under, A. D. 47*†; Claudius, king of, 47A; kings of, cease to rule in Britain, 409E; cf. A; after 470 years, *ib.*E, a; bury their hoards of gold or take them to Gaul, 418*†; mutilate Leo III, 797*†; give the title of Augustus to Charlemagne, 800E; kingdom of, Mauricius succeeds to, 583E, a; bp. of, 736*; Otho II, emperor of, 982C; Henry III, do., 1056E.
- Romanisc**, Roman, Birinus, a R. bp., 650A, 649E; R. primates continue till Berhtwald, 690A, 692E†.
- Romanus**, consecrated bp. of Rochester, 616E, a, *ad fin.*
- Romare**, Roumare, dép. Seine Inférieure, William of, 1123, p. 253; 1140.
- Romeburg**, Rome, sacked by the Goths, 409A
- ROMNEY**, v. Rumenea.
- ROMNEY MARSH**, v. Mersc.
- ROMSEY**, v. Rumesig.
- RONI** [Ranig], earl of the Magesæte, ravages Worcestershire, ii. 219.
- Rotbert**, *i. e.* Robert of Jerusalem, count of Flanders, goes on the first crusade, 1096; returns, 1100, p. 236; dies, and is succeeded by his son Baldwin VII, 1111†.
- Rotbert**, *i. e.* Robert, abbot of St. Edmund's, 1107†.
- Rotbert de Stutteuile**, captured at Tinchebray, 1106.
- Rotbert of Mellent**, *i. e.* Robert, count of Meulan, dies, 1118†.
- Rotbert Peceð**, bp. of Chester or Coventry, buries Robert Bloet, bp. of Lincoln, 1123†; consecrated, i. 290†.
- Rotbertus**, *i. e.* Robert Losinga or the Lotharingian, bp of Hereford, ii. 281; one of the consecrators of William of St. Carilef, i. 289.
- Rotbryht**, v. Rodbeard.
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- Siric, king of the East Saxons, goes to Rome, 798F†; cf. ii. 72.
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- Siward, Sigward (D), abbot of Abingdon, made coadjutor bp. to Eadsige, 1044C, 1043E†; resigns, retires to Abingdon, and dies, 1046E, 1048C, 1050D, p. 170†; buried at Abingdon, *ib.*
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- Suðfolc**, Suffolk, earldom of, given to Ralph (Guader), 1075E, 1076D; sheriff of, *v.* Leofstan.
- Suðgeweorc** (C. D), -**geweorc**, -**weorc** (D), Southwark, Æltheah's relics carried across the Thames at, 1023D; Godwin and his following come to, 1052D, p. 175†; 1052C, D, pp. 180-182†.
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- Suð Pyhtas**, the Southern Picts, converted by Ninias, 565E, a†.
- Suþrige*** (C), -**rege**, -**rig** (E), **Superege** (D), the people of Surrey, Surrey, Ealdberht retires to, 722* ; submit to Egbert, 823*†;

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- Suð Seaxisc**, South Saxon, Wulfnoth a S., 1009E (miswritten: þone Suðseaxscian).
- Sup Seaxnalond** (A), **-land** (E), the land of the South Saxons, Sussex, wondrous snakes seen in, 773A, 774E†; Danish ships unable to pass, 897A, p. 91.
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- Swanawic**, Swanage, Dorset, Danish ships founder at, 877*†.
- Swaðeod** (E), **Sweoðod** (F), the Swedes, fight against Cnut at Helge Aa, 1025E; *v.* Sweon.
- †**Swebdæg**, father of Sigegreat, son of Sigegar, 560B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- SWEDES**, THE, *v.* Swaðeod, Sweon.
- Swegen**, king of Denmark, invades England and attacks London, 994E†; ravages Wilton and Salisbury, 1003E; and Norwich, 1004E; comes to England, and subdues the country north of Watling St., 1013E†; crosses Watling St. and reduces the country to the south of it, *ib.*†; goes west to Bath, *ib.* p. 144†; regarded as full king, *ib.*†; dies, 1014E† (*bis*); Pallig, brother-in-law of, ii. 181.
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- 171; two of which are captured by the men of Hastings, *ib.*D, p. 170†; takes refuge at Bruges, *ib.*C, E, p. 171†; comes to England, 1047E; outlawed, 1050C†; Richard's Castle, in earldom of, 1048E, p. 174; joins Godwin and Harold in raising forces, *ib.*, 1052D, p. 175; had prepared a ship at Bristol, *ib.*; outlawed, *ib.*D, E, 1051C; goes to Thorney, *ib.*D; to Bosham, *ib.*E, p. 176; to Flanders, *ib.*C, D, E†; goes to Jerusalem, dies on the way home at Constantinople, 1052C, p. 182†; Tostig, son of, ii. 261.
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- Swifneh** (A), **Suifne** (B), **Suifneh** (F Lat.), a great teacher of the 'Scots,' dies, 891A†.
- ||**Swinesheafod**, -hæfed, ?Swineshead, Hunts., or Lincs., in Peterborough Charters, 675E, p. 37m.; 777E, p. 52l.
- Swiðhun**, bp. of Winchester, dies, 861F†; his position under Æthelwulf, ii. 71; tutor of Æthelwulf, ii. 75; head of, said to have been taken to Canterbury, ii. 183.
- SWITHRED** or **SWITHED**, king of the East Saxons, ii. 43, 72.
- Swiðulf**, bp. of Rochester, dies, 897A†.
- Syhtric**, father of Anlaf Cuaran, 944A; cf. ii. 140; *v.* Sihtric.
- Syward**, *v.* Siward.
- SYRIA**, *v.* Siria.
- Syric**, *v.* Sigeric.
- Syxtus**, pope, introduces the Sanctus, 124E.
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- Tāda**, Tadcaster, Yorks., Harold assembles his forces at, 1066C, p. 197.
- Taddenesscylf**, Tanshelf, near Pontefract, Yorks., Northumbrians submit to Edred at, 947D.
- Tædbald de Blais**, *i. e.* Theobald IV, count of Blois, nephew of Henry I, supported by him against Louis VI, 1116†.
- Tæfingstoc** (C, D), **Tefing-** (E), Tavistock, Devon, monastery at, burnt, 997E†; legend of continuance of Anglo-Saxon studies at, p. xlv; cf. ii. 159; Living, abbot of, ii. 225; Ealdred, do., ii. 226.
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- †**Tætwa**, father of Geat, son of Beaw, 855A; cf. ii. 4.
- TALBOT**, ROBERT, rector of Burlingham, notes by, in MS. C, p. xxxi; in MS. E, p. xxxiv; cf. ii. 11; in MS. F, p. xxxvi.
- TAMAR**, R., Devon and Cornwall, West Welsh driven beyond by Athelstan, ii. 135.
- Tamermuða**, the mouth of the Tamar, the Danes enter, 997E†.
- Tameweorðig** (D), -**worðig** (A), -**weorð**, -**wurp** (D), **Tamaweorðig** (C), **Tamweorð** (B, D), Tanworth, Staffs., Æthelflæd fortifies, 913C, D†; dies at, 918C, 922A; Edward seizes, *ib.*A†; Sitric meets Athelstan at, 925D†; Anlaf Sitricson captures, 943D.
- Tamu**, Thame, Oxon., Oscytel dies at, 971B.
- TANCARVILLE**, d'ép. Seine Inférieure, William of, ii. 301.
- Tanet**, *v.* Tenet.
- TANSHELF**, *v.* Taddenesscylf.
- Tantun**, Taunton, Somerset, built by Ine, destroyed by Æthelburg, 722*†.
- Tatwine**, abp. of Canterbury, succeeds Berhtwald, 731*† (cf. 995F, p. 130); his consecrators, *ib.*E; dies, 734*†.
- TAVISTOCK**, *v.* Tæfingstoc.
- TAUNTON**, *v.* Tantun.
- Tāwmuða**, mouth of R. Taw, Devon, Harold's sons enter, 1068D.
- TEAM**, R., *v.* Tomemuð.
- TEES**, R., submission of Waltheof to William I on the banks of, ii. 265.

- Tefingstoc**, *v.* Tæfing-.
- Tegntun**, either King's or Bishop's Teington, S. Devon, burnt by the Danes, 1001A.
- Telesphorus**, pope, introduces the Gloria in excelsis, 134E.
- Temes** (Tames, 1070E, 1114), R. Thames, Britons fortify a ford on, B. C. 60E†; Baldred of Kent driven over, 823*; Danes cross, 851*; nine general engagements against the Danes fought to the south of, 871*†; Fulham on, 879*; Hæsten sails to the mouth of, 893A, 892E; cf. ii. 107; the Danes cross, 894A, p. 85†; ascend, to the Severn, *ib.*, p. 87h.; English force collected from the north of, *ib.*; Danes draw their ships up, 895A; Danes cross, at Cricklade, 905A, D; Cnut do., 1016D, E; Danes enter, 999E; Ethelred crosses, 1006E, p. 137; Danes winter on, ravage and march on both sides of, 1009E, p. 139; Danes come to, 1010E; and cross, *ib.*, p. 141; ravage to the south of, 1011E; Danes drowned in, 1013E, p. 143; Swegen crosses, *ib.*, p. 144; Ethelred with the fleet on, *ib.*; Edmund marches to the north of, *ib.* C, p. 150; crosses, at Brentford, *ib.* D, E, pp. 150, 151; Ælfheah's relics carried across, 1023D; thanes to the north of, elect Harold as regent, 1036E†; Danish fleet enters, 1070E, 1071D, pp. 206, 207; passable on foot, 1114†; parts of Southumbria extend to (Gaimar), ii. 35; Edwy said to have been driven across, ii. 151.
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- Temesemupa***, Tæmesemuð (E), the mouth of the Thames, Danish ships arrive at, 851*; Hæsten sails to, 893A, 892E; cf. ii. 107.
- TEMPSFORD**, *c.* Temesan-.
- Tenercebrai**, Tinchebray, d'cp. Orne, a castle of William of Mortain, 1106; Henry I wins the battle of, *ib.* †.
- Tenet**, (Tanet, F Lat.), Thanet, Danes winter in, 851E†; battle with the Danes at, 853A, 852E; Danes occupy, 865*; people of, repulse Lothen and Yrling, 1046E†; Eormenburg founds a monastery in, ii. 21, 22; Danish fleet comes to, ii. 187; Tostig comes to, ii. 254.
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- Teobald**, Theobald, bp. of Worcester, appointed, 1114H†.
- Teodbald**, Theobald, abp. of Canterbury, previously abbot of Bec, 1140†; mediates between Stephen and Henry of Anjou, *ib.*, p. 268.
- Teotanhealh**, Tettenhall, Staffs., English and Danes fight near, 909D, 910C, D, E.
- TEOULFUS**, *v.* Teobald.
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- THEODISC**, Addenda, p. vii.
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- THURKILL**, son of Gunhild, ii. 224, *r.* Þurcil, Þuretyel.
- THURI**, *or* **THORED**, earl of the Middle Angles, ravages Worcestershire, ii. 219.
- THURSTAN**, name of slaughtered house-earl of Hardacnut, ii. 219.
- THURSTAN**, abbot of Gloucester, educated by Odo of Bayeux, ii. 277.
- For other names beginning with Th- see under Þ, Ð.
- ||**Tibba**, St., buried at Ryhall, translated to Peterborough, 963E, p. 117.
- Tiberius**, Roman emperor, accession of, 16*.
- Tidfrið**, bp. of Dunwich, consecrated, 798F†.
- TIDFRITH**, bp. of Hexham, ii. 65, 66.
- TIDENHAM**, at junction of Wye and Severn, ii. 110.
- TIGGUOCOBAUC**, British name of Nottingham, ii. 86.
- Tilberht** (E), -bereht (F), bp. of Hexham, consecrated, 780E†.
- Tinanmub**, Tinemuða, Tynemouth, Osred, ex-king of the Northumbrians, buried at, 792E; castle of, taken by Rufus, 1095, p. 231; Robert of Mowbray makes for, *ib.*; Danes ravage as far as, ii. 86; outrage of Rufus at, ii. 279; church of St. Oswine at, ii. 282.
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- Tine**, R. Tyne, Danes winter on, 875*; Harold Hardrada enters, 1066C, p. 196†; Malcolm III ravages up to, 1079E†; Ragnall the elder defeats the Scots on, ii. 130; Bernicia extends from Forth to, ii. 267.
- TININGHAM**, *or* **TYNNINGHAM**, Haddingtonshire, Anlaf Godfreyson ravages, ii. 143.
- Titus**, Roman emperor, son of Vespasian, 71*; slaughters the Jews, *ib.*†; accession of, 81*; saying of, cited, *ib.*†; Domitian, brother of, 83A, 84E.
- Tobias**, bp. of Rochester, consecrated by Berhtwald, 693E; dies, 727E†; his knowledge of Saxon, p. lxxii n.

- TODI**, Central Italy, Theophylact, bp. of, ii. 57.
- Tofecestær**, Towcester, Northants, Edward takes and fortifies, 921A; Danes attack unsuccessfully, *ib.*; Edward fortifies, *ib.* p. 102 b.
- TOFIG THE PROUD**, marries Gytha, dr. of Osgod Clapa, ii. 221, 266.
- Toglos**, Danish jarl, slain at Tempsford with his son Mannan, and brother, 921A, p. 102h.
- Tokig**, son of Wigod, slain, 1079D†.
- TOLEDO**, Spain, recovered from the Moors, ii. 275.
- Tomemuð**, the mouth of the Team, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, Danes winter at, ii. 89.
- Tonebrigc**, Tunbridge, Kent, castle of, captured by Rufus, 1087 [1088], p. 224.
- TORFINN**, earl of the Orkneys, power of, ii. 243; dies, and is succeeded by his sons, Paul and Erlend, ii. 254.
- TORHTMUND**, dux, slays Aldred, the slayer of Ethelred of Northumbria, ii. 63; goes to Rome, ii. 66.
- TORKSEY**, *v.* Turcesig.
- Torn**, *v.* Þorneg.
- Tostig (D, E)**, **Tosti (D)**, son of Godwin, earl of Northumberland, goes to Pevensey with Beorn and Godwin, 1046^bE, p. 168†; outlawed, goes to Thorney with his wife, 1052D, p. 175†; goes to Bruges, cf. *ib.*, p. 176, 1051C; at Winchester at time of Godwin's death, 1053C; receives Siward's earldom, 1055D, E; goes to Rome with his wife, 1061D†; attacked on his way home, *ib.*†; reduces Wales, 1063D, E†; at Britford with the king, 1065C, p. 192; Northumbrians rebel against, kill his housecarls, and seize his property, *ib.*C, D, 1064E†; takes refuge with Baldwin, *ib.*C, D, E; tyranny of, *ib.*C†; comes to Wight and Sandwich, 1066C, D†; enters the Humber, but is repulsed, *ib.*C, D, E, pp. 196, 197†; goes to Scotland, *ib.*†; joins Harold Hardrada, and they defeat Edwin and Morcar, *ib.*†; slain, *ib.*, pp. 198, 199; sworn brother to Malcolm III, ii. 26.
- TOSTIG**, son of Swegen Godwineson, ii. 261.
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- TOUL**, dép. Meurthe, St. Gerard of, ii. 233.
- TOWCESTER**, *v.* Tofecestær.
- TREBBIA**, R., North Italy, battle of the, ii. 101.
- Tremerig (C)**, **Tremerin (D)**, a Welsh bp., coadjutor to Athelstan of Hereford, dies, 1055C, D, *ad fin.*†
- Trenta (E)**, **Treonta (A)**, R. Trent, Ælfwine slain on, 679E; Edward builds bridge over, 924A; Swegen ascends, 1013E; Danes winter between Ouse and, 1069E†; the Eagle on, ii. 16.
- Treueris**, Trèves, abp. of, *i. e.* Eberhard, 1046^bE†.
- TREVISA**, JOHN, his translation of Higden, p. xlv.
- TRIVET**, NICHOLAS, chronicler, note relating to, p. xxxvi.
- TROIANI**, Alfred descended from, ii. 82.
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- Trumwine**, consecrated bp. of the Picts, 681E†.
- Tuda**, bp. of the Northumbrians, consecrates Medeshamstead, 656E, p. 30m.; signature of, *ib.* p. 32b.; dies of the plague, 664E; buried at Wagele, *ib.*†
- || **Tunberht**, bp. of Lichfield, signature of, 852E.
- TUNBERHT**, bp. of Winchester, ii. 125.
- TUNBRIDGE**, *v.* Tonebrigc.
- Tundað**, *v.* Cundop.
- Turcesig (D, E)**, **Turcesieg (A)**, **Turkeseg (B)**, **Turesig (C)**, Torksey, Lincs., Danes winter at, 873*†.
- TUREBRAND**, a Danish 'hold,' slayer of Utrad, ii. 195.
- TURGOT**, bp. of St. Andrew's, life of St. Margaret by, ii. 262, 263;

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Turold, a French (*i. e.* Norman) abbot, made abbot of Peterborough, 1070E†; comes to Stamford, *ib.*; Yware escapes to, *ib.*†; comes to Peterborough, *ib.*, p. 207; dies, 1098†.
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coast of Sussex and Hants, Godwin and his sons go to, 1052D, p. 175; sail from, to Bruges, *ib.*, p. 176.
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þurcil (C), -cyl (E), -kil (C, E), -kyl (D), þorkyll (D), Danish leader, 1009C, p. 139†; in London with Ethelred, 1013E (cf. Addenda, p. x); extorts provisions for his ships, *ib.*, p. 144†; earldom of East Anglia granted to, 1017D, E†; present at the consecration of Ashingdon, 1020D†; outlawed, 1021D, E†; reconciled to Cnut, and entrusted with Denmark, 1023C†; son of, brought to England by Cnut, *ib.*; Heming, brother of, ii. 187; ravages the district of St. Edmund, *ib.*; tries to save Ælfheah's life, ii. 189; submits to Ethelred, ii. 190; deserts to Cnut, ii. 194.
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þurcyl, earl, invades England, 1069D, p. 204.
þurcytel, Danish jarl, submits to Edward, 915D, 918A; withdraws to the continent, 920A.
þurcytel, son of Nafena, put to death by Cnut, 1016D, E, pp. 148, 149†; cf. þurkytel.
þurcytel Myranheafod, a cowardly leader, 1010E†.
þurferð, a Danish hold, slain, 911B, C.
þurferp, a Danish jarl of Northampton, submits to Edward, 921A, p. 102b.
þurkytel, abbot of Bedford, carries the body of abp. Oscytel to Bedford, 971B†.

Purstan, abbot of Glastonbury, his feud with his monks, 1083†.

PURSTAN, abbot of Pershore, dies, 1086 [1087], p. 222†.

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Valentines (A), **Valentinus (E)**, **Valentinian, -us (F)**, *i. e.* Valentinian III, Roman emperor, accession of, 449*†.

Valentinianus (II), Roman emperor, slays Maximus, and succeeds him, 380E, 381a.

Valentinus, S., head of, given by Ælfgifu-Emma to the New Minster, 1041F.

Uallium Dunae, **Val-ès-Dunes**, *dép.* Calvados, battle of, 1046E.

VATTEVILLE, *r.* Walteuile.

Ubba, Danish chieftain, 870F; *cf.* ii. 84, 93; brother of Ingwar and Halfdane, slain in Devonshire, ii. 93.

Urcel, **Vercelli**, North Italy, council of, 1047E†.

Uscam, **Fécamp**, *dép.* Seine Inf., Robert surrenders, to Rufus, 1091: Tuold, a monk of, ii. 265.

Uespasianus, Roman emperor, accession of, 70*; Titus, son of, 71*.

Ufcytel, *v.* Ulf.

Ufgeat, blinded, 1006E.

UGANDA, king of, *r.* Mwanga.

Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, submits to Swegen, 1013E†; joins

with Edmund Etheling against Cnut, 1016D, E†; submits to Cnut, but is slain, *ib.*, pp. 148, 149†; Eric appointed in his room, *ib.*†.

Uiana, **Uienna**, **Vienne**, *dép.* Isère, **Mamertus**, bp. of, 490E; (**Guy de Bourgogne**), abp. of, elected pope as Calixtus II, 1119; **Avitus**, abp. of, ii. 283.

Victor (I), pope, his ordinance about Easter, 202E.

Victor (II), pope, elected, 1054D. E; **Cynesige** receives pallium from, 1055D; dies, 1057D, E; wrongly said to have sent pallium to Stigand, p. xxiv n.

Uictricius, abp. of Rouen, receives a decretal from Innocent I, 403E.

Uienna, **VIENNE**, *r.* Uiana.

Uirgilius, abbot from Ireland, dies, 903A, D†.

Uitalianus, pope, **Wulfhere** sends to, 656E, p. 33 h.; grant of, to **Medeshamstead**, *ib.*; consecrates and sends **Theodore**, 668E†.

VITALIS, *v.* **Ordericus**, **Vithele**.

VITERBO, Central Italy, murder of **Henry**, son of **Richard**, king of the Romans, at, ii. 303.

Vithele (E), **Fipele (D)**, *i. e.* **Vitalis**, abbot of **Bernay**, made abbot of **Westminster**, 1076E, 1077D†.

Ulf, fights against **Cnut** at **Helge Aa**, 1025E†.

ULF, earl, brother-in-law of **Cnut**, ii. 205 (*bis*); possibly identical with preceding.

Ulf, bp. of **Dorchester**, appointed, 1046^bE, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 170, 171†; expelled, *ib.*D; nearly deprived by the pope, 1047E; flies from England, 1052C, D, E, pp. 181, 182†; **Wulfwig** appointed in the lifetime of, 1053C, p. 184.

Ulfcytel (Uf-, F), alderman of East Anglia, makes peace with the Danes, 1004E†; fights against them near **Thetford**, *ib.*; sends men to destroy the Danish ships, *ib.*†; gives the Danes 'the worst

- handplay' they ever had, *ib.*C, D, *ad fin.*; encounters the Danes, 1010E†; slain at Ashington, 1016D, E, p. 152†.
- ULFCYTEL, *v.* Wilfketelus.
- Ulpe, Wulpe, Flanders, Osgod Clapa comes with a fleet to, 1049C, 1050D, pp. 168, 169†.
- Undalum (in), Undelan (D), Undela (963E), Oundle, Northants, Wilfrid dies at, 709E; abp. Wulfstan buried at, 957D; granted to Medeshamstead, 963E, p. 116.
- UNGARIA, Ungerland, *v.* Hungrie.
- Uniuersal, *v.* Gilbert.
- Unlaf, *v.* Anlaf (Tryggvason).
- UNUST, *v.* Oengus.
- UNWONA, *v.* Inwona.
- VORTIGERN, *v.* Wyrtegeorn.
- URBAN, bp. of Llandaff, his dispute with Bernard of St. David's, ii. 300.
- Urbanus, *i. e.* Urban II, pope, sends pallium to Anselm, 1095, p. 232; promotes the first crusade, 1096 (cf. 1128); not in possession of Rome, *ib.*
- URICONIUM, Wroxeter, Salop, falls into the hands of the Saxons, ii. 17.
- Use, the Great Ouse, Danes march along, 1010E; *v.* Wuse.
- Use, the Yorkshire Ouse, Harold Hardrada and Tostig ascend, 1066C, p. 196; the Danes winter between Trent and. 1069E.
- USK, R., *v.* Axa.
- †Uxfrea, father of Yffe, son of Wilgisl, 560B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Uwen, king of Gwent, submits to Athelstan, 926D†.
- Uysc, *v.* Axa (Wylisce).
- W.
- W, confused with *p*, p. lxxxii.
- WADA, Northumbrian dux, revolts against Eardwulf, and is defeated, ii. 66.
- Wæbheard, joint king in Kent, 692E†.
- Wæced, *v.* Weced.
- Wælingastræt, *v.* Wæt-.
- †Wægdæg, father of Sigegar, son of Woden, 560B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Wælas, *v.* Wealas.
- Wælics, Wælsic, *v.* Wylisc.
- Wælpeof, *v.* Walpeof.
- Wænta, Winchester, Daniel, bp. of, 731E; *v.* Wintanceaster.
- Wærburh, queen of the Mercians, wife of Ceolred, dies, 782E†.
- Wærham, *v.* Wer-.
- Wærinwic (D), Wæring- (C), Warwick, Æthelflæd fortifies, 914C, 915D.
- Wærinwicscir (D), Wæring- (E), Warwickshire, Cnut ravages, 1016D, E.
- †Wærmund, father of Offa, son of Wihthæg, 626B, C; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- Wæstburh, Westbury, Gloucestershire, body of English defeated by Welsh near, 1053C†; Oswald establishes a school for monks at, ii. 176.
- Wætlinga stræt, Wælinga-, Weclina Strata, Watling Street, Swegen reduces all the country to the north of, 1013E†; Swegen crosses, *ib.*†; the boundary between Edmund's and Anlaf's dominions, ii. 144
- ||Wættelleburne, in Peterborough Charter, 675E, p. 37m.
- Wæð (jæt), the Forth, William I crosses, 1073D†.
- Wagele (æt), ?Whalley, Lancs. and Cheshire, Tuda buried at, 664E†; *v.* Hweallæg.
- WAKERING, Essex, Ermenred's sons buried at, ii. 22.
- Walaram, Waleram of Mellant, *i. e.* Waleran, count of Meulan, rebels against Henry I, and loses Pont Audemer, 1123, p. 253; defeated, and imprisoned at Rouen, 1124; his castles captured, *ib.* p. 254; imprisoned at Bridgenorth and Wallingford, 1126; Henry I reconciled with, 1129†.
- Walas, &c., *v.* Wealas, &c.

- Walkelin, Walkelinus**, bp. of Winchester, dies, 1098†; punishes the rebellious monks of St. Augustine's, i. 292; Ealdred, abbot of Abingdon, committed to custody of, ii. 267.
- Walchere**, bp. of Durham, a Lotharingian, slain at a moot, 1080E†; succeeds Ægelric, ii. 268.
- Waldhere**, bp. of London, signature of, 675E, *ad fin.*†.
- Wales**, Bernard, bp. of (*i. e.* of St. David's), 1123, p. 252† (*bis*); disorder in, under Stephen, ii. 309; *v.* Brytland, Wealas.
- WALFRIDUS**, *v.* Wil.
- Walingeford, Waling-, WALLINGFORD**, *v.* Wealinga-.
- Walkynn**, *v.* Wealcyn.
- Wali, Waloni**, *v.* Wealas.
- Waltear**, *i. e.* Walter, bp. of Albano, papal legate, brings Anselm's pallium, and takes back the Romescot, 1095, p. 232†.
- WALTER DE BELRAM**, Rufus' death attributed to, ii. 287.
- WALTER ESPEC**, founder of Rievaulx, at the battle of the Standard, ii. 312.
- WALTER TYRELL**, question of his share in Rufus' death, ii. 286.
- Waltere**, Walter, bp. of Hereford, appointed, 1060D. E†; submits to William at Beorhamsted, ii. 257.
- Waltere**, abbot of Evesham, succeeds Ægelwig, 1078D.
- WALTERIUS DE RIPARIO**, does homage to Faricius of Abingdon, ii. 292.
- Walteuile**, Hugo of, *q. v.*; William of, *v.* Willelm.
- WALTHAM**, *i. e.* Waltham Abbey, or Holy Cross, Essex, Harold's church at, consecrated by Cynesige, ii. 249; benefactions of Gytha, wife of Tofig Pruda, to, ii. 266; of Adelaide, Henry I's second wife, ii. 298; cf. Addenda, p. x.
- WALTHAM**, *v.* Wealtham.
- || **Waltun**, Walton, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
- Walpeof (D, E), Wæl-, Wald- (D), Walðeaf (E)**, earl of Northumber-
- land, taken to Normandy with William, 1066D, p. 200†; joins the Danes, 1068D, 1069E, pp. 203, 204; submits, 1070E, 1071D†; present at the Norwich bride-ale, 1075E, 1076D†; confesses to William, *ib.*D; arrested, *ib.*D, E; beheaded at Winchester, and buried at Croyland, 1076E, 1077D†; succeeded by Walcher, ii. 270; Matilda, dr. of, ii. 294.
- WANBOROUGH**, *v.* Wodnesbeorg.
- WANSDYKE**, the, ii. 18.
- WANSWELL**, *v.* Wodnesfeld.
- WARBURTON**, *v.* Weardburh.
- WARDSTONE**, Tostig comes to, ii. 254.
- WAREHAM**, *v.* Wer-.
- WARMINGTON**, *v.* Wermington.
- Warner**, a monk of Peterborough, goes to Rome, 1114, p. 246†.
- WARWICK, &c.**, *v.* Wærincwic, &c.
- Wasconia**, Gascony, Charlemagne traverses, 778E.
- WATCHET**, *v.* Weced.
- WATLING STREET**, *v.* Wætlingastræt.
- WASHINGBOROUGH**, Lincs., belonged to Peterborough, p. lx; the book of, *ib.*
- Watteuile**, Vatteville, dép. Seine Inférieure, belongs to Waleran, count of Meulan, 1124.
- WAVERLEY**, Surrey, abbey of, founded by William Giffard, p. lii; Annals of, pp. lii f.; related to E, *ib.*
- Wealas*** (B, C, D, a), **Walas*** (C, D, a), **Wælas (F), Waloni, Wali**, the British, the Welsh, Angles and Saxons defeat, 937A, *ad fin.* (Weealles); Wessex conquered from, A Pref. pp. 2, 4; fortify a ford on the Thames, B. c. 60E†; Claudius reduces, A. D. 47E; defeated at Wippeds-fleet, 465*; fly from Hengest and Æsc, 473* (*bis*); many of, slain by Ælle, 477*; Ælle fights against, near Mearcrædesburn, 485*; Cerdic and Cynric do., at Cymenesora, 495*; Ceolwulf do., 597*; Æthelfrith slaughters, at Chester, 605E, 607a†; Augustine prophesies destruction of, *ib.*;

- priests pray for army of, *ib.*; slaughter of, at Bampton, 614*; defeated at Penn. and driven to the Parrett, 658*†; Æthelbald and Cuthred fight against, 743*; Cuthred do., 753*; expedition of Æthelflæd against, 916C†; Streacled, king of, 924F†; slay Edwin, brother of earl Leofric, 1039C†; Swegen, son of Godwin, reduces, 1046C†; English forces invade, 1055C, p. 186; Edward Conf. rules over, 1065C, D, pp. 192, 193†; William I invades, 1081E†; Normans in, attacked, 1094, p. 230†; castle in, Montgomery, captured, 1095, p. 231; Rufus invades, *ib.*; 1097†; futile expeditions into, 1096, p. 233; Henry I invades and builds castles in, 1114E, H†; scarcity of mast in, 1116; Henry I invades, 1121†. Used specifically of the West- or Corn-Welsh, 915D, 918A; fight of, against the men of Devon, 823*†; defeated by Egbert, 835*†; coasts of, ravaged, 981C†; Odda made earl over, 1048E, p. 177†; Geraint, king of, 710*†.
- Wealcyn (D), Walkynn (C)**, the Welsh, take part with Ælfgar, 1055C; Gruffydd of N. Wales king over all, 1063D.
- Wealingaford, Walinge-, Wal-ing-, Wallingford**, Berks., the Danes ravage, 1006E, p. 137; Swegen comes to, 1013E, p. 144; Waleran of Meulan imprisoned at, 1126; Matilda escapes to, 1140, p. 267.
- Wealland**, a 'Welsh,' *i. e.* foreign country, Edward Conf. comes from, 1040E†.
- Wealtham**, Bishop's Waltham, Hants, burnt by the Danes, 1001A.
- Wealwudu**, doubtful reading, 878E†.
- Weardburh**, Warburton on Mersey, Æthelflæd fortifies, 915C†.
- WEARMOUTH**, co. Durham, monastery of, founded by Benedict Biscop and Egfrid, ii. 25; Malcolm III meets Edgar Etheling and his sisters at, ii. 263.
- Weast Centingas**, the men of West Kent, West Kent, ravaged by the Danes, 999E; *v.* East-.
- Weast Seaxe**, *v.* West-.
- WEATLA**, mythical king, eponymous of Watling Street, ii. 191.
- Weced (D), Wæced (A), Watchet**, Somerset, Danes make a descent on, 915D, 918A.
- Weceoport**, Watchet, Somerset, ravaged, 987E, 988C; burnt, 997E.
- Weclınca Strata**, *v.* Wætlinga stræt.
- ‡ **Wecta**, father of Witta, and son of Woden, 449E, *ad fin.*
- Wedmor, WEDMORE**, *v.* Wep-.
- WEEKABOROUGH**, *v.* Wicganbeorg.
- Welisce menn**, foreigners, build a castle in Herefordshire, 1048E, p. 173†; accuse Godwin and his sons, *ib.*, p. 174†; *cf.* Wealland.
- Welsc**, *v.* Wylisc.
- WELLAND, R.**, *v.* Weolud.
- WELLS**, Somerset, John, bp. of, i. 290†; church of, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, ii. 94; Wedmore granted to, by Edward Conf., *ib.*; Brihthelm, bp. of, ii. 154; Cyneweard, bp. of, ii. 163; Athelstan, or Lifing, bp. of, ii. 190; *v.* Bryhtwine, Cyneweard, Giso, Sumorsæte.
- || **Welmesford**, in Peterborough Charter, 656E, p. 311.
- WEMBURY**, Devon, identified by some with Wicganbeorg, ii. 77.
- Wendelsæ**, the Mediterranean, 885A†.
- WENDOVER**, Bucks., Roger of, *v.* Roger.
- WENDS**, the, *v.* Winidi.
- WENDUN, WEONDUN**, name given by S. D. to battle of Brunanburh, ii. 141.
- Wente**, the people of Gwent, S. Wales, Owen, king of, 926D.
- Wentonia**, *v.* Wintanceaster.
- Weohstan (C, D, E), Weoxtan (A), Wihstan (B)**, alderman of

- Wilts., defeats Æthelmund at Kempsford, and falls there, 800*†.
- Weolud**, R. Welland, Northants, Danes of Northants as far as, submit to Edward, 921A, p. 103t.
- WEONDUN**, *v.* Wendun.
- Weoxtan**, *v.* Weolstan.
- WERFRITH**, bp. of Worcester, lease of lands by, ii. 121.
- WERGILD**, principle of the, ii. 33, 34.
- Werham*** (C), **Wær-** (E), Wareham, Dorset, Berhtic buried at, 784*†; the Danes steal into, 876*†; move from, to Exeter, 877*†; Edward ignobly buried at, 979E†; translated to Shaftesbury from, 980E†; Wulfwin, abess of, 982C; Robert of Belesme imprisoned at, 1113; cf. ii. 293.
- || **Werththerd**, abbot, signature of, 852E.
- WERID**, British name of the Forth, ii. 267.
- || **Wermington**, Warmington, Northants, in Peterborough Charter, 963E, p. 116.
- WERMUND**, bp. of Rochester, ii. 67.
- WERRINGTON**, *v.* Widingtun.
- WERTERMORUM**, ?Kirriemuir, Forfarshire, origin of the name, ii. 16; Athelstan advances to, ii. 138.
- Wesseaxe**, &c., *v.* West Seaxe, &c.
- WESTBURY**, *v.* Wæstburh.
- West Cent**, 999F; *v.* Weast Centingas.
- WESTCHESTER**, *i. e.* Chester, origin of name, ii. 110.
- † **Westerfalca**, father of Wilgisl, son of Sæfugl, 560B, C; cf. ii. 5, 6.
- WEST HECANAS**, Herefordshire, Merewald, king of, ii. 26.
- Westmoringaland**, Westmoreland, ravaged by Thored, 966E†.
- Westmynster** (C, D, E), **Wæstminster** (E), Westminster, Harold Harefoot buried at, 1039E†; Wulfnoth, abbot of, 1049C, 1050D, *ad fin.*; consecration of, 1065C, D, 1066E†; Edward Conf. buried in, *ib.* E†; Harold comes to, 1066C, D; William crowned by Ealdred at, 1066D, E, pp. 198, 200†; Matilda, do., 1067D, p. 202†; bp. Ægelric sent to, 1068D, *ad fin.*, 1069E; 1072E, 1073D; dies at, *ib.*†; Edith, widow of Edw. Conf., buried at, 1075E, 1076D; Bretons involved in the conspiracy of the earls tried at, *ib.*; abbey of, given to Vitalis of Bernay, 1076E, 1077D†; William II crowned at, 1086 [1087], p. 222; king's hall built at, 1097, p. 234†; first court held in, 1099; Henry I crowned at, *ib.* p. 236; married at, *ib.*†; distributes ecclesiastical offices at, 1107†; Gilbert, abbot of, 1117; Matilda, wife of Henry I, dies, and is buried at, 1118†; Whitsuntide courts at, 1085^b; 1086, p. 219; 1099; 1100; 1104; 1107; 1108; 1109; 1121; Christmas courts at, 1091; 1101; 1102; 1103; 1104; 1106; 1108; 1110; Michaelmas court at, 1102; papal confirmation for Edward Conf.'s refoundation of, ii. 249; Robert, abbot of St. Edmund's, formerly prior of, ii. 291; monk of, *v.* Sulcard.
- West Seaxe*** (D), **-Sæxe*** (β, C, D, F, a), **-Sæxe** (D), **Wesseaxe** (A, β), **Wessexe** (C, F), **Wæst Seaxe**, **Weast-** (E), **Wæst Sæxe** (E), **Occidentales Saxones**, the West Saxons, **Wessex**, a Jutish tribe in, 449E, a; derived from Old Saxons, *ib.*; come to Britain, 514*†; cf. ii. 12; royal family of, have reigned since Cerdic, 519E, a†; accession of Ceawlin in, 560*; of Ceolwulf, 597*; of Cynegils, 611*†; of Æscwine, 674*†; Edwin slays five kings of, 626E; Birinus preaches to, 634*†; Cyric, Etheling of, 748*†; witan of, depose Sigberht, 755*†; fyrd of, defeat the Danes, 851*†; Æthelswith sent to Mercia from, 853A†; fyrd of, enters Mercia, 868*†; Reading in, 871*†; make peace with the Danes, *ib.*; the Danes

elude the fyrd of, 876*†; brother of Halfdene slain in, 878*†; alms of, sent to Rome, 887*†; 888*†; 890*†; fight with the Danes near Tottenhall, 909D; Edward sends fyrd from, to the north, 910A, D; do., into Mercia, 911A, D; Ælfwyn taken to, 919C†; fyrd of, fortifies Towcester and Colchester, 921A, pp. 102, 103; fight at Brunanburh, 937A, p. 108; Edgar succeeds in, 959B, C; Edgar the friend of, 975E†; fyrd of, called out, 1006E; all the shires of, brandmarked by the Danes, *ib.*, p. 137; Danes enter, 1010E, *ad fin.*; Cnut comes to, and reduces, 1015E; recovered by Edmund, 1016D, E, p. 149; who collects forces in, *ib.*, pp. 150, 151; assigned to Edmund, *ib.*, pp. 152, 153; Cnut takes the earldom of, 1017D, E†; chief men of, oppose Harold's election as regent, 1036E†; held by Ælfgyfu-Emma and Godwin for Hardacnut, *ib.*†; many of, follow Godwin, 1052D, p. 175.

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Queens of, *v.* Æthelburg, Fritho-gith.

Earls of, *v.* Godwine,

Harold. Bps. of, Cyneberht (*i. e.* Winchester), 799*†; Wigberht (*i. e.* Sherborne), 812*†; Birinus, Hedde, Wine, *q. v.*

Bprie. of, Ægelberht receives, 650A; cf. 649E†; Hlothhere, 670*†.

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West Seaxnalond (A, B), -land (E), Wæst- (E), Wesseaxna, -lond, -land (A). the land of the West Saxons, Wessex, conquered by Cerdic and Cynric, A Pref. p. 2†; cf. *ib.*, p. 4; Hlothhere made bp. over, 670B; divided into two dioceses, 709*†; the Danes overrun, 878*†; ravage the south coast of, 897A, p. 90; Athelstan and Edmund return triumphant to, 937A, p. 109.

West Wealas (E), -Walas* (D), the West Welsh, *i. e.* Cornwall, Egbert ravages, 813*†; combine with the Danes, but are defeated by Egbert, 835*†; Howel, king of, 926D; submit to Athelstan, ii. 135; *v.* Cornwealas, Wealas.

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WHERWELL, v. Hwerwillas.

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Wibbandun, perh. Wimbleton, Surrey, two Kentish aldermen slain at, 568*†.

Wic, Wick, Worcestershire, earth-quake at, 1049D†.

- Wiganbeorg** (A), **Wigean-** (E), ? Weekabourgh, Devon, Danes defeated at, 851*†.
- Wido**, *v.* **Wipa**.
- Wido**, *or* **Guy**, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Lanfranc consecrates, and installs, i. 290†; monks refuse to receive, *ib.*; submit to, i. 291; plots to murder, *ib.*; flies to Christ Church, i. 292.
- Wido**, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, punishes the rebellious monks of St. Augustine's, i. 292†.
- Wiht**, *v.* **Wiht**.
- Wiferp**, thane of Cynewulf, rides to avenge him, 755*, pp. 48, 49 m.
- †**Wig**, father of Gewis, son of Freawine, A Pref. p. 2†; 552A; 597A; 855A.
- Wigarceaster**, *v.* **Wigra-**
- WIGBERTUS**, English bp., oppresses the monks of Farfa, ii. 271.
- Wigbriht** (E), **-bryht** (A), bp. of the West Saxons (*i. e.* of Sherborne), goes to Rome, 812*†.
- Wigferð**, miswritten for Wigthegn, 833E†.
- Wiggod**, father of Tokig, 1079D.
- Wigheard**, priest, sent to Rome and dies there, 667E†.
- WIGHILL**, *v.* **Wiheal**.
- WIGHT**, ISLE OF, *v.* **Wiht**, **Wihthland**.
- Wigingamere**, **Wigmore**, Herefordshire, Edward fortifies, 921A†; Danes attack unsuccessfully, *ib.*
- Wiglaf** (E), **Wiig-**, **Wi-** (A), king of the Mercians, accession of, 825*†; restored, 828*†; dies, ii. 77.
- WIGMORE**, *v.* **Wigingamere**.
- WIGMUND**, abp. of York, ii. 106.
- Wigraceaster** (D), **Wigera-** (E), **Wigor-** (E, F), **Wigar-** (F), **Wigracæster** (a), **-cester** (H), **Wygracester** (D), Worcester, Leofsige buried at, 1033D†; two of Hardacnut's housecarls slain at, 1041C†; earthquake at, 1049D; cf. p. lxxvi. Bps. of, Dunstan, 959a, F; Ealdwulf, 992E†; Leofsige and Brihteah, 1033D†; 1038D; Living and Ealdred, 1047D†; Theobald, 1114H†; ii. 203, 204; Simon, 1130; Wulfstan, i. 289; Oswald, ii. 176; Sampson, ii. 277; *v.* Ælfric, Alhun, Milred, Werfrith, Wilfrid. Monastic movement checked at, ii. 157; Oswald dies and is buried at, ii. 176; Oswald grants leases of lands of, *ib.*; Eadnoth, bursar of, ii. 190; Wynsige, decanus at, ii. 203; Ealdred has to give up see of, ii. 249. Question of connexion of the Chronicle with, pp. liv, lxxv f.; relations of Evesham to bps. of, p. lxxiv n.; see of, held in conjunction with that of York, pp. lxxvi, cxx f.; ii. 264.
- Wigraceastrescir**, **Wigre-**, **Wiðre-** (E), **Wihraestre-** (C), Worcestershire, ravaged by order of Hardacnut, 1041C†; ravaged by rebels, 1087 [1088], p. 223; earthquake in, 1119; bps. of, Brihteah, 1038C, E†; Living, *ib.*, E†.
- Wigpen**, bp. of Winchester, dies, 833A†.
- WIHEAL**, ? **Wighill**, near Tadcaster, Uted murdered at, ii. 195.
- Wihraestrescir**, *v.* **Wigra-**
- Wihstan**, *v.* **Weoh-**
- Wiht*** (C, D, a), **Wieht** (A), the Isle of Wight, inhabited by the Wihthware, 449E, a; Cerdic and Cyric capture, 530A; and grant to Stuf and Wihthgar, 534A; Eoppa sent to evangelise, 656E, p. 32b.†; Wulfhere ravages, 661*; Ceadwalla and Mul ravage, 686*; six Danish ships come to, 897A, p. 90l.; Danes come to, 1001A; Cnut goes to, 1022E†; ravaged, 1048C; Godwin goes to, 1052C, D, E, pp. 178, 179†; Godwin and Harold come to, *ib.*, E; Tostig comes to, 1066C, D†; Harold takes up his position at, 1066C, p. 196†; William I goes to, 1085^b, p. 217; Robert crosses to Normandy from, 1091, p. 227; *v.* **Wihthland**.
- WIHTBURG**, St., her body found uncorrupted, 798F†.

- Wihthgar, a West Saxon, comes to Britain, 514*†; Wight granted to, 534*; dies, and is buried at Carisbrooke, 544*†.
- Wihthgar, miswritten for Wihthred, 796F.
- Wihthgaraburh, -garæs- (A), -garas- (E), -garesbyri (F), Carisbrooke, I. of Wight, slaughter at, by Cerdic and Cynric, 530*; Wihthgar buried at, 544*†.
- †Wihthgils, father of Hengest and Horsa, son of Witta, 449E, *ad fin.*
- †Wihthlæg (A, B, C), Wythlæg (A), father of Wærmund, son of Woden, 626B, C; 755A, *ad fin.*; cf. ii. 6.
- WIHTLAF, name given by some authorities to Wiglaf of Mercia, ii. 72.
- Wihthland, the Isle of Wight, captured by Cerdic and Cynric, 530E; given to Stuf and Wihthgar, 534E; the Danes stationed at, 998E; 1001E; 1006E†; 1009E, p. 139; Ethelred goes to, 1013E, p. 144; Cnut goes to, 1022D†; *v.* Wiht.
- Wihthred, king of Kent, joint king with Wæbheard, 692E†; accession (as sole king), 694*†; dies, 725*†; son of Egbert, 694A; father of Ethelbert II, 748a; 760a; his grant of privileges to the Church, i. 283.
- ||Wihthred, abbot, signature of, 852E.
- Wihthware, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, derived from the Jutes, 449E, a; Wulfhere grants, to Æthelwald of Sussex, 661*†; sends Eoppa to evangelise, *ib.*†.
- Wiiglaf, Wi-, *v.* Wiglaf.
- ||Wilberht, alderman, signature of, 656E, p. 32b.
- Wilferþ* (1), Wilfrip*, Wilfrid (E), bp. of York, as priest, present at consecration of Medeshamstead, 656E, p. 30m.†; signature of, *ib.*, p. 32b.; advises the evangelisation of Wight, 661*; consecrated bp., 664*; sent to Rome by Ethelred of Mercia, 675E†; Agatho sends letter by, *ib.*, p. 37h.; signature of, as abp. of York, *ib.*, p. 37l.†; expelled by Egfrid, 678*†; cf. 709E; (second) restoration of, 685E†; dies at Oundle, and is buried at Ripon, 709E†; succeeded by Acca his priest, 710E†; Ripon minster built by, 948D†; alleged translation of, by Odo, ii. 145, 148, 154; life of, by Fridegoda, dedicated to Odo, *ib.*; entry relating to, p. lxxi.
- Wilferð, *i. e.* Wilfrid II, bp. of York, 685E†; dies, 744E.
- WILFRID, bp. of Worcester, succeeded by Milred, ii. 53.
- WILFRIDUS, WALFRIDUS, bp. of St. David's, ii. 300; called Griffri, *ib.*
- †Wilgisl (C), Wilgils (B), father of Uxfrea, son of Westerfalca, 560B, C; cf. ii. 5.
- Wilisc, *v.* Wylisc.
- WILLEHAD, ST., obtains leave from Alchred and a Northumbrian council to evangelise the Saxons and Frisians, ii. 50, 51.
- Willelm, *i. e.* William Longsword, duke of Normandy, accession of, 928E.
- Willelm (C, D, E), Wyllelm (D), made bp. of London, 1048E, 1052D, pp. 176, 177†; flies from England, 1052C, D, p. 182†; consecrated by abp. Robert, p. xlii.
- Willelm (C, D, E), Wyillelm (D), *i. e.* William I, the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, and king of England, accession of, 1031E; visits England, 1052D, p. 176†; reduces Maine, 1062E; his invasion expected, 1066C, D, pp. 196, 197†; Harold goes with a fleet against, *ib.*E, p. 197†; cf. p. xlix; invades England, and wins the battle of Hastings, 1066A, D, E, pp. 196, 198, 199† (cf. ii. 290); his ravages, *ib.*D, p. 200†; Edgar and others submit to, *ib.*†; crowned by Ealdred, *ib.*D, E, pp. 198, 200†; his anger against the monks of Peterborough, *ib.*E, p. 199; imposes heavy geld, *ib.*D, p. 200†; 1067D; takes chief men of England with

him to Normandy, 1066D, 1067E†; returns to England, 1067D, E†; distributes lands, *ib.*E†; marches into Devon and reduces Exeter, 1067D†; keeps Easter at Winchester, *ib.*, p. 202†; marches north to York, &c., *ib.*†; gives the earldom of Northumberland to Robert de Commines, 1068D, E†; ravages York in punishment of his murder, *ib.*†; marches north and ravages Yorkshire, 1068D, 1069E, pp. 203, 204†; spends Easter at Winchester, *ib.*D†; Waltheof submits to, 1070E, 1071D†; robs the monasteries of England, *ib.*†; cf. Addenda, p. x; gives the abbacy of Peterborough to Turold, *ib.*E†; makes peace with Sweegen of Denmark, *ib.*, p. 207†; reduces the isle of Ely, 1071E, 1072D†; Hereward refuses to submit to, *ib.*†; invades Scotland, 1072E, 1073D†; Malcolm III submits to, *ib.* (cf. ii. 268); sends bp. Ægelric to Westminster, *ib.*†; reduces Maine, and returns to England, 1073E, 1074D†; goes to Normandy, 1074E, 1075D; receives Edgar Etheling, *ib.*†; gives Ralph (Guader) the daughter of William Fitzosbern, and the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1075E, 1076D†; plot of the earls to dethrone, made known to, 1075E, 1076D†; returns to England and arrests the earls, *ib.*; Danes afraid to fight with, *ib.*; has Edith buried at Westminster, *ib.*; spends Christmas at Westminster, *ib.*; enemies of, subdued, *ib.*; gives the abbacy of Westminster to Vitalis of Bernay, 1076E, 1077D†; besieges Dol, but has to retire, *ib.*†; makes peace with the king of France, 1077E†; Robert, son of, fights against, 1079D, E†; wounded, *ib.*; William, son of, *ib.*E; invades Wales, 1081E†; arrests Odo of Bayeux, 1082†; 1086 [1087], p. 226; Matilda, wife of, 1083,

p. 215†; imposes a heavy geld, *ib.*†; brings a large force from Normandy to England, 1085†; ravages the sea-coast, *ib.*, p. 216; holds a witenagemót at Gloucester, and orders the Domesday Survey, *ib.*†; sends commissioners throughout England, *ib.*; his Easter and Whitsuntide courts, 1085^b; knights his son Henry, *ib.*; all landholders swear allegiance to, *ib.*, p. 217†; goes to Wight and Normandy, *ib.*; Edgar Etheling revolts from, *ib.*†; misfortunes of twenty-first year of, 1086 [1087]; his covetousness, *ib.*, p. 218; ravages France, and burns Mantes, *ib.*†; returns to Normandy and dies there, *ib.*, pp. 218, 219† (cf. i. 290); buried in St. Stephen's, Caen, *ib.*†; his sons, *ib.*; his character, and achievements, *ib.*, pp. 219-221†; founds Battle Abbey, *ib.*, p. 219† (cf. ii. 203); his dominions, *ib.*, p. 220†; his good police, *ib.*†; his tyranny and forest law, *ib.*, pp. 220, 221†; his death and successor, *ib.*, p. 222†; Duncan, son of Malcolm, given as a hostage to, 1093, p. 228†; compels Lanfranc to assume the primacy. i. 287; entrusts jewels to Spearhatoc, ii. 228; never successful after the execution of Waltheof, ii. 269; refuses to promote Englishmen, ii. 271; deterioration of, after Matilda's death, ii. 272; Lanfranc and Thomas complain to, ii. 288; Robert of Mortain, half-brother of, ii. 290.

Willelm (E), Wyllelm (D), *i. e.* William Fitzosbern (Osborne's sunu, 1075E, 1076D), earl of Hereford, tyranny of, 1066D, p. 200†; supports Arnulf of Flanders, but is slain by Robert the Frisian, 1070E, 1071D, pp. 206, 207†; dr. of, given to Ralph Guader, 1075E, 1076D†; advises the spoliation of the monasteries, ii. 265.

Willelm, bp. of Norfolk (*i. e.* Thetford), appointed, 1085, p. 216.

Willelm, *i. e.* William II, king of England, son of William I, wounded at Gerberoi, 1079E; succeeds his father in England, 1086 [1087], pp. 219, 222† (*cf.* i. 290†); distributes his father's treasures, *ib.*; keeps Christmas at London, *ib.*; rebellion against, 1087 [1088]†; conciliates the English, *ib.*, p. 223†; besieges Pevensey and Rochester, *ib.*, p. 224†; sends and captures Durham, *ib.*, p. 225; attempts to gain Normandy from Robert, 1090†; bribes Philip I to abandon Robert, *ib.*†; holds his court at Westminster, 1091; crosses to Normandy, and makes peace with Robert, *ib.*†; hears of Malcolm's invasion and returns to England, *ib.*†; invades Scotland, but makes peace, *ib.*; Edgar Etheling submits to, *ib.*, p. 227; restores Carlisle, and expels Dolfin, 1092†; his sickness and brief repentance, 1093†; ecclesiastical appointments by, *ib.*†; summons Malcolm to Gloucester, but refuses to see him, *ib.*, pp. 227, 228†; Duncan a hostage at the court of, *ib.*, p. 228†; gives him leave to return to Scotland, *ib.*; holds his court at Gloucester, 1094; goes to Hastings, and has Battle Abbey consecrated, *ib.*, p. 229†; crosses to Normandy, has fresh quarrel with Robert, *ib.*†; summons the English fyrd, and takes their money, *ib.*; bribes Philip I to retire, *ib.*†; summons his brother Henry, *ib.*†; crosses from Wissant to Dover, 1095; summons Robert, earl of Northumberland, to his court, *ib.*†; marches against him, *ib.*, p. 231†; invades Wales, *ib.*; summons a meeting of all tenants-in-chief, *ib.*; commits Robert of Northumberland to Windsor Castle, *ib.*, p. 232; keeps Christmas at Windsor, 1096; holds a gemót at Salis-

bury, *ib.*†; Normandy mortgaged to, *ib.*†; spends Christmas in Normandy, 1097; 1098; 1099; and Easter at Windsor, 1097; invades Wales, and builds castles on the border, *ib.*†; allows Anselm to go abroad, *ib.*† (*cf.* 1100, p. 236); goes to Normandy, *ib.*†; sends Edgar Etheling to Scotland, *ib.*, p. 234†; Edgar, son of Malcolm, made king in dependence on, *ib.*; hall of, at Westminster, *ib.*†; grants the earldom of Shrewsbury to Robert of Belesme, 1098; holds first court in his new hall at Westminster, 1099; expels Hélie de la Flèche from Maine, *ib.*†; returns to England, *ib.*; holds his three courts at Gloucester, Winchester, and Westminster, 1100; shot when hunting, *ib.*†; buried at Winchester, *ib.*†; his hateful character, *ib.*†; chivalrous side to character of, p. lviii; grants St. Oswald's, Gloucester, to the see of York, ii. 118; gives the monks of St. Augustine's leave to elect their abbot, ii. 316.

Willelm, *i. e.* William of St. Carilef, bp. of Durham, rebels against Rufus, 1087 [1088]†; ravages in the north, *ib.*, p. 223; submits, and goes to Normandy, *ib.*, p. 225†; dies, 1096†; consecration of, i. 289†; restored to Durham, ii. 280.

Willelm, *i. e.* William of Alderi, steward and cousin of William of Eu, hung, 1096†.

Willelm of Ou, *i. e.* William, count of Eu, defeated in single combat by Geoffrey of Baynard, and mutilated, 1096.

Willelm Giffard, Gifard, bp. of Winchester, appointed. 1100, p. 236; refuses to be consecrated by Gerard of York, 1103†; one of the consecrators of William of Curboil, 1123, p. 252; dies, 1129, p. 260†; founds the abbey of Waverley, p. lii.

Willelm, eorl of Moretoin, *i. e.*

- William, earl of Mortain, escapes to Normandy, 1104†; suffers forfeiture, *ib.*; opposes Henry I in Normandy, 1105†; 1106; Tinchebray, a castle of, *ib.*; defeated and captured there, *ib.*
- Willelm Crispin, captured at Tinchebray, 1106; deprived and expelled from Normandy, 1112.
- Willelm Bainart, suffers forfeiture, 1110.
- Willelm Mallet, suffers forfeiture, 1110.
- Willelm, monk and abbot of Gloucester, 1113H.
- Willelm, abbot of Cerne, formerly monk at Caen, 1114H.
- Willelm, *i.e.* William the Etheling, son of Henry I, chief men of Normandy do homage to, 1115†; goes to Normandy and marries Matilda of Anjou, 1119†; *cf.* 1121; ii. 299; drowning of, 1120†; does homage to the king of France for Normandy, ii. 292
- Willelm of Curboil, abp. of Canterbury, elected, 1123†; formerly canon of St. Osyth's, *ib.*†; consecrated at Canterbury, *ib.* p. 252; goes to Rome, and propitiates the pope, *ib.*†; receives John of Crema, 1125; goes to Rome, *ib.*†; summons a council to London, 1129; canons passed by, *ib.*†; consecrates Henry of Blois to Winchester, *ib.*; consecrates Canterbury and Rochester Cathedrals, 1130; crowns Stephen, 1135†; dies, 1140†; consecrates Godfrey, bp. of Bath, ii. 300; quarrel of, with Thurstan, ii. 303; gives the see of Rochester to archdeacon John, ii. 306.
- Willelm of Romare, *i.e.* William of Roumare, rebels against Henry I, 1123, p. 253; (uterine) brother of Randolf of Chester, 1140; besieged in Lincoln, *ib.*
- Willelm, *i.e.* William Clito, son of Robert of Normandy, married to (Sibyl) dr. of Fulk V of Anjou, 1124, p. 254† (*cf.* ii. 299); supported by Henry I's enemies, *ib.*; *cf.* ii. 295; marriage with Sibyl dissolved, 1127†; *cf.* ii. 299; made earl of Flanders, *ib.*†; marries sister-in-law of Louis VI, *ib.*†; wounded, dies, and is buried at St. Bertin's, 1128†; *cf.* ii. 305.
- Willelm, earl of Albamar, *i.e.* William of Aumale, defeats the Scots in the battle of the Standard, 1128†.
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